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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS
OF
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTEENTH SESSION : NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER 1946

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTEENTH SESSION : NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER 1946

◆◆

Edited and published for the Conference by

Dr. H. L. Jain, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.
Shri S. Md. Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M. A.
Local Secretaries

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NAGPUR UNIVERSITY
1951

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Dr. H. L. Jain, and
S. Md. Aga Hyder Hasan Abidi,
Local Secretaries,
All-India Oriental Conference,
13th Session, Nagpur University, Nagpur.

PREFACE

The Thirteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held in Nagpur under extraordinary circumstances. The Second World War was over; but its devastating effect upon every sphere of peaceful human pursuits was still persisting. At the previous Session of the Conference, the honour of holding the next Session was determined not for the University of Nagpur, but for the Jaipur State. It was only when the preparations for the session reached the stage of planning out the details that the Executive Committee found it impossible to hold the conference there. It was under these circumstances that Nagpur University agreed to play the host for the Conference in the traditional way.

The responsibility thus undertaken was great, particularly because the times were abnormal, and, instead of the usual period of two years available for preparations, there were only a few months left. There was first the question of raising adequate funds; for, the Local Secretaries of the Conference are held responsible not only for holding the Session and arranging for the lodging and boarding of all the attending members, but also for the printing and publication required before and after the session, including the huge task of publishing the entire proceedings and transactions of the Conference. It was suggested that since even rich States had begun to shrink from the responsibility of offering free boarding, a departure might be made from the established practice and the attending members might be charged for the same. But the proposal did not find favour with our Reception Committee which could not reconcile itself to the idea that this province and University should lead in lowering the standard of the traditional hospitality to the members invited to participate in the deliberations of a cultural body like the All-India Oriental Conference. So, the only remaining alternative had to be accepted, namely, that every body concerned must put his shoulders to the wheel and do his best to raise the necessary funds. Thanks to the untiring zeal, perseverance and efforts of the then Vice-Chancellor Lt. Col. W. R. Puranik, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mahāmahopādhyāya V. V. Mirashi, the Vice-Chairman, as well as eminent persons like Sir Dr. M. B. Niyogi and a large number of my own colleagues, a good many Patrons, Donors and Members were enrolled and this fact went a long way to relieve us of the anxiety concerning the finances for the task. How far we were successful in arranging for the Conference, for the deliberations of its eighteen sections, for the trip to Ramtek, and for the reception, entertainment and comfort of our guests, it is not for us to say.

As soon as the Conference was over, we devoted our attention to the publication of the Proceedings. We entered into a contract with the Nārāyaṇa Mudraṇālaya to complete the printing of the volume within a period of six months. But little did we then realize the difficulties that lay ahead. Paper became unobtainable, required types were not easily available, workmen's strikes became frequent and the Press management had numerous problems of their own. Thus the printing was abnormally delayed. Ultimately, the Iranian Section (pp. 477–537 of Part II) had to be printed at the Shāhnāmā Press, Bombay, under the supervision of Dr. J. M. Unwala; the Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Islamic Sections (bound separately) had to be printed at the Sarfaraz Qaumi Press, Lucknow, under the supervision of Prof. S. M. S. Rizvi. Pages 49–96 of Part I, and pages 1–40 of Part III were printed at the Hind Mudraṇālaya, Nagpur, and pages 97–120 of Part I at the Nava Samaj Ltd. Nagpur. Whichever quality of paper happened to be available had to be used. Thus our difficulties are reflected even in the mosaic of paper and types visible in this volume.

The editing and the printing of the Proceedings were started at a time when there were great upheavals in the country. The idea of sending the manuscripts of papers or the proofs to their authors for correction had to be dropped, because we could not be quite sure of postal deliveries in time, and the Press could not afford to keep the composed matter pending for long. We, therefore, had to take upon ourselves the responsibility of correcting the proofs with the assistance of our colleagues when necessary. Some of the papers selected for publication are not included here because their authors did not like to delay their publication so long and took them out for publication elsewhere. In many cases, the manuscripts of the papers were not carefully typed, diacritical marks were not put, or the handwriting was illegible to the typist and the compositor. The editors themselves were often hard put to it and they had to take the liberty of making the necessary corrections as best as they could. For this action, they crave the indulgence of the learned scholars and readers.

This volume, except for the portions mentioned above, was printed by Shri P. N. Banhatti at his Nārāyaṇa Mudranālaya, Nagpur. He had also done all the printing required at the time of the Conference and his personal interest in the matter was of great help to us. He also did his best in printing the present volume, but owing to abnormal circumstances, he was unable to avoid the inordinate delay which we very much regret. However, even this dark cloud had its silver lining for us in so far as it kept us mentally or through correspondence, in constant touch with the scholars and authorities of the Conference ever since 1946.

At all stages of the arrangements for the Conference and the publication of this volume, we received unstinted cooperation, help and guidance from Lt. Col. W. R. Puranik, the then Vice-Chancellor, Shri U. Misra, the Registrar and the entire staff of the University, Principal V. V. Mirashi and all the staff of Morris College, Principal K. K. Krishnamurti and the staff of the College of Science, as well as a large number of our friends and colleagues who acted as Section Secretaries, constituted and captained the various Sub-committees and held charge of the Delegates' Camps etc. The Hon'ble Ministers of our State as as well as the various Officers and citizens of Nagpur were very sympathetic towards the Conference and lent their help to us readily whenever required. To all of them we owe a deep debt of gratitude.

Our task as Local Secretaries of the 13th All-India Oriental Conference is now complete as we present these Proceedings and Transactions of the Session to the Authorities and Members of the Conference.

Nagpur
24-2-51

H. L. Jain
S. Md. Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi
Local Secretaries

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Thirteenth Session, Nagpur University

1946

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PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Thirteenth Session, Nagpur University

1946

Statement of Accounts

(up to 20-3-1951)

Receipts

1 Donations		
(1) C. P. Government	2500/-	
(2) Nagpur University	1000/-	
(3) H. E. H. the Nizam's Government	1000/-	
(4) H. E. the Governor C. P. & Berar	500/-	
(5) Korea Darbar	300/-	
(6) University of Travancore	250/-	
(7) Patrons 13 paying Rs 500/- or more, also enrolled as life Members	7003/-	
(8) Donors 41 paying Rs 100/- or more	5066/-	
		17619-0-0
2. Reception Committee Members 215 paying Rs. 20/- or more ...		... 4591- 2-0
3. Life Membership Fee		... 100- 0-0
4. Members 356 paying Rs. 10/- each ...		... 3560- 0-0

Disbursements

1. Boarding and Lodging ...	4042- 4-3
2. Conveyance	1109- 5-6
3. Office establishment ...	769- 4-6
4. Return of Advance from Nagpur University ...	50- 0-0
5. Temporary Establishment	420-13-6
6. At Home	1000- 0-0
7. Pandal	959- 5-0
8. Exhibition	230- 4-9
9. Drama and Variety Entertainment	779- 7-0
10. Travelling Expenses of General President ...	123- 8-0
11. Travelling Expenses of General Secretary ...	86- 4-0
12. Miscellaneous Expenses ...	788- 8-6
13. Pandit Parishad	425- 0-0
14. Majlis-e-Ulama	883-10-6
15. Transfer to General Secretary for Life Membership Fee of 14 Members ...	1400- 0-0

Receipts

5. Collections for Ramtek Trip from 118 members at Rs. 2/8/- each	295- 0-0
6. Student Members 8 at Rs. 2/- each	16- 0-0
7. Small Contributions ...	65- 0-0
8. Advance from Nagpur University	50- 0-0
9. Income from advertisements in Nagpur Past and Present	45- 0-0
10. Exchange charges received from Members ...	19- 8-0
11. Donations for prizes ...	30- 0-0
Total	26390-10-0

Disbursements

16. Printing and Postage		
(1) Presidential Address	267/-	
(2) Nagpur, Past & Present	349/-	
(3) Summaries of Papers	403/4/6	
(4) Proceedings of the Conference	8153/8/-	
(5) Miscellaneous printing and postage	1669/14/9	
		10842-11-3
17. Payments to be made on account of printing and postage		2480- 3-3
Total		26390-10-0

V. V. Mirashi
Vice Chairman, Reception Committee.

H. L. Jain,
S. Md. Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi,
Local Secretaries

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTEENTH SESSION : NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER 1946

PART I

13TH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY. 1946.

His Excellency Sir **FREDERICK CHALMERS BOURNE**
K. C. S. I., C. I. E., I. C. S.,
Governor, C. P. & Berar, Chancellor, Nagpur University,
PATRON-IN-CHIEF

ALL INDIA
ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

(THIRTEENTH SESSION)

1946

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

—— o ——

PATRON-IN-CHIEF

His Excellency Sir Frederick Chalmers Bourne, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S.,
Governor of C. P. & Berar, Chancellor, Nagpur University.

CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Lt. Col. W. R. Puranik, B.A, LL. B, Vice-Chancellor,
Nagpur University.

VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Mahamahopadhyaya V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Principal,
Morris College, Nagpur.

LOCAL SECRETARIES

Dr. H. L. Jain, M.A, LL. B., D. Litt,
Morris College, Nagpur.

Major S. M. Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, M.A., L.T.,
Morris College, Nagpur.

LIST OF PATRONS, DONORS AND MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

PATRONS

(Paying Rs. 500 or more)

Donations marked with asterisk were ear-marked for Pandit-Parishad or Majlis-e-Ulema.

Serial No.	Name and Address	Amount Rs.
1	Government of the Central Provinces and Berar, Nagpur.	2,500
2	Nagpur University, Nagpur ...	1,000
3	H. E. H. the Nizam's Government, Hyderabad-Deccan. ...	1,000
4	Kheta, Shrimant Shamji, Congress Nagar, Nagpur	1,000
5	Jai Narayan, Rai Bahadur, Lala, Mohan Nagar, Nagpur.	501
6	Mohta, Diwan Bahadur Gopaldas, Merchant, 234 Temple Road, Civil Lines, Nagpur. ...	501
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288 Sen, Dr. Surendra Nath, M. A., Ph. D., B. Litt. (Oxon) Director of Archives, Govt. of India, Imperial Record Department, New Delhi.

289 Seth, Dr. H. C., M. A., Ph. D., Secretary, Joint Public Service Commission, P. O. Hinoo, Ranchi, Bihar. M. C.

290 Shadani, Dr. W. H. A., M. A., M. O. L., Ph. D. (London), 27 Nil Khet Road, Ramna, Dacca.

291 Shah, Mr. H. A., B. A., 69 Marine Drive, Block No. 10, Bombay—1. M. C.

292 Shah, Mr. Raoji Nemichand, Pleader, Shukrawar Peth, Sholapur.

293 Sharma, Mr. Aryendra, Sanskrit Dept., Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan. M. C.

294 Sharma, Mr. Shiva Datta, Gali Rajputana, Sabzi Mandi, Delhi.

295 Sharma, Mr. Sri Ram, Principal, D.A.V. College, Srinagar, (Kashmir). M. C.

296 Shastri, Mr. C. P., Principal, Sanskrit Maha Vidyalaya, Indore, C. I.

297 Shastri, Pt. H. O. Lakhtar State, Kathiawar.

298 Shastri, Mr. K. Mahadev, M. A., 28 Phiroz Shah Road, New Delhi.

299 Shastri, Mr. Ramaswamy, V. A., M. A., Professor of Sanskrit, University College, Trivandrum. M. C.

300 Shendre, Mr. N. J., 1204/3 Subhadra Sadan, Ghole Road, Poona—5,

301 Shendre, Mr. S. R. Brihan Maharashtra Karyalaya, Sangli. M. C.

302 Shrikhande, Mr. R. C., C/o. Mrs. Sardesai, Phaltan, Dist. Satara.

303 Shrinivasachar, Mr. S., Archaeological Department, Mysore.

304 Shrinivasachari, Mr. Pullagummi, Mahavidwan, Gadwal Samsthan, N. S. Rly. M. C.

305 Shrivastava, Mr. H. L., M. A. Dy. Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi.

306 Shukla, Prof. G. L., King Edward College, Amraoti.

307 Shukla, Prof. P. C., King Edward College Amraoti. M. C.

308 Siddiqi, Mr. A. 22, A. Muir Road, Allahabad.

309 Siddiqi, Dr. M. Z., M. A., Ph. D., P. 6, Suhrawardy, Avenue, Circus, Calcutta. M. C.

310 Siddiqui, Mr. Shaikh A. Aziz, Akola. M. C.

311 Sinha, Mr. Kumar Ganganand Sachiva Sadan, Darbhanga.

312 Sitaramayya, Mr. K., M. A., 89-B, Nampalli, Hyderabad-Deccan. M. C.

313 Sitaramayya, Mr. S. Shembagnur P. O., Via Kodaikkanal Road, S. I. Rly.

314 Sivaramamurti, Mr. C. Assistant Supdt., Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta.

315 Somasundaram Pillai J. M., B. A., B. L., Executive Officer, Srirangam, Tanjore District. M. C.

316 Sreemannarayacharya,, Mr. A. Ch. Arthamoor, Via Dwarapudi, East Godavari District, M.S.M. Rly.

317 Sreenivasachar, Mr. P., Principal, S.R.R. College, Bezwada.

318 Sreenivasa Rao, A., Honorary Librarian, Saraswat Niketan, Vetapalam, S. India.

319 Srinivasamurti, Mr. G. Honorary Director, Adyar Theosophical Society and Library, Adyar, Madras. M. C.

320 Srinivasan, Mr. K. R., M. A., Asstt. Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, St. Fort George, Madras-9 M. C.

321 Subbarao, Mr. R., M. A., L. T., M. E. S. Hony. Secretary, Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry. M. C.

322 Suzanne, M. M. Karples, C/o. French Information Bureau, 27, Cannought Circus, New Delhi.

323 Syed Mahmood, Mr., M.A., Statistics Inspector, Hyderabad-Dn.

324 Tafu, Dr. Chou, Ph. D., (Bom) Member, National Language Committee, Ministry of Education, Nanking, China, C/o. Chinese School, Kalimpong, Bengal.

325 Tagare, Mr. G. V., Bhor-Dist. Poona.

326 Taimuri, Dr. M. H. R., Director of Archaeology, Bhopal.

327 Tambe, Mr. G. C., B. A., LL. B, Tikekar Road, Dhantoli, Nagpur.

328 Tarapore, Mr. J. C., M. A., LL. B, Advocate, 802, B, Vincent Road Dadar, Bombay.

329 Tarapore, Mrs. Gool J. Gool Villa, 802-B, Parsi Colony, Dadar, Bombay.

330 Tarhalkar, Mr. P. N. Head Master, New English High School, Akola.

331 Thakur, Dr. Harisingh, L. M. P., Medical Practitioner, Raigarh, B. N. R.,

332 Thakur, Mr. Jivanand, Librarian, Raj Library, Darbhanga.

333 Tikekar, Mr. S. R. Saraswant Bank Buildings, Bombay-4.

334 Tilloo Shastri, Mr. V. S, Pt. Sanskrit Maha Vidyalaya, Indore.

335 Tirumalachary, Mr. T. 17, T. P. Koil Street, Triplicane, Madras M.C.

336 Tiwari, Dr. Udainarayan, M. A., D. Litt., Hindi Department, Allahabad University, Allahabad.

337 Tope, Mr. T. K., Angrewada, Kalbādevi, Bombay. 2.

338 Treasurer, St. Zavier's College, Cruckshank Road, Bombay.

339 Tulpule, Prof. S. G., D. A. V. College, Sholapur.

340 Unvala Dr. J. M. M. A., Ph. D., Mariumpura, Navsari. M. C

341 Upadhyaya, Dr. V. P., M. A., B. L., D. Litt., Senior Lecturer, Patna College, Patna.

342 Upadhye, Dr. A. N., M. A. D. Litt., Rajaram College, Kolhapur M.C.

343 Ursekar, Mr. H. S., M. A. LL. B., Angre's Wadi, Bombay-4.

344 Vaidya, Mr. G. N., M. A. LL. B., General Manager, Ruby Mills, Dadar, Bombay.

345 Vaidya, Mr. N. V. Superintendent. New English School, Satara city.

346 Vaidya, Dr. P. L., M. A. (Cal.) D. Litt. (Paris), 204/2, Sadashiv Peth, Poona. M. C.

347 Vaiyapuri, Rao Saheb S., University of Madras, Triplicane, Madras.

348 Varadpande, Prof. D. V., S. B. City College, Nagpur.

349 Velankar, Mr. H. D., 10/2 Shastri Hall Bombay. 7 M. C.

350 Venkataramana, Mr. Y. M. A., B. Ed., Lecturer in History, P. R. College, Gandhinagar, Cocanada. M. C.

351 Venkataramanayya, Dr. N., Reader in History & Archaeology, University of Madras, Triplicane, Madras. M. C.

352 Wale, Dr. R. N., 226, Kasba, Poona.

353 Wali, Rao Saheb M. P., Chief Officer, Dist. Local Board, Belgaum.

354 Yamunacharya, Mr., M. Maharaja'College, Mysore. M. C.

355 Yazdani, Mr. G., M. A., O. B. E., Orange Grove, Khainatabad, Hyderabad-Deccan. M. C.

356 Zakir Ali, Khan Bahadur, Wright Town, Jubbulpore. C. P.

13th ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

Bulletins Issued

First Bulletin issued by the Local Secretaries

All lovers of oriental studies will be glad to know that it is now decided to hold the 13th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Nagpur under the chief patronage of His Excellency the Governor of C. P. & Berar, and the General Presidentship of Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. P. V. Kane of Bombay. The dates fixed for the Conference are the 19th, 20th and 21st of October, 1946. A Reception Committee and a Working Committee have been formed with the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor of the Nagpur University, Mr. W. R. Puranik as the Chairman. A special committee for collection of funds and enrolment of Members of the Reception Committee has been set up under the chairmanship of Mahamahopadhyaya Principal V. V. Mirashi, Morris College. Other committees and Office-bearers necessary for efficient arrangements are also appointed. Provincial and State Governments, Universities and other institutions have been approached for donations and for sending delegates. Patrons of learning in general and of oriental culture in particular are requested to cooperate by enrolling themselves as patrons by paying Rs 500-or more, or as Donors by paying Rs 100-or more, or as members of the Reception Committee by paying Rs. 20/-or more. Scholars are requested to enrol themselves as members of the Conference by paying a fee of Rs. 10/-only immediately, and they should send their papers intended to be read at the Conference before the 15th September. The Sixteen Sections into which the Conference would be split under different Section-Presidents are given overleaf. Meetings of scholars learned in the traditional culture of Hinduism and Islam will also be organised if there is proper response. Donations earmarked for this purpose will also be thankfully received. Arts Exhibition will also be held and articles of historical interest such as inscriptions, copper plates, coins, manuscripts, documents, paintings and sculptures etc. may be sent to Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator, Central Museum, Nagpur, for exhibition and safe return.

The Oriental Conference is the greatest institution of its kind in the East rendering most valuable service to scholsrship. It is now holding its session nearly after three years. It is therefore expected that oriental scholars will bring to light their original researches of this period through the Conference. In its life of twenty-seven years the Conference is meeting in the Central Provinces and Berar for the first time, and we look up to the leaders of the province in all spheres to make it a success worthy of themselves. Please communicate with the Local Secretaries Dr. H. L. Jain and Mr. Syed Agha Hyder Hasan, Morris College, Nagpur. Cheques may be drawn in favour of 'All India Oriental Conference.'

Those institutions which have not yet appointed their delegates, and scholars who have not yet sent their membership fee, papers and their summaries are requested to do so immediately. Last minute registrations would cause inconvenience in view of the great difficulties of arrangements due to the abnormal conditions now prevailing and it may not be possible to make boarding and lodging arrangements for members joining after the 20th September. Please communicate with the Local Secretary, Thirteenth All-India Oriental Conference, Morris College, Nagpur.

13th All-India Oriental Conference

Nagpur University, 1946

Programme of Entertainment

Saturday 19th Oct. 1946...9 p. m.

Place-Conference Pandal, University Compound

1 Orchestra.
2 Ashtapadi Songs from Geeta-Govind of Jayadeo (by Mr. Shankar Rao Sapre,)
3 Dance, by Nritya Niketan girls.
4 Tableaux, (by the students of the Somalwar Academy)
  (i) Curse on Dasharatha
  (ii) Vishwamitra's Visit to Dasharatha.
  (iii) Slaying of Tadaka.
  (iv) Sita Swayamwara (सीता-स्वयंवर)
5 First two Acts of Malavikagnimitra of Kalidasa by the students of the City College & Sanskrit College
6 Dance by Mr. Rabi Roy, Director, Nritya Niketan.
7 Orchestra.

THIRTEENTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY, NAGP

Second Bulletin issued by the Local Secretaries

To Mr...

....

ENROLMENT NUMBER...............

Dear Sir

As already known to you, the 13th session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held in Nagpur on the 19th, 20th and 21st October, 1946. You are cordially invited to attend the same and participate in the proceedings of the various sections according to your interest.

2. The present timings of trains reaching Nagpur are as follows:—

A. **Through Trains**

Passenger from Alld--Jubb.-Itarsi......	8-55
Mail from Bombay..............	9-25
Grand Trunk from Madras......	9-45
Mail from Calcutta..............	16-10
Grand Trunk from Delhi..........	16-46

B. **Local Trains**

From Raipur.....................	7-0 & 22-18
From Gondia.....................	10-45
From Nagbhir.....................	10-32 & 21-14
From Wardha.....................	17-55
From Bhusaval.................	21-10

3. The first general meeting will be held at 3 P. M. on the 19th October. But Delegates Camps in the Y. M. C. A. Hostel as well as in Morris, Science and Agricultural College Hostels which are all situated close to the University Buildings will be opened for the reception of guests from the 18th October. It

would be convenient if you kindly inform us beforehand by what train you would arrive. Please remember your enrolment number mentioned above, quote it in your correspondence and mention it to the volunteers at the Railway station. That will save time and secure immediate attention.

4. Free lodging and boarding arrangements are being made in the Camps mentioned above. On arrival please get your badge, meal coupons, book of summaries, Guide to Nagpur, and useful information and programme and passes for Variety entertainment and Sanskrit Drama from the office in your own Camp. As conditions are hard, please do not forget to hand over each coupon when necessary to your caterer and preserve unused ones. Non-vegetarian meals will also be provided, but no European style accommodation is available in the Camps.

5. If you would prefer to stay in a Hotel at your own expense, arrangements may be made at the Empire Hotel where the charges are Rs. 8/-for a single seated or double seated room and Rs, 7/-for a three seated room per member per day with meals; or at the Mount Hotel where the charges are Rs. 9/-per seat in a double-seated room with meals per day. As accommodation in these Hotels is also very limited at least a week's notice is necessary.

6. Taxis could be made available to you for sight-seeing, marketting etc. at the rate of As. /12/-per mile with Re. 1/-per hour for haltage, if notice of the same is given in advance.

7. Trip to Ramtek (identifiable with Ramagiri of Kalidasa) will be arranged on the 22nd October for those members who express their willingess to join it at Rs. 2-8-0 only per head. Lunch will be provided there and attempt will be made to return to camp in time for the evening trains.

8. If you desire 1st or 2nd class accomodation in train for your return journey, fifteen days notice is necessary.

9 Normally, the average temperature in Nagpur during the third week of October is 94 degrees during day and 64 degrees during night. Heavy clothing and bedding is therefore not likely to be required.

Yours Sincerely,

H. L. Jain
S. M. Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi
Local Secretaries.

अखिल भारतीय-प्राच्यविद्यामहासम्मेलनम् ।

नागपुरविश्वविद्यालयसम्पाद्यमानं

त्रयोदशमधिवेशनम्

स्वागताध्यक्षाः–न्यायमूर्ति वासुदेव रामचंद्र पुराणिक,
उपकुलगुरु, नागपूर युनिव्हर्सिटी, नागपूर.
उपाध्यक्षाः–महामहोपाध्याय वासुदेव विष्णु मिराशी, एम्. ए.,
प्रिंसिपाल मॉरिस, कॉलेज, नागपूर.

स्थानीयमन्त्री, डॉ. हीरालाल जैन,
एम्. ए., डी. लिट्.
प्राध्यापक, मॉरिस कॉलेज,
नागपुर.

श्रीमत्सु ______________________________

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अयि प्राच्यविद्यारसिका विद्वद्वरेण्याः प्रियमहाभागाः !

प्रायेण विदितचरमेव श्रीमतां यन्निखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविद्वत्सम्मेलनस्य त्रयोदशमधिवेशनमेषमो मध्यप्रान्तराजधानीभूतनागपुराख्ये नगर आगामिनि आश्विनमासे बहुलपक्षनवमीमारभ्य (ता. १९ आक्टोबर १९४६) दिनत्रयं भवितेति । सम्मेलनस्य सभापतिस्थानं तत्रभवन्तो दिगन्तविश्रान्तकीर्तयो महामहोपाध्यायोपाधिविभूषितविग्रहाः परमपूज्याः पांडुरङ्ग वामन काणे-महाभागा मण्डयिष्यन्ति ।

इदं सम्मेलनं प्रतिद्वितीयसंवत्सरं संघटते । तस्मिंश्च वेदास्तदङ्गानि, दर्शनानि, इतिहासाः, पुरातत्त्वम्, बौद्धमतम्, जैनमतम्, धर्मशास्त्रम्, भाषाशास्त्रम्, संस्कृतप्राकृतसाहित्ये, अरबीफारसीसाहित्ये, इत्यादिविषयेषु गवेषणात्मकप्रबन्धानां तथा च नूतनविचारप्रणालीप्रवर्तकानां च प्रबन्धानामाँग्लभाषया, देववाण्या च वाचनविवेचने भवतः । तथा च महाराष्ट्रीहिंदीभाषान्तर्गततत्तच्छास्त्रनिर्वाचनविभागोऽप्यत्रान्तर्भावयिष्यते ।

एतेष्वेव दिवसेषु पण्डितपरिषदोऽप्यधिवेशनं भविष्यति यस्मिन्बहुविधेषु प्राचीनार्वाचीनविषयेषु विदुषां शास्त्रीयचर्चा प्रचलिष्यति, गवेषणात्मकनिबन्धवाचनं च भविष्यति । तदर्थं श्रीमद्भिः कस्मिन्नपि विषये दशपत्रदेशीयः स्वनिबन्धः प्रेषणीयः । श्रीमन्तः सबहुमानं सप्रश्रयञ्च संप्रार्थ्यन्ते यत्स्वीयोपस्थित्या श्रीमद्भिरिमां विद्वत्परिषदमन्वर्थां विधाय यथारुचि विविधशास्त्रोदधिनिर्मंथनविधौ निजप्रदीप्तविद्याप्रज्ञाबलेनास्माकं साहाय्यकं प्रदातव्यमिति । श्रीमतां समागमनेन न केवलं सभाशोभासंभारवृद्धिर्भवित्री किन्त्वस्माकं फणिपुरनिवासिनां भागधेयतरुश्चिरकांक्षितानि भवद्दर्शनसमागमालापसौख्यफलान्यपि विन्देत ।

एकमेव निवेदयद् दोदूयतेऽस्मच्चेतो यत् कालस्य कौटिल्यात् श्रीमतां मार्गव्ययपर्याप्तं धनं नास्माभिर्दातुं शक्यते। परमत्रागतानां श्रीमतामानिवर्तनं निवासाशनपानादीनां सर्वं प्रबन्धं परिषत् स्वयमेव करिष्यति। न तत्र श्रीमतां कोऽप्यर्थव्ययो भविता। श्रीमद्भिस्तु आस्माकीनमेतदर्थदौर्बल्यं क्षमित्वाऽपूर्वसमारंभगौरवाद्वा प्राच्यविद्याभिमानाद्वा यथाकथञ्चिदवश्यमागन्तव्यमिति साञ्जलिबन्धं सानुनयं पुनः संप्रार्थयामहे।

विद्वत्परिषदङ्गत्वेन यथावसरं विदुषां प्रवचनानि, प्राचीनसंस्कृतनाट्यानामभिनयाः, गीतनृत्यवाद्यादीनामभिनवा उपक्रमा अपि विधास्यन्ते।

कृपयोत्तरपत्रं पूरणीयेषु पदेषु प्रपूर्य त्वरया प्रेषणीयम् येन प्रबन्धे सौकर्यं स्यादिति संप्रार्थयते।

भवदीयकृपाकटाक्षाभिकांक्षिणौ

सदाशिव गोविंद सोमलवार,
(मॉरिस विद्यालय संस्कृत प्राध्यापकः, नागपुर)
बाळशास्त्री हरदास, नागपूर
निखिल-भारतीय-प्राच्यविद्या-महासम्मेलनांतर्गतविद्वत्परिषत्कार्यवाहौ।

नागपुरम्
भाद्रपद सुदि द्वादशी शकाब्दा
१८६८ ता. ८-९-१९४६

उत्तरपत्रम्

श्रीमत्सु प्राध्यापक-सोमलघारमहोदयेषु:—

मया पण्डितपरिषदो निमन्त्रणपत्रं प्राप्तम्। तदनुरोधात् अहं अक्टोबरमासस्य········दिने ·····वासरे इतो········स्थानान्निर्गत्य नागपुरं···········वासरे·····दिने··········बाष्पशकटेन ··········अवसरे समागमिष्यामि। बाष्पशकटविश्रामस्थाने भवदीयान् स्वयंसेवकान् प्रेषयितुमर्हन्ति भवन्तः।

भवदीय

तिथि···············

नाम—
स्थानम्—
पोष्ट—
जिल्हा—

13th All-India Oriental Conference Nagpur University

PROGRAMME

Friday, the 18th Ocfober, 1946

Exhibition will be open from the afternoon upto 21st Oct.

6—0 P. M. Meeting of the Retiring Executive Committee in Assembly Rest House (New)

Saturday, the 19th October, 1946

12—0 to 2-30 P. M. First Meeting of the Council for consideration of the new draft rules of the Conference, in Science College Room No. 32

3—0 P. M. Inaugural Meeting—in Pandal near J. N. Tata Convocation Hall

- (i) President's Procession.
- (ii) Welcome Songs
- (iii) Messages
- (iv) Welcome Address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee.
- (v) Inaugural Address by the Hon'ble Pandit D. P. Mishra, Premier (offg.)
- (iv) Installation of the President by the Chairman of the Reception Committee.
- (vii) Presidential Address by Mahamahopadhyaya P.V. Kane.

5—0 P. M. Photograph and Reception (by special invitation)

6—0 P. M. Lecture on 'Life values of Sanskrit Language and Literature' by Dr. Raghuvira, M. A., PH. D. Lahore.

9—0 to 11 P. M. Variety Entertainment in the Pandal (Admission by Passes)

Sunday, the 20th October, 1946

8-30 to 11—0 A. M. & 2—0 to 4—0 P. M.

Sectional Meetings in Science College

Presidential Addresses as follows:

		Room No
8-30 to 9—0 A. M.	Vedic	... 41
9—0 to 9-30 A. M.	Iranian	... 49
9-30 to 10—0 A. M.	Islamic	... 50
9-30 to 10—0 A. M.	Pandit Parishad	... 32
10—0 to 10-30 A. M.	Classical Sanskrit	... 42
10-30 to 11—0 A. M.	Philology and Indian Linguistics	... 48
12-30 to 2—0 P. M.	Second meeting of the Council for transaction of business standing over from the previous day and election of the Executive Council	... 32

2—0 to 2-30 P. M.	Philosophy and Religion	... 33
2-30 to 3—0 P. M.	Ārabic and Persian	... 50
2-30 to 3—0 P. M.	Pali and Buddhism	... 30
3— to 3-30 P. M.	Prakrit and Jainism	... 38
4-30 P. M.	Meeting of the New Executive Committee	... 32

5—0 P. M. Meeting of the Executive Committee and Section Presidents (Past and Present) to elect Section Presidents for the next session ... 32

6-30 P. M. Lantern Slide Lectures on Kondapur Excavations by Khwaja M. Ahmed, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad State-in Pandal

9—0 to 11—0 P. M. Sanskrit Drama in the pandal (Admission by Passes)

Monday, the 21st October, 1946

8—0 to 11—0 A. M. & 1—0 to 3—0 P. M.

Sectional Meetings in Science College

Presidential Addresses as follows:—

8—0 to 8-30 A. M.	History	... 45
8-30 to 9—0 A. M.	Archaeology	... 46
9—0 to 9-30 A. M.	Technical Sciences	... 48
9-30 to 10—0 A. M.	Majlis-e-Ulema	... 50
10—0 to 10-30 A. M.	Dravidian Languages and Culture	... 53
11-45 to 1—0 P. M.	Meeting of the Linguistic Society	... 32
1—0 to 1-30 P. M.	Hindi	... 51
1-30 to 2—0 P. M.	Marathi	... 52
2—0 to 2-30 P. M.	Urdu	... 50
3—0 to 4—0 P. M.	General Concluding Session in the Pandal	

The following Sections will meet at the times specified below:-

Islamic	8-30 to 11 A. M. on 20-10-46	Room No. 50
Philology and Indian Linguistics	8-30 to 11 A. M. & 2 to 4 P. M. on 20-10-46	... 48
Arabic & Persian	2 to 4 P.M. on 20-10-46	... 50
Majlis-e-Ulema	8 to 11 A. M. on 21-10-46	... 50
Technical Sciences	8 to 11 A. M. & 1 to 3 P. M. on 21-10-46	... 48
Urdu	1 to 3 P. M. on 21-10-46	... 50

Tuesday, the 22nd October, 1946

7 A. M. to 3 P. M. Excursion to Ramtek for those Delegates and Members who pay Rs. 2-8-0 each by the 19th October

अखिल-भारतीय-प्राच्यविद्यामहासम्मेलनस्य
नागपुराधिवेशने

॥ मङ्गलाचरणम् ॥

श्रीशारदास्तवनम्

(तिलककामोद-झपताल)

नमनमिदमस्तु ते । पदयुगे शारदे ।
देववाणीप्रिये । प्राच्यविद्यामहे ॥ ध्रु० ॥
कुरुतात् कृपा तेऽद्य
हृन्मलिनतानाश-
मानन्दसन्दोहमनिशं तनोत्वत्र ॥ १ ॥

स्वागतम्

(मांड--एकताल)

प्रेम्णा स्वागतमिहास्तु । भारतविद्यामहेऽद्य ।
सुजनानां रसिकानां । विविधशास्त्रनिपुणानाम् ॥ ध्रु० ॥
काणेकुलकमलरविः
पांडुरंगनामकविः
उदितोऽयं नागपुरे । प्राच्यसभोदयाशिखरे ॥ १ ॥

(स्रग्धरा)

काणेवंशावतंसः प्रथितपृथुयशाः वादिवृंदाग्रयायी ।
ब्राम्हीकासारहंसः सकलगुणनिधिः सज्जनश्लाघ्यशीलः ।
साहित्यापारशास्त्रोदधिमथनविधौ मन्दरोऽमन्दधिष्ण्यः ॥
स श्रीमान् पाण्डुरङ्गः परिषदमधुनाऽध्यास्य शोभां तनोति ॥

रचयिता—प्राध्यापक-स. गो. सोमलवार,

गायिकाः

कु. उषा तांबे कु. भारती शर्मा कु. सुधा दातार

कु. माया छत्रे कु. दमन चिटणवीस

13th ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, Nagpur University

VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT

TWO ACTS
of
MALAVIKAGNIMITRA
BY
Mahakavi **KALIDASA**
Presented by the students of
S. B. CITY COLLEGE
and
NAGPUR SANSKRIT COLLEGE, NAGPUR
Under the direction of Prof. D. V. Warhadpande

SYNOPSIS

King Agnimitra of Vidisha happens to see beautiful Malavika painted among the maids of Queen Dharini who tries to avoid his seeing the girl personally. At the instance of the King, Vidushaka encourages rivalry between the two dance masters, Ganadas who teaches Malavika and Haradatta, a protege of the King. The rivals come for decision to the King who, afraid of the Queen, wants to get the decision through a third person by seeing the performance of the pupils in presence of the Queen and Parivrajika the latter to act as a judge. The Queen tries in vain to avoid Malavika's appearing before the King on the ground of a novice bringing disrepute to the teacher and that the judge alone may witness the performance. Ganadasa, confident of his pupil's skill, though a novice, insists on her performance. The Queen has to yield and the King's desire to see Malavika is fulfilled.

THE CAST

1	*Aganimitra*	...M, M. Vaidya.	(S. B. C. College)
2	*Vidushaka*	...V. S. Harkare	”
3	*Ganadasa*	...K. V. Ninave	”
4	*Haradatta*	...V. S. Acharya	”
5	*Dharini*	...Miss S. Gadkari	”
6	*Parivrajaka*	...Miss Pattarkine	”
7	*Sutradhara*	...V. P. Sawalapurkar	(N. S. College)
8	*Amatya*	} Ghoradkar	”
9	*Kanchuki*		
10	*Malavika*	...Miss Khandvekar	(B. Mahila)

13th All-India Oriental Conference, Nagpur University, 1946

Organisers and workers of the entertainment programmes.

Thirteenth All India Oriental Conference

1946

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY, NAGPUR.

Entertainment

महाकविभासप्रणीतम्

स्वप्नवासवदत्तम्

SWAPNA-VASAVADATTAM

of

BHASA

with

SONGS

Presented by the Students of local Colleges under the direction
of Prof. *S. G. Somalwar* & Prof. *N. K. Diwanji.*

SYNOPSIS

Act 1

Yaugandharāyana, the minister of Udayana, is anxious to recover for his master all the territories of which he was deprived by a king named Aruni This necessitates an alliance with the king of Magadha. The minister is therefore anxious that his master should wed Padmavati sister of the king of Magadha. But Udayana is too deeply attached to his queen Vāsavadattā to entertain any such proposal. The minister therefore forms a scheme and induces Vāsavadattā to help him in it. During the king's absence on a hunting expedition the minister spreads a report that he and Vasavadatta perished in the fire that consumed the village of Lāvāṇaka in which they resided. Yaugandharāyana and Vāsavadattā then leave the village in disguise and arrive at a hermitage where Padmāvati the Magadha princess happens to come. Yaugandharāyana who is in the disguise of a recluse gives Vasavadatta in charge of Padmavati, representing that she is his sister whose husband has gone on a journey. Vasavadatta lives with Padmavati under the assumed name of Awantika.

Act II & III

After some time the king is persuaded to marry Padmāvati who is a beautiful, high-minded princess.

Act IV

But the king's love for Vasavadatta is as strong and as fresh as ever. He mourns for Vasavadatta, whom he imagines lost. Once while the king and the Vidushaka were in the pleasure-garden, the king in the course of the conversation confessed to his friend that he still cherished love for Vāsavadattā. Padmāvati heard all this conversation from the jasmin bower.

Act V

Afterwards Padmavati is seized by a severe head-ache and it is arranged that she should sleep in the Raj-griha Palace. The king goes there to comfort her but finds that she is not there. He lies down on the bed spread for Padmavati and soon falls fast asleep. In the meanwhile Vasvadatta comes to comfort Padmavati. She mistakes the sleeping form for that of her mistress and sits on the bed. The king begins to address Vasavadatta in a dream. Vasavadatta knowing her mistake goes away, but not without replacing the king's hand which was hanging down from the couch. After the king has awakened from his sleep he receives the joyful news that the enemy's forces were scattered and that he must now be ready to deal the finishing stroke and destroy Aruni.

Act VI

One day the king's sorrow for Vasavadatta is renewed and rises to the highest pitch on the discovery of the lute Ghoshavati, her beloved companion. That very day a messenger comes from Mahasena of Ujjain and his queen with a message of congratulation to Udayana on his complete victory over his enemy and a present of the picture of the nuptials of himself and Vasavadatta. Padmavati recognizes in the lady painted in the picture the features of the sister left in her charge by the Brahmin recluse. Yaugandharayana soon arrives on the scene to explain how be had devised the whole plan to promote the interest of his master. And this is the happy conclusion.

THE CAST

Sutradhara-	Mr. Madhaorao Wayandeshker
Udayana-	Ram Dokey (Morris College)
Yaugandharayana-	Diwakar Khond (Morris College)
Vasantaka (Vidushaka)-	Chandra Shekhar Thakur (Morris College)
Brahmacharin-	Pratap Behere (Morris College)

Kanchukiya Raibhya	Chandrakant Deo (National) College)
Sambhashaka-	K. S. Somalwar (National College)
Bhatta-	M. L. Somalwar (Morris College)
Vasavadatta-	Miss Maya Chhatre B. A. (Morris College)
Padmavati-	Miss Bharati Sharma (Morris College)
Tapasi & Dhatri-	Miss Usha Tambe (Morris College)
Cheti	Miss Sudha Datar (National College)
Padmnika-	Miss Manik Kalamkar Somalwar Academy
Madhukarika-	Miss Prabha Somalwar ,,
Vijaya Pratihari-	Miss Daman Caitnavis (Hislop College)

श्रीभासविरचित-स्वप्नवासवदत्त-नाटकप्रयोगे प्रा. सा. गो. सोमलवार प्रणीता

पद्यमालिका

प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

सूत्रधारः– (चद्रकान्त-झपताल)

प्रभो तव पदयुगलं शरणम् ।
रमते चित्तं सततं स्वानन्दे ॥ ध्रु० ॥
जय सच्चिदानन्द ! । सुखकन्द ! गोविन्द !
वितर भक्तिसुखं ते ॥ १ ॥

(गौडसारंग-त्रिताल)

स्वागतं स्वागतं सुजनानाम् ।
भासनाट्यकृतिरसिकानाम् ॥ ध्रु० ॥
वासवदत्तं नाम नाटकम् ।
प्रमोदमेतत् वितरति विदुषाम् ॥ १ ॥

सूत्रधारः– (दुर्ग-अद्धा)

मगधराजपुरुषैः । भर्तृदारिकामनुगच्छद्भिः । मूढैः ॥ ध्रु० ॥
निन्द्याचाररतैः । परुषभाषणैः । जनो धृष्टमुत्सार्यते ॥ १ ॥

तापसी— (यमन-रूपक)

ईश्वरो भगवान् वरदो सर्वकुशलम् ।
भक्तपालनकुशलो वितरतु सार्वकालम् ॥ ध्रु० ॥
पालको यः सर्वजगताम् ।
त्वां शुभे ह्यचिरात् पद्माऽऽसादयिष्यति ॥१॥

द्वितीयोऽङ्कः ।

चेटी— (मांड-कवाली)

को हि महानानन्दः ! समयग् ।
लोकाः प्राप्ता बहुसुखदम् ॥ ध्रु० ॥
मगधकन्यका रूपगुणाढ्या ।
उदयनचित्तहरा ।
बहु बहु नृत्यति चित्तमयूरो ।
धन्या हि पद्मावती मे सखीयम् ! ॥ १ ॥

तृतीयोऽङ्कः ।

वासवदत्ता— (जोगी-अद्धा)

दैवमिदं हस्तकं । ममेदं ।
पतिरपि जातो मम परकीयो ॥ ध्रु० ॥
संततदृश्यो हृदयानन्दो । सोऽपि गतो मे दूरमिदानीम् ॥ १ ॥

चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।

चेटी— (मिश्र-कवाली)

ननु पश्यतां, ननु पश्यताम् !
ननु सारसपंक्ते रम्यताम् ॥ ध्रु० ॥
शुभ्रकोकनदगुम्फितमाला । फेनसिता किं नभसि विशाला ॥
अथवा धरते वियति सुविमाला । गंगा विहगाकारताम् ॥

उद्यानवाटीसुमनोऽभिरामाः । आशा अधुना विहंगमकलाः ॥
याति सुखं मेऽपारताम् ॥ १ ॥

पद्मावती— (पहाडी-कवाली)

आर्यपुत्रसुखसंगमोहिता ।
नैव विजाने निजामवस्थाम् ॥ ध्रु०॥
दूरमुपगते राज्ञि क्षणमपि । व्याकुलचित्ता भवामि नितराम् ॥
प्रेमेदानीमीदृशमेतत् ॥ १ ॥

पंचमोऽङ्कः ।

राजा— (सोहनी-झंपा)

धिक् धिक् ! महाघोर- । संग्रामसभारं- ।
संछिन्नसकलाङ्ग- । सुभटोत्तरङ्गे ॥ ध्रु० ॥
गजवाजिनररुधिर- पाथोधिविस्तार । इह नष्ट एवाद्य । भविता रिपुर्मे ॥ १ ॥

षष्ठोऽङ्कः ।

भरतवाक्यम्— (भैरवी-अद्धा)

मुदितं मनो नितरामहो ।
जाता मही दुःखरहिता ॥ ध्रु० ॥
वत्साधिपो जायायुतो । अव्यादयं भूमिं चिरम् ॥
निरातङ्का निष्कलङ्का वीतशङ्का भवतु प्रजा ॥ १ ॥

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTEENTH SESSION – NAGPUR UNIVERSITY.

1946

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XVIII Majlis-e-Ulama	Dr. Mujtaba Hasan Kamoonpuri	,, Rafiuddin

Thirteenth All India Oriental Conference

PAERSA SUBMITTED FOR VARIOUS SECTIONS

I – VEDIC

1. Parenthesis in the Rgveda by Dr. V. G. Paranjpe.
2. Indra in the Atharvaveda by Dr. N.G. Shende.
3. Apri hymns in the Atharvaveda by prof. K. R. Potdar
4. The problem of the Galantas in the Rgveda Padapatha by Mr. C. G. Kashikar.
5. The three works of Rama Vajapeyin pertaining to the Katyayana Sulvasutra by Mr. S. D. Katre.
6. Ceographical data in the Rgveda by Dr. T. J. Kedar.
7. Yogic concepts in the Atharvaveda by Dr. B. S. Agnihotri.
8. Indra in the Epic by Prof. S. N. Gajendragadkar.
9. Golden Oriole and the golden Eagle in Sanskrit Literature by Mr. K. N. Dave.
10. Some Astronomical Inexactitudes in Sayana's Comm. of the Rgveda by Mr. B. R. Kulkarni.
11. Astronomical Highlights in the Rgveda by Mr. R. Krishnamurti.
12. Angirasa and Pratyangirasa Kalpa by Mr. V. W. Karambelkar.
13. Sati-Was it a Vedic rite ? by Prof. A. Awasthi.
14. Omens and Portents in Vedic Literature by Mr. V. R. Pandit.
15. Veda-vishleshana-prakāra-Paddhatih- by Pt. Gopinath Shastri.
16. Some symbological legends from the Shatapatha Brahamana by Dr. H. R. Karnik.
17. Periods in Vedic literature by Dr. H. C. Seth.
18. The Ashvins by Prof. V. A. Gadgil.
19. Some Samvada-suktas of the Rgveda by Prof. P. S. Shastri.

20. Some stray passages in the Parashara Grhyasutra by Mr, K. S. Shukla.
21. The natural basis of Varuna in the Rgveda by Dr. V. M. Apte.
22. The Arya in the Rgveda by Dr. A. D. Pusalkar.

II IRANIAN

1. Reading and Transcription of Pahlvi, by Dr. J. N. Unvala
2. Pazand **Dawur** and **Dawar** by Dastur Dr. M. Mirza..
3. The Exact Significance of the words **asta,ast, asti,** and **ashta** in the Avesta Literature ', by Prof. D.D. Kapadia.
4. Identification of the River Rangha Mentioned in the Avesta by Mr S. H. Batlivala.
5. River Daiti in the Avesta, by Mr. J. G. Tarapore
6. Aum and Ahunavar, by Mr. J. M. Desai.
7. Khorasan after the Arab Conquest, by Lt Col. M.S. Irani.
8. The Epithet "Aurushem" used for the star Tishtryar (Sirius) in Tishtrya Yast S. 2 by Homi R. Bana M Sc.
9. The Family of Zorathushtra by Irach J. S. Taraporewala, B. A. ,Ph. D. Bar-at-law.
10 Pahlavi Version of Yasna VIII– A critical study by E. M. F. Kanga, B. A.
11. First Pursishn of Datistan-i-Denik Eravad Maneck. F Kanga, B. A.
12. Iranian Sraosa and Indian Srausa by Sukumar Sen, Bhuvaneshwar.
13. Historical Events Leading to Appalling Drops in Zoroastrian Population in Iran in the 18th century. by Mr. K. A. Fitter.
14. Mhers-A Pretryan Tribe, by Mr. K. J. Dubash.
15. The Ethical concepts in the Gathas of lord Zoreshushtra' by Dr. P. N. Daroowala.
16. Interpretation of Yasna Ha XXXI 4, 5 and 6, by Nr. B. N. Desai

III. ISLAMIC

1. Rationalism in Islam – by Mr. Anisuddin Ahmad, Advocate, Nagpur.
2. Ibn–i–Katam ka pas Mansar– by Maulvi Syed Mahmood Sahib, M. A., Hyderabad– Dn.
3. Hamari Mushkilat ka Hul Talinat–i–Quran ki Roshni mer. – by Molvi Abdul Halmi Sahib, M. A., B. T., Hyderabad.
4. The Place of Islam in the History of Religious Evolution– by Dr. M. Zubair Ahmad Siddiqui of Calcutta University.
5. Ali Ibn–i–Jahm (An Arabic poet) –by Mr. Mohd. Daood Sahib of Lahore.
6. The Deccan is the birth-place of Islam– by M. G. M. Marakkayyar of Porto Novo (S. Arcot)
7. Marakkayyar Navigation– by Mr. M. G. M. Marakkayyar, Porto Novo–(S. Arcot).

IV. ARABIC AND PERSIAN

1. The Dutch Editoin of theTarikh of al-Tabari by Dr. B. A. Qurayshi.
2. Some Persian writings of Ghalif by Prof. Masud Hasan Rizvi.
3. Syed Ashrafuddin Ghaznavi and his Poetry, by Prof. Ghulam Mustafa
4. Iala UJagar Chand Ulfat and his unpublished works by Mr.Sayed Hasan Askari.
5. Some Indian Persian poets by Mr. M. Z. Fazlullah.
6. Some Historical and Geographical material in the Dewan of Farrukh, by Dr. Mohd Iqbal. M.A., ph. D.
7. Khurshah and his Tarikh-e-Elchi-e-Nizamshah, by Dr. T. N. Devare M. A., Ph. D., Poona.
8. The Tarikh-i-khan-i-Jahani, by Mr. S. M. Imamuddin, M. A.
9. Continuity of pure Arabic language in Arabic by Maulana Abdul Aziz., Aligarh.

V. CLASSICAL SANSKRIT

1. Chitra-Rasamanjari-by Ramnath Jha, Librarian Raj Darbhanga.

2. Some aspects of the Technique of the Anuvritti procedure in the Ashtadhyayi by Mr. S. P. Chaturvedi.

3. Venidatta-Son of Bhogi-His date and Works (Between A. D. 1300 and 1650) by Mr. K. Venkateswara Sarma, Trivandrum.

4. A Note on Cokkanathamakhin by Mr. E. Venkatesh Sharma, Trivandrum.

5. Interpretations in Shakuntala by Dr. K. Goda Varma, Trivandrum.

6. Theory of ध्वनि in Samskrit poetry, by Mr. H. Gande Rao.

7. Date of Subandhu's वासवदत्ता by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur.

8. The problem of कर्णभार by Mr. C. K, Bhat.

9. Bhava Bhatta by Mr K. Madhava Krishna Sharma.

10. Vachaspati Mishra's Indebtedness to Laxmidhara Bhatta by Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya.

11. Kavi Kamkana by Prof. N. A. Gore, Poona.

12. Jagannatha's criticism af Mammta- Areview-by Mr. Ratilal J. Jani Bhavnagar.

13. Gejendra-Moksha by Mr. L. R. Kulkarni.

14. Kalidasa and Kautilya, by Dr. V. Raghavan.

15. The date of Narayana Bhatta, by Mr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Madras.

16. Karma and Reincarnation in classical Sanskrit literature, by Mr. H. G. Narhari.

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12. Buddhist Antiquities from Adurru, by Dr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., Ph. D.

13. A new Kushana image of Indra in the Mathura Museum, by Mr. K. D. Bajpai, M. A.

XI- PHILOLOGY AND INDAN LINGUISTICS.

1. Polyglottism of Rahim, by Prof. P. K. Modi, M. A., LL. B.

2. The Root Ni in Old Indo-Aryan and Indo-European by Dr. Aryendra Sharma.

3. Certain Indo-Aryan Reconstructions by Dr. K. Godavarma, M. A., Ph. D.

4. Phonetic Reconstruction of Finals in old Chinese by Dr. Chou Tafu, Ph. D. (Bombay)

5. Selected words from western Radha speech by Mr. Panchanan Mondal

6. Language of the Charyapadas by Mr. Jayakanta Misra.

7. Foreigners and Indian names by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee.

8. Euphemism.

XII TECHNICAL SCIENCES.

1. Origin and development of the science of Agriculture in Ancient India, By Dr. G. P. Mazumdar.

2. Origin and development of the Art and Practice of Arborl-horticulture in Ancient India by Dr. G. P. Mazumdar.

XIII. DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURE

1. Some obsolete Kannada words and their forms by Prof. K. G. Kundangar.

2. Sacred Place-names of Tamil-nad by Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai.

3. Telugu prose-content in the Choda and Reddy Inscription by Mr. M. Upendra Sarma.

4. Iraryanar Ahapporul by Dr. A. C. Chettiar.

5. Telugu language in the I millemium A. D. by Mr. K.Ramakrishnayya.

6. A study of cases in Dravidian languages by Mr. Mariappa Bhat.

XIV. HINDI.

1. Namadeva and His Hindi verses, by Prof. Vinaya Mohan Sharma, Morris college, Nagpur.

2. डाकके संबघमें कुछ और बातें —by Mr. Jiwanand Thakur, Raj Library Darbhanga.

XV. MARATHI.

1. Introduction to verbal composition in Marathi by Dr. R. N. Vale, M. A., Ph., Bombay.

2. ज्ञानेश्वर and योगवासिष्ठ by Dr. S. D. Pendse, Nagpur.

3. Through Literature to Society, by Mr. V. B. Kulkarni, M. A.

4. मराठीतील आद्यकथा ग्रंथ.

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

13TH SESSION-NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

EXHIBITION

The Exhibition was arranged in the University Convocation Hall. The Exhibition Committee is indebted to twenty six persons and institutions which participated in the Exhibition. A list of their names with the kind of exhibits sent by them is furnished below.

1. University Library, Nagpur.......................................Manuscripts.
2. Central Museum, Nagpur..................Prehistoric finds, Copper plates Casts of Indian coins, Bronzes Paintings, Surface finds, Manuscripts & Photographs.
3. Raja Bahadur Raghoji Rao Bhonsle, Nagpur. ...Illuminated and illustrated manuscripts & Palm-leaf manuscripts.
4. Mr. Pratapsingh Bhonsle, Nagpur.......Manuscripts & Paintings.
5. „ V. M. Waikar, Nagpur................Manuscripts, Fabrics, Coins & Weapons.
6. „ Rambhau Salpekar, Nagpur..........Illustrated manuscript of Dnyaneshvari.
7. C. P. Research Society, Nagpur....... Manuscripts & Documents.
8. Morris College, Nagpur. ....Paintings.
9. Mrs. Lilabai Subhedar, Nagpur..........Paintings.
10. Mr. G. C. Tambe, Nagpur. ....Paintings.
11. „ S. N. Panchavatikar, Nagpur.......Paintings.
12. „ M. A. Suboor, Nagpur. ....Paintings.
13. Bhonsla Veda Shala, Nagpur. ....Manuscripts.
14. Mr. V. M. Dhoke, Nagpur. ....Manuscripts.
15. Govt. of the C. P. & Berar, Nagpur,...Documents.

16.	Mahakoshal Historical Society, Balapur (Bilaspur Distt.)	Coins, Documents, Manuscripts & Inscriptions.
17.	Sharadashram, Yeotmal.	Manuscripts, Documents, Paintings & Photographs.
18.	Ditector General of Archaeology, New-Delhi.	Terracottas & Photographs.
19.	Director of Archieves, New-Delhi.	Documents.
20.	Director of Archaeology, Gwalior.	Terracottas & Stone heads.
21.	Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad.	Finds from Kondapur, Paintings Photographs & Manuscripts.
22.	Director of Archaeology, Mysore.	Copper-plates & Photographs.
23.	Provincial Museum, Orissa.	Palm-leaf manuscripts, bronze & Coins.
24.	Kavibhushan Prof. B. G. Khaparde, Benares.	Manuscripts & Paintings.
25.	Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle.	Photographs & Sketches.
26.	Mr. V. V. Subhedar, Saugar.	Manuscripts, Paintings, & Clothes.

Besides these, the Central Museum, Nagpur had arranged an Exhibition of over 200 plates which were coloured reproductions illustrating the industrial arts of India.

All the exhibits were put in glazed show-cases except those which could be hung on the walls.

The delegates, members and citizens of Nagpur visited the exhibition in large numbers. The highly illuminated and illustrated manuscripts loaned by Raja-Bahadur Raghoji Rao Bhonsle and Mr. Salpekar were the principal attraction. Illustrations from the Palm-leaf manuscripts of Gitagovinda and Ushaharan from the Provincial Museum, Orissa were marvellous. The cast of Indian Coins and the bronzes from the Central Museum, Nagpur, were greatly admired. The large-sized reproductions to paintings from Ajanta and Ellora and the Photographs brought by the Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, lent an imposing air to the Exhibition. The illustrations of the Industrial arts of India also proved very interesting to the visitors.

S. S. Patwardhan, Convener.

13TH ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE,

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY, 1946.

MESSAGES RECEIVED TO THE CONFERENCE

His Excellency Sir F. C. Bourne,

Governor, Central Provinces and Berar and Chancellor, Nagpur University

It is a great honour to me to have been asked by the Chairman of the Reception Committee to act as Patron-in-Chief of the Nagpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. It would be presumptuious for me to make any observantions to you on the subjects you are met to discuss, as I cannot profess any significant acquaintance with Oriental scholarship. I have, however, had occasion to acquaint myself with the ancient literatures of Europe and still devote much of my spare time tn keeping myself in touch with those studies. I have always had a great admiration and respect for scholarship and am aware what valuable interracial and international links can be forged by the activities of genuine seekers after knowledge. After the dust and conflict of every-day existence it must be refreshing for you all to meet here in the rarified atmosphere of philosophical research.

I regret that owing to my absence from Nagpur I have not been able to attend any of your sessions, but I am happy to be associated with your activities though only in name, and I venture to send you all my very best wishes for a successful conference.

His Excellency Field Marshal, Sir Claude John Eyre Auchinleck
C. C. B, G. C. I. E., C. S I D. S. O., O. B. E., A. D. C.,
Commander-in-Chief in India, New Delhi.

His Excellency Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck thanks the Reception Committee of the 13th All-India Oriental Conference for their kind invitation to the Inaugural Meeting of the Session on Saturday the 19th October, but regrets he will not be able to attend.

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Member, Government Of India, New Delhi.

The Hon' ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel thanks the Reception Committee of the 13th All- India Oriental Conference for their very kind invitation to attend the inaugural meeting of the session, but regrets his inability to accept the same due to previous engagements.

Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Member for Food, Government of India, New Delhi.

I am sorry that it will not be possible for me to attend the session of the Oriental Conference which is going to be held at Nagpur. I need hardly assure you of my interest in Oriental Studies and wish your Conference every success.

Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Member for Industries & Supplies, Government of India, New Delhi.

The 13th All-India Oriental Conference has my very best wishes for success. I hope and pray that the Conference will continue to attract the best intellect in this country and that it will serve the best interests of Oriental Literatures and civilization.

Hon'ble Sir Shafat Ahmad Khan, Member for Education and Health, Government of India, New Delhi.

Hon' ble Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Member for Education & Health, thanks the Reception Committee of the 13th All-India Oriental Conference for their kind invitation to the Inaugural Meeting of the Session on Saturday, the 19th October and he would have been delighted to attend it but for his numerous previous engagements which he feels he must fulfil. He therefore deeply regrets his inability to attend.

Hon'ble Syed Ali Zaheer, Law Member of Council, Government of India, New Delhi.

The potentiality of your Conference to save India from the present centrifugal tendencies in our social and intellectual life on account of narrow political ideologies cannot be over-estimated. I wish your Conference every success.

Hon'ble C. H. Bhabha, Commerce Member, Government of India, New Delhi.

Hon'ble Mr. C. H. Bhabha thanks the Reception Committee of the 13th All India Oriental Conference for their kind invitation to the Inaugural Meeting but regrets his inability to attend due to previous engagements.

Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Aney, Representative of The Government of India in Ceylon, Havelock Town, Colombo.

I have already informed you about my difficulties and my deep regret at not being able to attend the Conference in person. It is indeed a great disappointment to me personally that I should miss this opportunity of meeting so many distinguished scholars and learned men of India who will be present there to take part in the Conference. I have no doubt it will be a great success.

My best regards for you and all those who have been working hard for the success of the Conference.

Mr. Panikkar, Prime Minister, Lallgarh Palace, Bikaner.

Wish present session of Oriental Conference under your distinguished Presidentship all success.

Minister of Education, Government of Bengal, Calcutta.

I sincerely wish that the deliberations of the All-India Oriental Conference will promote the study of Oriental Culture and Learning which made such a great contribution to the world.

Education minister, Government of Bihar, Ranchi.

Thanks for the invitation to the Oriental Conference. Regret inability to attend. Wish Conference all success.

Hon'ble Mohd. Yahya Khan, Minister of Education, North West Frontier Province, Peshawar.

Mohd. Yahya Khan regrets that owing to Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's visit, he is unable to attend the 13th All-India Oriental Conference He, however, sends his blessings and good wishes for the success of the Conference.

Hon'ble Mr. T. S. Avinashlingam, Minister for Education, Government of Madras, Fort St. George, Madras.

Thanks for your kind invitation for the 13th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Nagpur. With the coming in of Swaraj, the Oriental Conferences have increased in significance. There must be a revival of our own old culture and I have no doubt that your Conference will plan for a revival of all that is glorious in our own culture.

Sir A. L. Mudaliar, M. D., LL. D., D. Sc., F. R. C. O. G., F. A. C. S., Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras, Triplicane, Madras.

The Thirteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, which is being held at Nagpur under the auspiccs of the University, is meeting at a time when great changes are taking place both in India and outside. The Oriental Conference has alreaday established a great reputation as an authentic forum for discussions pertaining to Oriental Languages, Religion, Philosophy and other aspects of Art among Oriental Nations. It is to be sincerely hoped that the inclusion of all the diverse sections in one Oriental Conference will bring about a greater union between the sections representing different languages and a better understanding of the culture, history and traditions of the diverse races inhabiting this country.

I wish the Conference every success.

Vice-Chancellor Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

Wishing Conference success. May treasures of Indian Learning of South and North be broadcast to the World.

Lt. Col. Hasan, Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca.

Wish Conference every success.

Administrative Officer, University of Rangoon.

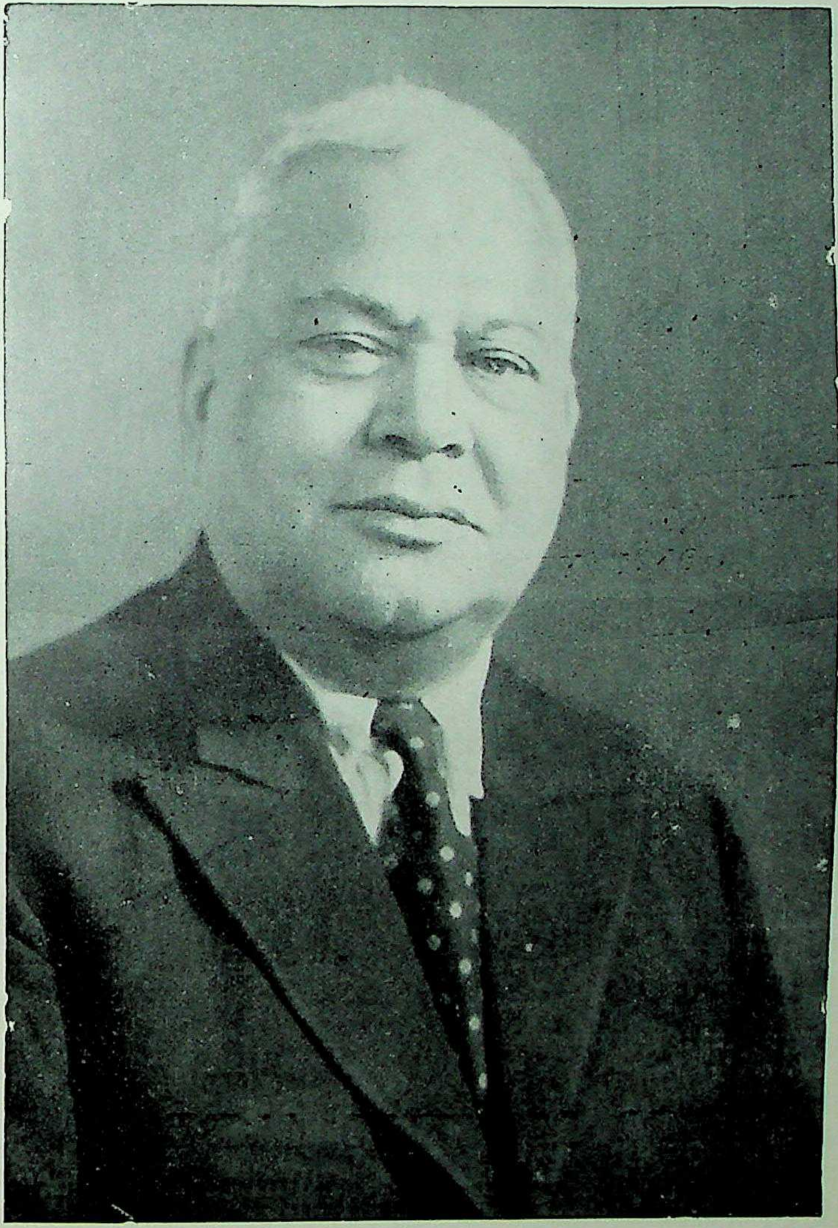
The University regrets it is unable to depute any representative to attend the Conference on this occasion owing to pressure of work in connection with Reconstruction work in the University. I am however to convey to you the cordial greetings of the University and our best wishes for the success of the Conference.

Muni Jinavijayaji, Director, Bharatiya Vaidya Bhavan, Bombay.

Extremely sorry cannot attend due to indifferent health. Wish Conference success. Greatly pleased to invite Conference for next session here on behalf of President and Committee of Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan. Please put before Committee for acceptance and oblige.

13TH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY, 1946.



LT. COL. W. R. PURANIK, B A., LL. B.,
Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University,
CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Dr Andreas Nell, 114, Reid Avenue, Colombo.

I regret travelling to India by a Ceylon man is considered at present out of the question. I deeply regret my enforced absence from the Conference, but wish it all success and I look forward to the Volume of Transactions.

Sir Maurice Guyer, Kasauli Club, Kasauli.

Sir Maurice Guyer greatliy regrets that sudden illness has prevented him from acknowledging the kind invitation of the Reception Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference at an earlier date, and begs that in the cricumstances the Committee will forgive the apparent discourtesy. He trusts that the Conference will be a complete success.

Mr. V. K. Maitland, Nagpur.

Mr. V. K. Maitland thanks the Reception Committee of the 13th All India Oriental Conference for their kind invitation to the Reception and the Inaugural Meeting of the Sesison which he much regrets not being able to attend on account of being on tour. He sends his best wishes for the success of the Conference.

Mr. Yazdani, New Delhi.

Owing to indifferent health much regret inability to attend. Wish the conference every success under its distinguished President.

अखिल भारतीय प्राच्य सम्मेलन
त्रयोदश अधिवेशन

स्वागताध्यक्ष :— श्री. वासुदेव रामचन्द्र पुराणिक, उपकुलगुरु,
— नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय —
का

भाषण

महामहोपाध्याय श्रीमान् पांडुरंग वामन काणे महोदय, पंडित द्वारकाप्रसादजी मिश्र; प्रतिनिधियों, देवियों तथा सज्जनों—

अपने तीस वर्षोंके इतिहासमें इस प्रान्तमें पहिली बार होनेवाले इस अखिल-भारतीय-प्राच्य-विद्या-सम्मेलन में आप सबका स्वागत करते हुए मुझे आज बड़ा हर्ष हो रहा है। भारत के भिन्न भिन्न भागोंसे आये हुये बहुसंख्यक विद्वानोंकी उपस्थितिसे हम गौरवान्वित हुए हैं। यह हमारे लिये विशेष अभिमान की बात है कि इस अधिवेशन के सभापति के आसनको प्रख्यात विद्वान महामहोपाध्याय श्री. पांडुरंग वामन काणेजी सुशोभित कर रहे हैं। पचास वर्षोंकी सतत—साहित्यिक—साधना के फलस्वरूप आपके सुप्रसिद्ध 'धर्मशास्त्र के इतिहास' का तृतीय भाग शीघ्र ही प्रकाशित हो रहा है। यदि धर्म वास्तवमें—जैसा कि कहा जाता है—हिंदू सामाजिक जीवन का केन्द्रीय भाव है—और इस विषय का इतना व्यवस्थित और पूर्ण विवेचन और कहीं नहीं है—तो हमारे सांस्कृतिक पुनर्निर्माण की दृष्टिसे इस ग्रन्थका जितना मूल्य आँका जाय, उतनाही थोड़ा है। हमारी उस मंगलमय भगवान से प्रार्थना है कि श्री० काणेजी को मानव-जीवन की परमायु-जो महात्मा गांधीके हिसाब से सवासौ सालकी है-पूर्ण स्वास्थ्य के साथ प्राप्त हो और वे अपनी शास्त्रसेवा द्वारा अपनी और अपनी मातृभूमि की कीर्तिको दिनोंदिन विस्तारित करते रहें।

स्वागत—

हमने प्रवासी प्रतिनिधियोंके आवास और सुविधाओं का यथाशक्ति आयोजन किया है। किन्तु यह याद दिलाने की शायद ही जरूरत हो कि आजकल हम सब भांति भांति के 'कंट्रोलों' के जालमें इस प्रकार फँसे हुए हैं कि—क्या साधारण जन और क्या विद्वज्जन,—सभीकी गति कुंठित सी हो गई है। और न हममें उन बड़ी देशी रियासतों की समता करने का सामर्थ्य है जिन्होंने कई बार इस

सम्मेलन का अतिथि-रूप में स्वागत कर स्वयं अपने को सम्मानित किया है। फिरभी, विश्वास रखिये कि नागपुरकी नवशरद् की स्फूर्ति-दायक गुलाबी ठंड और हमारे हृदयोंकी स्नेहभरी ऊष्मा-- दोनों में ही आपको लेशमात्र की कमी न मिलेगी।-- और मैं जानता हूं कि प्राची के विद्वान् अन्य चीज़ोंकी अपेक्षा इन्हींकी सब से ज्यादा कीमत करते हैं। आपके ठहरने के प्रबन्धमें कुछ न कुछ न्यूनतायें अवश्यही होंगी, पर मैं आशा करता हूं कि उनकी संख्या कम होगी और मेरे ही समान आप भी इसी निर्णयपर पहुंचेंगे कि अपनी निःस्वार्थ तत्परता, अथक परिश्रम और सजग दूरदर्शिता के कारण महामहोपाध्याय श्री. वासुदेव विष्णु मिराशीजी, डॉ० हीरालालजी जैन और सैयद आगा हैदर हसन अबीदी साहब सरीखे विद्वान् न केवल विचार--लोकहीमें स्वतंत्र रूपसे विचरण कर सकते हैं, किन्तु कर्मक्षेत्र में भी अपने संगठन-कौशल और कार्य-दक्षतासे हाथ में लिए हुए कार्योंको पूर्णतः सफल बना सकते हैं।

प्रान्तका इतिहास —

मध्यप्रान्त और बरार एक प्रकारसे भारतका हृदय-प्रदेश ही है। ऊपर से चाहे ऐसा न मालूम पड़े, पर वास्तवमें इस देशके जड़ और चेतन दोनोंहीका इतिहास बहुत प्राचीन है। इस प्रान्तके धरातलके एक बड़े भाग की गिनती संसार के प्राचीनतम धरातलों में की जाती है। पुराणों में तो कहा गया है कि नर्म्मदा का कछार भारतीय प्रलय में भी डूबने से बच रहा था। प्राचीनतम काल से इस भाग के निवासियों का सम्पर्क युद्ध, मैत्री और विवाह के रूपमें उत्तर और दक्षिण, पूर्व और पश्चिम के निवासियों से बराबर बना रहा है। कौशल, आभीर, वाकाटक, यादव, हैहय, गौंड पठान, मुगल और मराठोंने यहाँ समय समय पर आपनी राज्य-प्रतिष्ठा की है और सभीने, अपने अपने ढंगसे, इसके सांस्कृतिक वैभव की अभिवृद्धि की है-जिसके रत्नोंका अन्वेषण करना आप विद्वज्जनोंका कर्तव्य है। नागपुर विभाग के लिये यह बडे अभिमान की बात है कि उसके इतिहासके साथ भारतीय सांस्कृतिक आकाश के कालिदास, भारवि और नागार्जुन जैसे जाज्वल्यमान नक्षत्रोंका नाम सम्बद्ध है। वर्तमान काल में भी इस प्रान्त को अखिल-भारतीय-प्राच्यविद्या-सम्मेलनके छटवें अधिवेशन को उसके सभापति--स्व. डॉ. हीरालालजी को प्रदान करने का गौरव प्राप्त है। कहना न होगा आज इस विद्वत्परिषद् में डॉ. हीरालाल सरीखे विद्वद्रत्न को अपने बीचमें न देखकर हमें आज कैसा मार्मिक दुःख हो रहा है।

प्राच्य विद्या की समस्या —

मुझे यह जानकर परम प्रसन्नता हुई कि इस सम्मेलनमें करीब दो सौ प्रतिनिधि अपनी साहित्यिक और अनुसंधानात्मक कृतियां उपस्थित कर रहे हैं। उनके विश्लेषणात्मक कौशल, वजनदार दलीलें और विषयों की विभिन्नता से चकित हो मुझ जैसा साधारण व्यक्ति यही कहनेको विवश होता है कि--"सर्वं न्याय्यं युक्तिमत्वात् विदुषाम् किमशोभनम्"। इस परिषद्का संशोधन कार्य

बहुत कुछ भारतीय ऐतिहासिक और इतिहासातीत जीवनही से संबंध रखता है। यह सच है कि हम वर्तमान को भूतकाल के द्वारा ही समझ सकते हैं। फिर भी मैं यह सुझाने की धृष्टता करता हूं कि अतीत को समझने और उसकी व्याख्या करने की एकमात्र कुंजी 'वर्तमान' ही है। यदि हमें अजायब-घरोंकी वस्तुओं के वर्गीकरण-मात्र से ऊपर उठना है, तो हमें सदा स्मरण रखना चाहिये कि वे-जिनकी भाषा और विचार, आचार और व्यवहार, निवास और कौशल की हम आज व्याख्या कर रहे हैं, वे मानव ही थे,—हमारे समान ही बुद्धि, भावना और इच्छा से पूर्ण मानव। उनकी परिस्थितियां अवश्य भिन्न थीं और उनके साधनोंकी कृत्रिमता हमारे साधनोंकी कृत्रिमतासे बहुत कम: किन्तु हमारे और उनके कार्यकलापों के स्रोत वस्तुतः एक ही हैं। और इस दृष्टिसेही हमें उनकी वाणी और आचार की व्याख्या करनी चाहिये। हमें शताब्दियों से विद्वानोंके हृदयप्रदेशमें रस बरसाने वाली भाषाओं और उनके साहित्यके गूढ़तम रहस्यको समझनेकी चेष्टा करनी चाहिये। मैं उन व्यक्तियों में से हूँ जिनका विश्वास है कि हमारी प्राचीन भाषायें और साहित्य न केवल भारत में बल्कि उसके बाहर भी मानव जातिके कल्याण की एक शक्तिशाली साधन बनाई जा सकती हैं। परन्तु छोटे छोटे कृत्रिम उपायोंसे काम नहीं चलेगा। यदि हम चाहते हैं कि ये भाषायें हमारे विवाह या मरण के सिवाय अन्य अवसरोंपर भी काममें आवें तो हमें चाहिये कि हम उनके गहनतम सौन्दर्य को प्रकाश में लावें और उनकी आभा इस प्रकारसे संसारके सम्मुख रखें कि वह सरलतासे उसे हृदयंगम कर सके।

परिषदोंका महत्त्व:—

विद्वानोंके ऐसे सम्मेलन वर्तमानकालमें समाज के लिये बहुत कुछ कार्य करते हैं जो पुराने जमाने में तीर्थ-यात्राएं किया करती थीं। ये परिषदें देशके एक भागके विद्वानोंको दूसरे भाग के विद्वानोंके साक्षात् सम्पर्क में लाती हैं। इस अवसरपर हमें ग्रन्थोंको- जो सदासे सांस्कृतिक मध्यस्थोंका कार्य करते आये हैं—थोड़ी देर के लिये हटा देना हैं। पुस्तकें, प्रकृतिके समान, आत्माको आधी प्रकट और आधी गुप्त रखती हैं। परंतु ऐसे सम्मेलनोंमें आत्माका आत्मासे सीधा साक्षात्कार सा हो जाता है। और इससे जो लाभ होता है वह केवल बौद्धिक ही नहीं होता। इस प्रकारकी सर्व-जातीय एवं सर्व-प्रांतीय परिषदें जिनमें हिन्दू, मुसलमान, पारसी और ईसाई विचार-धाराओंका संगम होता है राष्ट्रकी उन समस्याओं को चुपचाप हल करनेमें सहायक होती हैं जिन्हें कोरे राजनीतिज्ञ अभीतक सुलझा नहीं सके हैं। यदि आज अछूतोद्धार में हमें कुछ विजय मिली है, तो वह विश्वविद्यालयके छात्रावासों में ही प्राप्त हुई है। मैं तो यह कहनेका साहस करता हूं कि देशकी साम्प्रदायिक समस्याएं भी अन्त में इसी प्रकारकी विद्वत्परिषदों में ही हल होंगी। दूसरे क्षेत्रोंमें हम किसीभी प्रकारकी भिन्नता क्यों न मानें, पर साहित्य-मंदिरमें विद्वानों की गीतांजलि एक कंठसेही अर्पित की जाती है। यहां हम अपने सहप्रतिनिधियों के भावों, विचारों और कृतियों में उस बौद्धिक सहानुभूति के साथ प्रवेश करते हैं, जो परस्परकी दुर्भावनाओं के अन्त करनेका अमोघ शस्त्र है—क्यों कि---

"विद्वानेव हि जानाति विद्वज्जन-परिश्रमम्"।

देशी भाषाओंका माध्यम—

एक और प्रश्न है जो भारतीय विश्व-विद्यालयों के सामने कुछ समयसे उपस्थित है। उसे मैं आप लोगों के सामने रख रहा हूं-यह केवल इसलिये नहीं कि इस सम्बन्धमें आपकी दिलचस्पी एकाग्र होकर कोई व्यावहारिक रूप धारण करे, परन्तु इस लिये भी कि मुझे—और उन सब व्यक्तियों को जिनका विश्वविद्यालयों से सम्बन्ध है,—मार्ग—निर्देश में आपके परामर्श का लाभ प्राप्त हो सके। देशी भाषाओं को उच्च शिक्षाके माध्यम के रूपमें व्यवहृत करने में कुछ अडचनें अवश्य हैं। पर उन्हें पार करना ही होगा। विशेषतः विज्ञान और उद्योग—संबंधी विषयों में शब्दावलि—संबंधी अडचनें कुछ अधिकसी जान पडती हैं, क्योंकि ये विद्यायें अभी तक ठेठ पाश्चात्य वेषभूषाही में हैं। औरों के साथ नागपुर विश्व—विद्यालय और प्रान्तीय सरकार इस प्रश्नको हल करने की चेष्टा कर रही है। और मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि उन्हें निकट भविष्यमें पूर्ण सफलता प्राप्त होगी। किन्तु जहांतक प्राच्य—विद्या—परिषद का सम्बन्ध है, उसमें प्राचीन भारतके जीवन और संस्कृति की ही विशेष रूपसे चर्चा होती है। अतः यह प्रश्न उठता है कि क्या उन विद्वानों को जिनकी मातृभाषा एक भारतीय भाषा है, अपने पूर्व—पुरुषों के जीवन के सम्बंध में लिखने और बोलने में एक सात हजार मील दूर के द्वीपकी भाषाका व्यवहार करना बिल्कुल अनिवार्य है? प्राच्यविद्या—परिषद में इन विषयों के अनुसन्धान के लिये देशी भाषाओं के प्रयोग में मैं नही समझता कि कोई भारी अडचन आ सकती है,—इनके पारिभाषिक—शब्दोंकी संख्याभी कुछ अधिक नहीं है। मुझे विश्वास है कि—यदि इस परिषद के इस अधिवेशन में नही, तो कमसे कम इसके आगामी अधिवेशन में—जब भारतीय विद्वान अब किसी भारतीय नगर में एकत्र होकर भारतीय विषयोंपर अपने भारतीय बन्धुओं से चर्चा करेंगे तो यह चर्चा किसी भारतीय भाषाही में होगी। इस प्रकार आप लोगोंके अनुप्राणित करनेवाले मौलिक विचारों की धारासे देशी भाषाओं का साहित्य अधिकाधिक श्रीसम्पन्न बन सकेगा।

उद्घाटन —

जैसा कि आप जानते हैं, इस सम्मेलनका उद्घाटन हमारे वयोवृद्ध आदरास्पद प्रधान मंत्री पंडित रविशंकरजी शुक्ल के हाथों होने वाला था। परंतु विवश होकर उन्हें आज राजकाज के लिये दिल्ली जाना पडा है। अतः इस अवसर पर उपस्थित न हो सकनेके लिये उन्होंने मुझे आप लोगोंसे क्षमा-याचना करनेका आदेश दिया है। बडे हर्ष का विषय है कि उनके सुयोग्य सहयोगी, राजभारती और साहित्य—सरस्वती-दोनोंकेही प्रांगण के कुशल खिलाड़ी, माननीय पंडित द्वारकाप्रसादजी मिश्रने हमारे आग्रह से उन के स्थान में पधारने की कृपा की है। वे हमारे बीचमें आज न केवल हमारे राष्ट्रीय जीवन के एक नेता के रूप में आये हैं, किन्तु—इससे भी अधिक—वे एक प्रतिभाशाली कलाकार की हैसियत से उपस्थित हैं—जिन्होंने अपने प्रकाशितप्राय महाकाव्य "कृष्णायन" में महाभारत—कालकी राजनैतिक पृष्ठभूमिपर भारतीय संस्कृतिका शक्तिशाली और रंगीन चित्र अंकित किया है। मुझे विश्वास है कि इस कृतिसे न केवल हिन्दी कविता-साहित्य की श्रीवृद्धि होगी, प्रत्युत विद्वानोंको तत्कालीन, सामाजिक और राजनैतिक जीवन के चढाव—उतार और अन्दोलनों और प्रत्यान्दोलनों का मर्म समझनेमें सहायता मिलेगी। इस अवसरपर मैं आप सबकी ओर से उनका हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ और उनसे प्रार्थना करता हूँ कि वे अखिल—भारतीय—प्राच्य विद्या—सम्मेलन के तेरहवें अधिवेशनका उद्घाटन करनेकी कृपा करें।

प्राच्य विद्या परिषद्

त्रयोदश अधिवेशन

नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय १९४६

श्रीमान् पंडित द्वारकाप्रसादजी मिश्र,

मंत्री, मध्यप्रान्त और बरार

का

उद्घाटन-भाषण

सभागत विद्वद्वृन्द तथा अन्य सभ्यगण,

अखिल भारतीय प्राच्य विद्या-परिषद् के त्रयोदश अधिवेशन के उद्घाटन का सम्मानपूर्ण कार्य इस प्रदेश के प्रधान मंत्री माननीय पण्डित श्री. रविशंकर जी शुक्ल को सौंपा गया था, परंतु उनके अचानक देहली चले जाने के कारण जिस प्रकार सेक्रेटैरियट कि उनकी फाइलें मेरे हाथों पड़ीं उसी प्रकार यह कार्य भी उनके प्रतिनिधि के नाते ही मुझे दिया गया है। परंतु मैं आप सब सज्जनों को विश्वास दिलाना चाहता हूं कि उनके द्वारा मुझ पर छोड़ा हुआ अन्य कार्य चाहे मुझे भारस्वरूप लगे, परंतु आप लोगों की सेवा के कार्य में तो मुझे आनद ही आनंद है। कुछ क्षणों के लिए ही सही, राजनीति के पंक से निकल भगवती सरस्वती के पुत्रों की सत्य, शिव तथा सुन्दर वाणी को सुनने का अवसर पाकर कौन प्रसन्नता का अनुभव न करेगा? अतएव मैं हर्ष-निर्भर हृदय से प्रांत के राजा तथा रंक, साक्षर तथा निरक्षर, सभी वर्गों के लोगों की ओर से आपका सादर तथा सप्रेम स्वागत करता हूं।

इस परिषद् का यह तेरहवां अधिवेशन है। इसका जन्म हुए आज २७ वर्ष व्यतीत हो चुके है। प्रायः प्रति तीसरे वर्ष इसका अधिवेशन देश के विभिन्न प्रांतों तथा रियासतों में होता आया है। कई वर्ष पूर्व स्वर्गीय रायबहादुर हीरालाल ने इस परिषद् को इस प्रान्त में निमंत्रित करने का असफल उद्योग किया था। नागपुर के अधिकारी-गण ने आज उस प्रयत्न को सफल कर न केवल उस विद्वान की मृतात्मा की इच्छा की पूर्ति की है, वरन् समस्त प्रांत को गौरवान्वित किया है। इस मुख्य कार्य के लिए मैं नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय को अभिनंदन करता हूं।

इस प्रदेश का प्राचीन गौरव अन्य प्रांतों के जन--साधारण को चाहे ज्ञात न हो, परंतु आप विद्वानों से तो वह छिपा नहीं है, क्योंकि उसको प्रकाश में लाने में आप ही का हाथ रहा है। पुण्यसलिला नर्मदा से सिंचित तथा विंध्यगिरिमाला से विभूषित यह भूमिभाग भारतीय इतिहास के प्रत्येक युग में प्रख्यात रहा है। रामायण तथा महाभारत के अत्यंत प्राचीन काल को छोड़ दें तो भी ऐतिहासिक युग के वाकाटक तथा कलचुरिक राजवंशों की कीर्ति भारतवर्ष के इतिवृत्त में अमर रहेगी। इस स्थान से ३० मील दूर उत्तम-पूर्व में स्थित रामटेक (रामगिरि) महाकवि कालिदास के अमर खण्डकाव्य मेघदूत की रचना का स्थान है। सुप्रसिद्ध बौद्ध दार्शनिक नागार्जुन इसी भूभाग में उत्पन्न हुए थे। यह तो सर्व-विदित है ही कि महाकवि भवभूति का जन्म इसी प्रांत में हुआ था। मुझे पूर्ण विश्वास है कि महान् सम्राटों, दार्शनिकों तथा कवियों को जन्म तथा प्रेरणा देनेवाली इस भूमि में पदार्पण कर आप भी संतोष तथा आनंद का अनुभव करेंगे।

आप सब विद्वान् जिस महान् कार्य में लगे हुए हैं उसमें थोड़ा-बहुत आपका हाथ इस प्रांत के विद्वानों ने भी बँटाया है। स्वर्गीय डॉ॰ हीरालाल के संबंध में तो कुछ कहना ही नहीं है, क्योंकि वे तो आपकी इस परिषद् के एक अधिवेशन के अध्यक्ष ही रह चुके हैं। श्रीयुत मिराशी जी अखिल भारतीय कीर्ति-प्राप्त विद्वान् हैं। श्री॰ यशवंत खुशाल देशपाण्डे का नाम विद्वन्मण्डली में सुपरिचित है और भविष्य में देश तथा प्रांत दोनों को उनसे बड़ी बड़ी आशायें है। श्रीयुत हीरालाल जी जैन ने जैन साहित्य तथा इतिहास के उद्धार के लिए स्तुत्य कार्य किया है। श्री सरस्वतीप्रसादजी चतुर्वेदीने संस्कृत व्याकरण के क्षेत्र में अखिल भारतीय विद्वानों का ध्यान अपनी ओर आकर्षित किया है और पाणिनि की अष्टाध्यायी पर लिखे हुए उनके लेख गवेषणा-पूर्ण हैं। श्री हरिश्चंद्रजी सेठ अथशास्त्र के व्याख्याता हैं, परंतु प्राचीन इतिहास पर अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण लेख लिख चुके हैं। पण्डित कामताप्रसाद जी गुरु ने हिन्द का सर्वश्रेष्ठ व्याकरण लिख कर अन्तर्प्रान्तीय ख्याति प्राप्त की है। श्री लोचनप्रसाद जी पाण्डेय तो अनेक वर्षों से इस प्रान्त के इतिहास की खोज में लगे हुए हैं और विद्वानों के सुपरिचित हैं। श्री करुणाशंकर जी दवे छिपे हुए विद्वान् हैं। भारतीय पक्षियों के नाम-रूप की खोज करते करते वे वेदों तक पहुँच गये हैं। मुझे विश्वास है कि जब उनका ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित होगा तो वेदों की कई ऋचाओं पर नवीन प्रकाश पड़ेगा। कुछ वर्षों से श्री मुनि कान्तिसागर जीने पुरातत्व—अन्वेषण के क्षेत्र में प्रवेश किया है और जिन्हें उनका संग्रह देखने का सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ है वे उनकी लगन की भूरि भूरि प्रशंसा करते हैं। इस दिशा में नागपुर विश्व-विद्यालय के वर्तमान वाइस चैन्सलर कितने प्रयत्नशील हैं इसका प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण यही है कि उन्हीं के प्रधान उद्योग से आज यहां यह परिषद् हो रही है। परंतु मेरा यहां यह कहना अत्युक्ति न होगी कि इस प्रान्त के साधारण पठित समाज की भी अपने प्राचीन इतिहास तथा संस्कृति के प्रति अभिरुचि है। उसका सबसे बड़ा उदाहरण यही है कि इस प्रदेश के दो प्रधान भूमिखण्डों के प्राचीन नामों, महाकोशल तथा विदर्भ से आज यहां का बच्चा बच्चा परिचित है। मुझे आशा है कि आपकी कार्यवाही के प्रति लोग पूर्ण अभिरुचि प्रकट करेंगे।

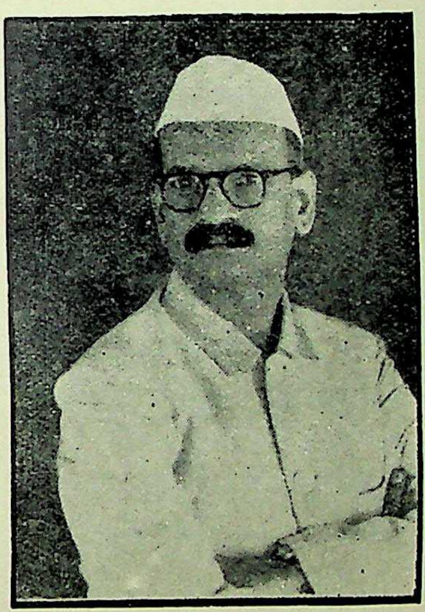
जिस परिषद् में भाग लेने के लिए आप लोग यहां एकत्र हुए हैं, उसकी उपयोगिता और महत्व के संबंध में चार शब्द कहना अनुपयुक्त न होगा । इस परिषद् का मुख्य उद्देश्य भारतीय वाङ्मय और संस्कृति के विभिन्न अंगों पर प्रकाश डालना तथा उसके संबंध में जन-श्रद्धा उत्पन्न करना है । काल के कठिन करों द्वारा हमारी संस्कृति के समुज्ज्वल रूप पर जो अज्ञानअंधकार का पर्दा पड़ा है, उसे ज्ञान-ज्योति के द्वारा निकाल कर पुनः उच्चासन पर आसीन करना है । वैदिक वाङ्मय से लेकर वर्तमान भाषाओं के साहित्य तक-- भिन्न भिन्न क्षेत्र में संशोधन और अनुसंधान में निष्णात आप सब विद्वानों के सहयोग से ही परिषद् का ध्येय सिद्ध हो सकता है । देश के सांस्कृतिक जीवन के स्तर को उन्नत करना तथा उसके स्वाभाविक विकास के मार्ग को प्रशस्त बनाना, इस परिषद् का पवित्र कार्य है । प्राचीन संस्कृति का गौरव पूर्ण चित्र जनता के सम्मुख उपस्थित कर संस्कृति-प्रेम के द्वारा राष्ट्र-प्रेम की ओर जन-मत को प्रेरित करना, एक ऐसा भव्य कार्य है कि जिसमें प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को यथाशक्ति योग देना चाहिए ।

इस परिषद् के आज तक के कार्यों की प्रगति को देख कर प्रत्येक संस्कृति-प्रेमी भारतीय का हृदय अभिमान का अनुभव कर सकता है । इसका प्रथम अधिवेशन पूना में भाण्डारकर प्राच्य विद्या-संशोधन संस्था के तत्त्वावधान में हुवा था । उस अधिवेशन में महाभारत का उत्तम प्रामाणिक संस्करण प्रकाशित करनेका जो सराहनीय उपक्रम किया गया था, वह बड़ी सफलता से संपादित किया जा रहा है । परिषद् के विभिन्न अधिवेशनों में पढ़े गये निबंधों को, जो विशालकाय बराह जिल्दों में प्रकाशित हुए हैं, देखने से स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि आधुनिक भारतीय विद्वान्, प्राचीन वाङ्मय और इतिहास के अन्तस्तल में प्रवेश कर अमूल्य ज्ञान-निधि को प्रकाश में ला रहे हैं । इस परिषद की प्रेरणा के फलस्वरूप, आज प्रयाग और मद्रास में दो समृद्ध संशोधन-संस्थायें, जो दो प्रसिद्ध भारतीय विद्वान् महामहोपाध्याय डा. गंगानाथ झा और महामहोपाध्याय पंडित कुप्पुस्वामी आयंगर की पूज्य स्मृति में स्थापित की गयी हैं, प्रशंसनीय कार्य कर रही हैं । किंबहुना, आज देश में जो प्राच्यविद्या-संबंधी गवेषणात्मक अध्ययन तथा संशोधन-प्रवृत्ति भारतीय विश्व-विद्यालयों और शिक्षा-संस्थाओं में दृष्टिगोचर हो रही है, उसका सारा श्रेय इस परिषद् को है । परिषद् के कार्य-क्षेत्र की व्यापकता का अनुमान इसी से लग सकता है कि इसमें १८ विभाग हैं । इसमें न केवल भाषा और वाङ्मय किन्तु इतिहास, धर्म, दर्शन, पुरातत्त्व आदि अनेक विषयों का समावेश है । आज देशमें इन विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में स्वतंत्र परिषदें प्रशंसनीय कार्य कर रही हैं । किन्तु उनके कार्यों का समन्वय, समीकरण तथा मूल्यांकन इस परिषद् जैसी व्यापक संस्था ही कर सकती है । इस दृष्टि से भी इस परिषद् का महत्त्व है ।

इस अधिवेशन के मनोनीत अध्यक्ष सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान महामहोपाध्याय श्री पांडुरंग वामन काणे जी हैं । आपने अलंकार-शास्त्र तथा धर्मशास्त्र पर जो गंभीर एवं विद्वन्मान्य ग्रन्थ लिखे हैं उनसे आपकी कीर्ति भारत में ही नहीं किन्तु समस्त भूमंडल में जहां जहां विद्या और ज्ञान का आदर है, अमर हो गयी है । ऐसे विद्या-वयोवृद्ध, ज्ञान-व्यासंगी तथा अध्यवसायशील अध्यक्ष को पाकर यह अधिवेशन अभूतपूर्व सफलता प्राप्त करेगा यह मेरा दृढ विश्वास है ।

13TH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY, 1946.



HON'BLE PANDIT D. P. MISHRA, B.A., LL.B., D. LITT.
Home Minister, C. P. & Berar
who inaugurated the Session of the Conference.

यदि आप विद्वद्वर्य धृष्टता न समझें तो इस स्थल पर मैं छोटे-मोटे दो सुझाव उपस्थित करना चाहूंगा। इसमें संन्देह नहीं कि आधुनिक संशोधन पद्धति का भारतीय अध्ययन में उपयोग करन का प्रारंभ पाश्चात्य विद्वानों ने ही किया है और इसके लिए भारतीय बुध-समाज उनका चिर-कृतज्ञ रहेगा। परंतु उन्होंने जिस 'ओरिएँटल' (Oriental) अर्थात् 'प्राच्य' शब्द का प्रचार किया वह उन्हीं की दृष्टि से था। अब जब कि भारतीय इतिवृत्त तथा संस्कृति के पुनरुद्धार का क्षेत्र प्रमुखतया भारतीयों के हाथ में आगया है तब इस विशेषण को चलाते जाना कहां तक उचित होगा यह आप लोगों के लिए विचारणीय है। मुझे विदित हुआ है कि इस अधिवेशन में आप परिषद् के नियमों आदि में संशोधन करने वाले हैं क्या यह उपयुक्त न होगा कि साथ ही साथ आप परिषद् के साथ जुड़े हुए ओरिएँटल (प्राच्य) विशेषण पर भी विचार कर लें और अपने कार्य-क्षेत्र को ध्यान में रखते हुए परिषद्का नामकरण कर लें?

मेरा दूसरा सुझाव इस महाकोशल-विदर्भ प्रान्त के इतिहास की ओर कुछ अधिक ध्यान देने के संबंध में है। कुछ वर्षों से नर्मदा-तट पर जन्म लेने वाली प्राचीन सभ्यता की ओर विद्वानों का ध्यान आकर्षित हुआ है, परंतु विशेष प्रगति नहीं हुई है। त्रिपुरी, मान्धाता आदि कई इतिहास-प्रसिद्ध स्थान इस प्रांत में हैं, परंतु अभी तक वहाँ खुदाई होने का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं हुआ है। यदि आप महानुभाव इस ओर ध्यान दें तो आपकी प्रेरणा से कार्यारंभ हो सकता है। इससे इस मध्यवर्ती प्रान्त का ही नहीं, समस्त भारत का हित होगा। मेरा दृढ विश्वास है कि इस समय उत्तर भारत तथा दक्षिण भारत के इतिहास में एक-सूत्रता का जो अभाव है उसका मूल कारण इस प्रान्त के इतिहास की खोज में असावधानी ही है। भौगोलिक दृष्टि से यह प्रान्त जिस प्रकार उत्तर और दक्षिण के आवागमन का मार्ग है उसी प्रकार दोनों के इतिहास की संबद्धता में भी यहाँ के इतिवृत्त का उद्धार सेतु का काम देगा। मैं प्रान्तीय सरकार की ओर से आपको विश्वास दिलाता हूं कि इस दिशा में आप जो भी उद्योग करेंगे उस में वह आपकी सभी प्रकार से सहायता करने के लिये प्रस्तुत रहेगी।

अंत में मैं फिर अपना आनंद व्यक्त करता हूं कि ऐसे मंगलकार्य को आरंभ करने का अवसर मुझे मिला और आप सब विद्वानों की अनुमति से मैं इस अखिल भारतीय परिषद के त्रयोदश अधिवेशन का उद्घाटन करता हूं।

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS AT THE 13TH SESSION OF THE ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE HELD AT NAGPUR

On 19th October 1946 (M. M P. V. Kane)

नानाविधे शास्त्रसरित्प्रवाहे
गता यदीया धिषणाऽमलत्वम् ।
पुराणिकाख्यैर्विदुषां प्रधानै-
रहामि युक्तान् परिषत्स्थितान्वः ॥

The Hon'ble the Prime Minister, Mr. Vice-chancellor, Patrons, Donors brother Delegates and Members of the conference, Ladies and Gentlemen—

I am profoundly grateful to you for conferring on me the highest honour within the gift of All India Oriental Scholars viz the office of the President of this 13th Session of the All India Oriental Conference. By your choice you have placed me, though undeserving, on a level with such renowned and revered scholars as Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, Prof. Levi, Sir Ganganath Jha, Dr. Sir J. J. Modi, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri. I do not flatter myself that I possess any special qnalifications for this unique honour nor can I claim that I have been a lifelong and single-minded devotee of the cause of learning in general or of oriental studies in particular. For nearly forty years my loyalties have been divided between Law and Literature with the result, I am afraid, that I have not been able to do satisfactory work in any of the two departments. During the last 27 years that the All India Oriental Conference has been functioning only once did the choice of the Presidentship fall upon a practising lawyer, the late Dr. K. P, Jayaswal an eminent advocate of Patna who presided over the 7th Session held at Baroda. But Jayaswal stands in a separate category by himself. His contributions to the ancient History of India and Oriental studies are great and of abiding value and more than any other writer of the 20th century he is the embodiment of the spirit of modern Indian scholarship. In electing me as President you were probably guided by your solicitude to encourage men engaged in other professions to devote their spare time to the pursuit of Oriental studies. It gives me great pleasure in being called upon to occupy the same office that was adorned by my *paramaguru*, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar who was the teacher of my teacher, the late professor H. M. Bhadkamkar of Wilson College, Bombay. In the midst of great diffidence I hope that with the hearty co-operation and wise guidance of you all I may be able to carry out satisfactorily the responsibilities of my office.

A little later on a comprehensive resolution of condolence on the sad death of several scholars will be placed before you. The hand of Death has been rather busy among Oriental scholars since we met at Benares. With your leave I shall make special reference to some scholars not only because their work in their respective spheres was of outstanding merit but also because they were personally known to me.

On 6th October 1944 Prof. Arthur Berriedale Keith, one of the most eminent of Western Sanskrit scholars in the present century, passed away. He had a keen and versatile intellect and great sympathy with the political aspirations of modern India. He was equally at home in Sanskrit Literature and constitutional law. Several works of great merit in both these departments were published by him. Among his numerous works 'the Vedic Index' (prepared in collaboration with Prof. Macdonell) 'The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads', 'History of Sanskrit Literature' and 'the Sanskrit Drama' will claim the admiration and close attention of all Sanskrit scholars for many years. We must feel great gratitude for his constant efforts to place the Literature and Philosophies of India before a large circle of western readers.

Dr. Sham Sastry took the world of scholars by surprize when in 1909 he published for the first time the whole of Kautilya's Arthasastra. Later on he offered to all scholars interested in ancient Indian History and state administration a learned translation of that difficult work. The number of works and articles in English and other languages inspired by the appearance of Kautilya's Arthasastra is legion. And its influence and usefulness are still on the increase. Dr. Sham Sastry was also a profound student of ancient Indian astronomy and the Vedic sacrificial system.

Pro. S. H. Hodiwala who was my Professor of Political Economy about 45 years ago was a powerful speaker and a very versatile and accurate scholar. His studies in Parsi History, in Mughal numismatics and in Indo-Muslim History show his vast reading and his great industry and entitle him to an eminent rank among scholars.

In the premature death of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit Orientalists lost a scholar who was equally at home in Sanskrit Literature, in the decipherment of inscriptions on stone and copper, in archaeological excavations and conservation. He had a distinguished career in the Bombay University and carried away almost all scholarships and prizes awarded in Sanskrit at the several examinations from the Matriculation to the M. A. At one time he thought of becoming a Professor of Sanskrit at a college in Bombay. But kindly Providence arranged his destiny otherwise. He finally decided to stick to the Archaeological department and was appointed permanent *Director-General* of *Archaeology*. During his official career he did most distinguished work at Mohenjo-daro, Paharpur and Ramnagar. He retired only two years ago and many Societies and Institutions had begun to utilize his expert advice and great influence in the furtherance of Oriental scholarship. But cruel Fate snatched him too soon.

At Benares, due to mistaken identity, Dr. Jean Philippe Vogel was included among those whose loss was a great blow to Oriental scholarship. We are, however all glad to learn that the great Dutch *savant* is hale and hearty. It appears from the Journal of the Greater India Society for July 1945, where an extract from his letter to Dr. Chhabra is printed that it was his brother J. Th. Vogel that was killed and by mistake obituary notices appeared even in American Journals about Dr. J. Ph. Vogel. There is a popular belief in India that when a false rumour spreads about a person's death, the person concerned is assured of a very long life. Let us all fervently hope that to Dr. Vogel may be vouchsafed a very long life and many years of strenuous literary activity.

The first session of the All India Oriental Conference was held at Poona in 1919. During the 27 years that have elapsed the Conference held its Sessions in different parts of our country. The Conference has rendered a great service by enabling scholars engaged in the pursuit of the same subjects tomeet together to form personal friendships and to exchange views. It also serves to awaken and maintain interest in our literature, history, art, religions and philosophies among thousands of common people and it has enriched research by means of the addresses of the Presidents, the section Presidents, Chairmen of the Reception Committees and by the large number of papers submitted by hundreds of scholars. But it is now high time that the Conference took in hand some undertakings of a permanent and comprehensive character. The sphere of the work of the Conference is vast. It must reorganize itself, take steps to build up a large permanent fund and provide a trained paid or honorary staff at its central office.

At Benares it was resolved that the central office of the conference should for the present be located at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Since then the Conference has been registered as a Society under the Societies Registration Act of 1860 and the Executive Committee appointed a subcommittee to consider the rules drafted by me and Prof. Nilakantha Sastri and to prepare a final draft that should govern the work of the Conference. Those rules will be considered by the Council during these three days.

Some of my distinguished predecessors took a review of the work done and articles published in various branches of Indology during the two years preceding the session of the Conference over which they respectively presided. I do not claim to possess the ablility of properly valuing the work done in the various fields of Oriental research nor have I had the time to do so even if I possessed the ability. During the last several months most of us have been passing through anxious and unsettled times, what with strikes of all kinds and what with communal riots and political tension. It has been often difficult to sit down calmly to read or write anything. Further our section Presidents are experts in their respective spheres and are the most roper persons to deal with and evaluate the work done in their respective subjects since the conference met at Benares. I propose to deal with certain practical problems that concern all persons interested in Oriental research and Indian culture and that require immediate attention from the Conference as a body and also from individual scholars.

The first undertaking that the conference should embark upon now when it has got a central office of its own is the preparation and publication of an Annual Bibliography of the progress of Oriental studies. The Annual should be somewhat on the model of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published for many years by the Kern Institute of Leyden but should be far more comprehensive in scope and contents. It should contain a list of all Sanskrit, Avestic, Prakrit, Persian Arabic texts published in India and abroad, a list of all scholarly works relating to the literature and antiquities of India published anywhere in the world in any language and of the reviews thereof, comprise a brief statement of the research articles on Oriental subjects contributed in all the journals and the results arrived at in them and also state, as far as possible, what works are undertaken for publication in the near future by the several series. The Bibliography should not contain original research contributions and may be published quarterly or half-yearly if so advised. Such an undertaking will be of great use to all scholars residing in the nooks and corners of India and prevent much duplication of work. That such an undertaking can very easily be taken in hand and carried out satisfactorily by Indian scholars, is demonstrated by two recently published works. Prof. G. M. Moraes of Bombay brought out last year a Bibliography of Indological studies in 1942. It is almost on the same lines as sketched above, though it includes some more subjects such as current history and modern Indian languages. It is a very creditable performance Another work which I have in view is the Vedic Bibliography in about 400 pages published this year by Dr .R. N. Dandekar covering the period of 15 years from 1931 to 1945. This work also evinces great industry and close study of numerous works and articles on the Vedas and allied subjects including the Indus Valley civilization. Any one of these two scholars with a paid Assistant or two can easily prepare and publish every year a Bibliography recording the progress of Indic studies.

A great desideratum which Indian scholarship must tackle soon is a Dictionary of Sanskrit on historical principles. The great St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary oj Bohtlingk and Roth though a monumental work for the time of its appearance is now very much out of date. Its first volume appeared in 1855 and the last in 1875. It contains about 8400 columns or 4200 pages. It drew its materials from about 300 works only, big and small. During the 70 years that have elapsed since the last volume of the great Dictionary appeared, hundreds of Sanskrit works have been published and there are literally thousands of Sanskrit works more that are only to be had in the form of Mss. A scientific Dictionary of Sanskrit would be a colossal undertaking. It would have to be somewhat on the lines of the Oxford English Dictionary. The Philological Society of Great Britain resolved in 1858 upon undertaking a New English Dictionary and invited the co-operation of volunteers for reading and making extracts from printed works in English. The work of collection went on at first for 20 years and in 1879 Dr. James Murray (who was later on knighted) was appointed the editor. The first part of volume I was published In 1884 and the last volume in 1928 i. e. the work of publication took 44 years. The whole Dictionary comprises about 16000 quarto pages and registers about three hundred and fifty thousand entries of main words and special combinations. The slips on which the Dictionary was based came to 3½ millions and had been collected by an army of 1300 readers who volunteered their services throughout Great Britain and U. S. A. and made extracts from about 5000 authors of all periods. The preparation of a Sanskrit Dictionary labours under far greater difficulties than lone for a language spoken daily by 15 crores of people (as in the case of English) belonging to extremely rich, educated and highly organized countries. In India hardly 12 per cent of the population are literate and out of these those who can read and understand Sanskrit may be one per cent or even much less. Besides, India is a poor country. And further the Oxford English Dictionary had to digest linguistic material extending over 700 years only. Sanskrit literature extends over thousands of years. Therefore the work of preparing a thoroughly scientific Sanskrit Dictionary cannot be undertaken light-heartedly. When undertaken national honour demands that it must be completed at all costs. It will be an enduring monument of our love for our ancient and sacred language, our spirit of self-sacrifice and co-operation and our earnest desire to produce a work worthy of the Sānskrit age and worthy of Indian scholarship. I would suggest to the authorities of the conference to take this matter into serious consideration, invite scholars to communicate their ideas about the methods to be adopted for collection of data, make an appeal to lovers of Sanskrit to register themselves as volunteers and approach patrons of Sanskrit learning for promises of funds. Two principles will have to be kept in view. The first is that the Dictionary should contain every word occurring in the Literature of the language at all periods and also in Inscriptions, and the second that the historical principle will be uniformly adopted in tracing the various meanings that come to be attached to each word in course of time. The Dictionary will have to furnish the etymologies of the words comprised in it, their meanings and definitions and will contain illustrative quotations also.

Some of the former Presidents (such as Rai Bahadur Hira Lal and Dr. K. P. Jayaswal) emphasized the point that the time had come when a comprehensive history of India should be written by Indian Scholars. It is diflicult even for the most learned and most sympathetic foreigner to correctly evaluate an alien cultural tradition. There is generally a subconscious elememt which urges him in spite of his training in critical methods to detect extraneous influences on Indian culture where none might exist and to deny any claim for high antiquity. Famous European scholars could not help advancing the theories that the Ramayana was copied from Homer's Epic, that the Bhagavadgita was adapted from the Bible, that the art of writing was not known to Panini. Buhler, one of the most brilliant and level-headed of Western scholars, advanced the theory that the Brahmi alphabet was derived about 800 B. C. from a Semitic script and based his conclusions on the similarity between some letters in both. But it never occurred to that learned scholar that both might have been derived from an earlier script not then known or that the similarity may be only accidental or that the particular Semitic script might as well have been derived from the Brahmi. Max Muller merely relying on a rule of thumb and possibilities surmised that the Vedic period should be held to have begun at the earliest about 1400 B. C. He made it clear that his statements were merely subjective and tentative. Yet even now there are many writers who still cling to the dates propounded by Max Muller. Most of the above theories were either given up by those who originally started them or by almost all later writers. These examples will illustrate the pitfalls that lie in the way of European scholars. On the other hand we, as Indians, are prone to certain peculiar drawbacks. Most of us are unwilling to admit infusion of foreign influence on our culture and are easily inclined to claim high antiquity and originality for everything Indian. Even highly educated Indian scholars will still maintain that the Mahabharata was composed just about the time when the Bharata wār was fought. There are scholars who, while saying that the Veda was composed about 6000 or 10000 years ago, express surprise if anyone said that the Veda is not *anadi*, but will try to wriggle out of the implication of assigning a date, however ancient to the Veda by saying that the word anādi is to be understood in a secondary or figurative sense. In spite of these drawbacks Indian scholars must essay the task of writing history of their own culture and Literature. They should steadily keep in view the one object common to all serious historical writing viz the discovery of the truth.

The project of writing an exhaustive history of Indian culture in all aspects from the most ancient times is a vast one. It will demand large funds and active cooperation among several scholars. It appears that the suggestion of a History of India written by Indian scholars has caught the fancy of several quarters with the result that we are now somewhat bewildered by the simultaneous announcements about several schemes on the History of India written by Indians. So far the following schemes have been announced; (1) New History of the Indian People-planned by Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Sir Jadunath Sarkar in 20 volumes, of which the 6th volume dealing with the Vakatakas and Guptas contributed by Dr. R. C Majumdar and Dr. A. S. Altekar has been recently published (2) The scheme of the History Congress in 12 volumes. This scheme is well financed as it is reported to have two lakhs of rupees to its credit in the Bank. Not a single volume has yet been published; (3) The Bharatiya Itihasa Samiti scheme in ten volumes under the General Editorship of Dr. R. C. Majumdar. This scheme owes its formation tothe inspiration of Mr. K. M. Munshi, The first volume is ready for the press and three more volumes are nearing completion and receiving final touches. (4) The Aligarh scheme in 20 volumes, two dealing with ancient India. 16 with Muslim India and two with the British period. As yet no volume is out. (5) A comprehensive History of the Deccan in three volumes from the earliest period to the close of the 12th century A. D. sponsored by the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam and edited by Dr. G. Yazdani. No volume has yet been published. (6) An up-to-date History of the Monuments of India by Sir John Marshall and Dr. Yazdani. Volume I of this was ready for the Press, but in 1942 Sir John Marshall's Monograph on Taxila was destroyed by enemy action. Sir John Marshall decided to write it again, but he has not finished it yet owing to ill health. Vol. III on Ajanta has been printed and copies of certain coloured reproductions were exhibited at Netherlands House in London as reported in 'Indian Arts and Letters.' (Vol. XIX part 2 pp. 50,52). Dr. Yazdani hopes that this volume will be issued in England this month. Vol IV on Bidar and its architecture has been sent to the Press.

There is no desire on my part to throw cold water on these schemes, But anyone can see that there is going to be great repetition of the same topics in these several schemes, the volumes whereof might be published just about the same time

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M. M PANDURANG VAMAN KANE, M. A., LL. M.
PRESIDENT

and the materials that will be dished up and served in all of them will be the same. Not only so, I find that the same scholars are concerned with two or more schemes and they cannot present two versions of the same subject, but will only either enlarge or abridge in one scheme what they might have already contributed to another. I should like to make an humble suggestion that some of the schemes at least may be amalgamated into one. It is for the authorities of the various schemes to give serious thought to the question whether they will not pool their resources in men and money to produce one series of books on Indian History that will not be out of date for one generation at least and that will be looked upon by most scholars as the authentic voice of Indian scholarship on the History of India.

During the last twenty five or thirty years Indian scholars have devoted themselves in ever increasing numbers to research in Oriental studies. Many Societies and Institutes for research have been newly started in different parts of India in addition to the few already existing and they have been zealously working according to their means in several fields of Oriental research. I may name in this connection the following: The Adyar Library; the Andhra Historical Research Society; Assam Research Society; Bangiya Sahitya Parishad; the Bengal Asiatic Society; Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute; Bharatia Vidhya Bhavan, Bombay; Bharata Itihasa Samsodhaka Mandala; Bihar and Orissa Research Society; Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Buddha Society, Bombay; Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay; Deccan College Research Institute, Poona; Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad; Greater India Society, Calcutta; Gujerat Vernacular Society; Hyderabad Research Society; Indian Historical Research Society (St. Xavier's College, Bombay); Indian Research Institute, Calcutta; Indian Society of Arts, Calcutta; Iranian League, Bombay; Islamic Research Association; Jain Research Society, Delhi; Jain Research Society (C. P. & Berar); Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti; Karnataka Itihasa-Mandala; Karnataka Historical Research Society, Dharwar; Karnataka Sahitya Parishad; Kuppuswami Shastri Institute; Linguistic Society of India; Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta; Mythic Society, Bangalore; Numismatic Society of India; Punjab Historical Society; Rajvade Samshodhan Mandal, Dhulia; Rama Verma Research Institute; Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta; Sharadashram, Yeotmal; Shibli Academy, Azamgarh; U. P. Historical Society; Vaidik Samsodhana Mandala, Poona; Varendra Research Society; Sri Venkatesh Research Institute, Tirupati; Visvesvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Lahore. This is not an exhaustive list, but it is sufficient to indicate to every one how throughout the length and breadth of India very keen interest is being taken in whatever concerns India's past. Almost all the Societies and Institutes mentioned above periodically publish Journals or Bulletins embodying work carried on by their members. Besides, most of the Universities in India such as those of Allahabad, Annamalai, Andhra, Benares Hindu, Bombay, Calcutta, Dacca, Madras, Mysore, Nagpur, Visvabharati publish Journals containing research articles on Indological studies. There are moreover several Journals that are not started by any particular Association or Society and yet are devoted to the publication of learned papers on Oriental subjects viz. Indian Culture (Calcutta), Indian Historical Quarterly, Jain Gazette

(Lucknow), Jain Antiquary (Arrah), Journal of Indian History, Man in India, Journal of Sarasvatimahal Library (Tanjore), Journal of Vedic Studies (Lahore), New Indian Antiquary (Poona); Poona Orientalist, Prabuddha Bharata, Vedic Magazine (Kangri). The Indian Government also publishes the Epigraphia Indica and Annual Reports and Memoirs of the Archaeological Department. It may appear to a casual observer that research work is being done and there is no need to extend it still more. But this is far from being correct. The field for research in India's past is so vast and the material actually brought to light and which is still lying undiscovered in Archaeology, Vedic and Classic Sanskrit Literature, Philosophies, religious sects, Arts, ancient institutions, social life is so immense that only a fringe of the whole has been touched so far. There are extensive fields for work where hardly any Indian has made any substantial contribution. There is not a single Indian scholar who has studied Egyptian or Babylonian antiquities and made independent investigations into their relation to the Indus Valley civilization or their influence, if any, on Indian life in any sphere at any time. French and Dutch scholars have brought to light the wonderful monuments of Indo-China and Indonesia which owe their existence to the transmission of Indian culture and civilization to those regions in the early centuries of the Christian era. There are only a few scholars (like Dr. Kalidas Nag, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri and one or two others) who have done any work in this field. The same is the case with the spread of Sanskrit Literature and Indian culture to various parts of central Asia and Chinese Turkestan. The reasons for this state of things are quite obvious. True research requires learned leisure and is costly, while Indian scholars are themselves poor. It is only Government or bodies like Universities or rich patrons that can provide facilities for study in the above subjects. No Indian University has endowed any chair for Egyptian or Babylonian antiquities nor given any Fellowships or scholarships to young and brilliant Indians for visiting the lands of Egypt, Babylonia or Indo-China and for making a study on the spot and in centres in the West where facilities for study exist. Thousands of Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan and Chinese. The original Sanskrit works are almost all lost. There are hardly any facilities anywhere in India for the study of Tibetan and Chinese by Sanskrit scholars except at Calcutta, Santiniketan and very recently at the Fergusson College, Poona under Dr. V. V. Gokhale.

Now that we are going to have a thoroughly national Government in the near future, we should agitate for the foundation of a central Research Academy at the capital and in three or four provincial cities where adequate provision for the study of Indian culture, Literature and monuments in India and outside in all aspects on the fullest possible scale will be made. In 1911 the Indian Government contemplated the opening of Research Institutes at the Centre and in the Presidency Towns but then the first world war followed, the project was given up and has never again been considered.

There are numerous weighty reasons for the foundation of one or more central academies by a national Government. For about a century and a quarter Western scholars laboured hard in various fields and brought home to our immediate ancestors and ourselves our great heritage of achievement and glory which we had almost forgotten. We owe a deep debt of gratitude to them for this. But it appears almost certain that Indological studies will not flourish hereafter in war-worn Europe where the best brains will be occupied for many decades with questions of rehabilitation and reconstruction. Though the critical study of the Vedas, of some parts of classical Sanskrit Literature, of archaeology and inscriptions was, in the nineteenth century, primarily confined to European scholars, the same is not the case now. Responsibility for carrying on the torch of the critical study of Indological subjects must now be shouldered by Indian scholars organizing themselves under central bodies such as this Conference. On the other hand, in India also signs are not wanting that the study of ancient Indian literature and culture may be on the decline in the coming generations. Owing to the projects of industrialization that are now in the air, the most intelligent students are forsaking oriental studies and Arts courses and are plumping for science. The old methods of learning Sanskrit are not being patronised by clever students. There is a great fall in the numbers attending Sanskrit colleges and Pathasalas in spite of the lure of scholarships. It can be easily seen that the most learned Pandits are not often able in these days to make both ends meet and students of mediocre intelligence mostly join, if at all, Sanskrit Pathasalas. The number of Pandits of the calibre of Bal Shastri Ranade, Taranath Tarkavacaspati, Pandit Guttulal, Laksmanasastri Dravid, Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar is fast dwindling. The new type of University graduates cannot také their places. The motto of the giants that had passed through the discipline of the old methods was to know everything of something and something of everything. The graduates trained under modern methods may perhaps claim to know something of everything but hardly even a few among them can follow the motto of knowing everything of something. Then there are other clouds also darkening the horizon of Sanskrit studies. There are several schools of thought, one raising vociferous shouts for the sole cultivation of the vernaculars, another for the national language and a third for retaining the influence of English. In the midst of the din created by these several views, the study of ancient oriental learning is very likely to be smothered and stifled. Sometimes ago the Bombay University went so far as to decide that Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and other second languages, the study of one of which was compulsory for all matriculation students, may be treated only as optional along with some other modern subjects such as History and Geography. Fortunately for the ancient languages, the University has rescinded its resolution and is going to reconsider the whole subject. Tendencies such as those adverted to above make it absolutely imperative for the Conference to consider ways and means for giving Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic their proper place for the preservation and continuance of our manysided cultural tradition. And the foundation of well-endowed cultural Academies at the centre and at a few provincial cities is one of the foremost means to the end that can be thought of. Other measures will have to be also found by the authorities of the Conference and by all those that are interested in the preservation of our ideals and culture. Before the project of a central Academy or Academies for Indian culture materialises Indian Universities can, even with their limited resources, do a good deal of work in that direction. There are departments of postgraduate studies in Sanskrit, Pali, Indian Vernaculars, comparative Philology, Persian, Arabic and ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University. The Dacca University also has a department of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Bengali and History. It is very much to be regretted that the Bombay University which is one of the first three Universities to be started in India has no department of Sanskrit, Avesta, Persian or Arabic or of Indian History and culture, though it has a well equipped school of Technology and a department of Sociology. Bombay produced such renowned scholars as Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, Mr. Justice, Telang and Lokmanya Tilak. But they attained eminence by their individual efforts without any aid from their *Alma Mater*. As compared with the research work done in Calcutta and Madras in recent times Bombay has very little to show by way of research in the University itself. One may hope that the Bombay University authorities will bestir themselves and start a department of Indian culture in the near future.

In connection with the critical edition of the Mahabharata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, I crave your permission to make an appeal to you and to the wide public outside the Hall. So far back as 1918 the Rajasaheb of Aundh promised the princely donation of one lakh of rupees to the Bhandarkar Institute that had been recently started then for a critical edition of our great national epic, the Mahabharata, with illustrations drawn by himself. This was gratefully accepted by the Bhandarkar Institute and the Bhisma among Sanskrit scholars, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, started the monumental work by formally beginning the collation of the opening verse 'Narayanam namaskritya'. A tentative edition of the Virataparva was published by the late Mr. N. B. Utgikar in 1923 in order to elicit frank expressions of opinion on the methods actually adopted and suggestions for their improvement. In August 1925, the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar was appointed general Editor. In July 1927 the first facsicule of 60 pages of the Adiparva was published. Dr. Sukthankar devoted infinite pains to mastering the problem of the textual criticism of the Mahabharata and brought to bear on his task great scholarship, skill and critical insight. The publication of the Adiparva was finished in 1933 by Dr. Sukthankar. The Virataparva, edited by Dr. Raghuvir, was published in 1936, the Udyogaparva edited by Dr. S. K. De in 1940, the Aranyakparva (or Vanaparva) edited by Dr. Sukthankar himself in 1942, Dr. Sukthankar spent over 17 years of his life on this monumental edition. He and his co-adjutors, who followed the same methods, received from scholars throughout the world a chorus of enthusiastic approval and applause and they raised Indian critical scholarship very high in the esteem of learned men and brought glory to India. The 17th international Congress of Orientalists in Europe resolved to hand over to Dr. Sukthankar its collations of Mss. and part of the fund collected in Europe for a critical edition of the Mahabharata. When he was at the peak of his fame, Dr. Sukthankar was snatched away by death in January 1943. The very sudden and premature death of Dr. Sukthankar was a crippling blow.The authorities of the Institute casting about for a worthy successor ultimately chose Dr.S.K.Belvalkar as the General Editor.Dr.Belvalkar had been for many years a Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute and had closely observed and studied the working of the Mahabharata office. The Editing of the Bhismaparva had been assigned to him during Sukthankar's own tenure of office as General Editor. Though senior to Sukthankar by several years, he was prevailed upon to accept the General Editorship by his friends and colleagues. No other scholar who could command the wide experience and the qualities that Sukthankar possessed could be easily found. The appointment of Dr. Belvalkar as General Editor was the best that could have been made under the circumstances. The Sabhaparva edited by Dr. Edgerton was completed in 1944. Dr. Belvalkar himself edited the Bhismaparva, part of which has already been published and the remainder will be out by December 1946. So far 5,000 pages of double demi size with 40 three-colour illustrations has been published. This represents about 45 per cent of the entire extent of the Mahabharata. The collation work of the remaining parvans from 20 to 40 Mss. for each parvan has been completed and the editing of Karnaparva and Salyaparva under the supervision of Dr. Belvalkar has been respectively assigned to Dr. P. L. Vaidya and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Karnaparva is ready for the press. The total cost of the critical edition upto September 1945 would come to over six lakhs of rupees. As to the remainder, it is really a question of finance and willing and able Editors for the remaining parvans. Even from the time when Dr. Sukthankar was appointed General Editor, more than 21 years have passed. The remainder should be finished within a reasonable time i. e. within ten to fifteen years. The cost of publishing the remainder would come to at least four lakhs of rupees. The Chief Saheb of Aundh has already contributed 60 thousand out of the one lakh promised. The Indian Government, the Governments of Bombay, Madras and Burma, H. E. H. Nizam's Government, the University of Bombay, the Gwalior State, several other Indian States, the Tatas and private individuals have made very substantial contributions. At present the Mahabharata Board is indebted for the Mahabharata edition to the extent of about fifty thousand rupees. The Mahabharata is our national heritage. It is an epitome of India in so far as our varied culture is concerned. It will be a blot on India if this magnificent work done in a scholarly and critical way is allowed to drag on for an indefinite period. It is unthinkable that it might be allowed to remain unfinished. The Conference should, I suggest, appeal by a special resolution with all the emphasis that it can command to all lovers of India and Sanskrit Literature high or low, resident or non-resident, to contribute liberally to the funds of the Institute for expediting the critical edition of the Mahabharata and finishing it in as short a time as possible.

It is a matter for great satisfaction that the Vaidika-samsodhana Mandal of Poona has now completed its critical edition of Sayana's commentary on the Rgveda by recently bringing out the 4th volume dealing with the 9th and 10th Mandalas together with the *Khilas*. Max Muller's edition has long been out of print. The present edition utilizes many Mss. that were not available to Max Muller. The Mandal has now undertaken an edition of the Taittiriya Samhita with the commentaries of Sayana and Bhaskar-misra and has in hand also the project of the Srautakosa in two parts which will be a unique work in the nature of an encyclopaedia of Vedic ritual, including a dictionary of sacrificial terms.

In the latter half of the 19th century, Government frequently deputed such distinguished scholars as Buhler, Kielhorn, Peterson, R. G. Bhandarkar to make tours for the search of Sanskrit and Prakrit Mss. They collected valuable Mss. and submitted informing reports. The Mss. collected by them are now deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. There are thousands of Mss. collected in various places in India such as at the Adyar Library, Anup Library, Baroda Oriental Institute, Benares and Calcutta Sanskrit Colleges, the libraries of the Bombay and Calcutta Asiatic Societies, the Bombay, Dacca and Punjab University Libraries, the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library, the State Libraries of Alwar, Mysore, Travancore, Kashmir (Jammu), Tanjore Sarasvatimahal Library, the Jain Bhandars at Karanja, Patan and other places and in the independent State of Nepal. Besides these, there are large Mss. collections in Berlin, Cambridge, Leipzig, London (India Office), Oxford and Paris. All these collections taken together must contain several lakhs of Mss. It may be thought that Mss. of most Sanskrit works have been collected. This is by no means the case. An unlimited number of Mss. is still lying undiscovered. The Government should revert to its former practice of deputing responsible scholars and officers on tour for the search of Mss. and Universities and Societies also should exert themselves in the same direction. Hardly anyone now copies Mss. and those that have been copied long ago may perish or be destroyed by ignorance or negligence and the ravages of white ants and other pests. Many of the Mss. collections have yet to be properly catalogued. In this connection I may refer to the revision of the Catalogus Catalogorum which was originally issued in three parts by Theodor Aufrecht from 1891 to 1903. That was a stupendous undertaking for a single scholar. The last part is now more than 40 years old. Since then thousands of new Mss. have been collected and many volumes of descriptive catalogues have been published. Therefore, the Madras University undertook several years ago a revision of the Catalogus Catalogorum. No volume has yet been published. I understand from Dr. Raghavan, the Editor, that the first part dealing with the first letter of the alphabet is now in the press. It is extremely desirable that this revised catalogue should be published as early as possible. I would earnestly appeal to the authorities of the Madras University to make substantial funds and a large staff available for this purpose. A Catalogus Catalogorum is generally destined to be incomplete, but if the work of revision is spread over a large number of years, then by the time the revised catalogue is finished another revision will have to be at once taken in hand. An insistent question is, how the wealth of Sanskrit Literature enshrined in Mss is to be made available to the general reading public in print. For many years Sanskrit works have been published in several series such as the Anandasrama, Benares Sanskrit series, Bibliotheca Indica, Bombay Sanskrit series, Gaekwad Oriential series, Kashmir series, Nirnayasagar Press Publications, Trivandrum S. Series and others. But all the Sanskrit works printed in the last one hundred years will form only an infinitesimal portion of the total Sanskrit Literature available in Mss so far discovered. It is necessary to start in each Indian province at least one periodical like the Kavyamala issued for many years by the Nirnayasagar Press in which small but valuable works in Sanskrit can be issued periodically. Ancient and medieval writers composed works when there was no Copyright Act and when material gain was hardly in view. They wrote for their own satisfaction and for helping others less favoured than themselves. It is a debt we owe to these thousands of selfless workers that we should try to print their valuable works once at least.

There has been a very general awakening of interest during this century among educated Indians for a critical study of our country's literature and history. The number of Indian scholars, old and young, who have made or are making substantial contributions to the elucidation of our culture in its manifold aspects has been very much on the increase. Indian scholarship has attained a high level in several fields of research. One can look with pride and hope on the work done by many Indian scholars, old or young.

I may name the following as representatives of the older generation of living scholars: Krishnaswami Aiyangar; Rangaswami Aiyangar; K. V. Subrahmania Aiyar; S. K. Belvalkar; D. R. Bhandarkar; Binayatosh Bhattacharya; Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya; N. K. Bhattasali; S. K. Chatterji; M. B. Davar; S. K. De; Ervad B. N. Dhabbar; M. N. Dhalla; O. C. Ganguly; M. B. Garde; S. N. Das Gupta; U. N. Ghoshal; M. Hiriyanna; S. M. Husain; Jinavijayji; Jugalkishore; M. H. Krishna; N. N. Law; B. C. Law; R. C. Majumdar; Umesh Mishra; Abdal Azizal-Naiman; Kalidas Nag; Syed Sulaiman Nadvi; Gauri-Shankar Ojha; Pandit Premi; H. C. Raychoudhary; Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan; Bisheshwar Nath Reu; Shaikh Abdul Kadar; Md. Shafi; K. A. Nilkanta Shastri; Sukhlalji; Erach J. S. Taraporvala; J. M. Unvala; Zahid Ali; G. Yazdani. Among comparatively younger Indian scholars, I should like to make mention of the following as representatives: V. S. Agrawal; A. S. Altekar; B. L. Atreya; P. C. Bagchi; P. V. Bapat; Banerji-Sastri; Bhabatosh Bhattacharya; Shivprasad Bhattacharya; Bhagvat Datta; D. C. Bhattacharya; Haridas Bhattacharya; N. P. Chakravarti; Chintaharan Chakravarti; K. C. Chattopadhyaya; S. P. Chaturvedi; J. B. Chaudhury; B. Ch. Chhabra; T. R. Chintamani; R. N. Dandekar; V. Ramchandra Dikshitar; G. S. Gai; A. M. Ghatge; G. S. Ghurye; B. K. Ghosh; P. K. Gode; N. A. Gore; B. S. Guha; R. G. Gyani; Md. Habib; Md. Hamidullah; R. C. Hazra; M. D. Iqbal; Hiralal Jain; E. M. F. Kanga; H. R. Kapadia; A. P. Karmarkar; S. M. Katre; P. C. Lahiri; V. V. Mirashi; H. K. Mirza; M. H. Nainar; H. G. Narahari; R. S. Panchamukhi; K. R. Pisharoti; A. D. Pusalkar, V. Raghavan; Raghu Vir; C. Kunhan Raja; P. T. Raju; T. N. Ramchandran; Hemchandra Ray; B. R. Saksena; C. R. Sankaran; D. C. Sarkar; Lakshman Sarup; V. A. Ramaswami Shastri; Kshitimohen Sen; S. N. Sene H. A. Shah; Vishvabandhu Shastri; S. S. Suryanarayana Shastri; C. S. Srinivasachariar; M. Z. Siddiqi; A. N. Upadhye; N. Venkataramanayya; Siddheshwar Verma; P. L. Vaidya; Madhav Svarup Vatsa; H. D. Velankar.

Certain observations, however, may be made here. In spite of the large number of scholars, there are extensive fields that have yet to be properly explored and a far larger army of scholars must be harnessed to the task. For example, there is no adequats treatment of the Tantra Literature so far. Critical editions of the Ramayana, of the principal Upanisads, of the principal Puranas and of many classical dramas and poem;

have yet to be undertaken. The several Darsanas (particularly Yoga) have not been scientifically and exhaustively dealt with.

I am glad to be able to announce that Swami Kuvalayanand, Director of the Kaivalya-dhama-Sriman-madhava Yogamandira Samiti at Lonavala, who has made a scientific study of Yoga and published for many years a Journal on Yoga, called the Yoga-mimamsa, has now undertaken several works. He has prepared a critical edition of the Hathapradipika with the commentary Jyotsna based on seven Mss. and four printed editions, a similar edition of the Brhad-Yogi-Yajnavalkya Smrti, an ancient work on Yoga quoted profusely by dharmasastra writers and others from the 9th century. An index of Yogic Literature, printed and available in Mss. prepared by the Swamiji is almost ready for the press. And lastly, he is working on a concordance of the Yoga on the lines of Vedic Index containing short and historical articles on technical words and important topics of Yogasastra derived from the Upanisads, the Epics, the Puranas, Yogasutra and its commentaries and other works on Yoga.

I may mention certain tendencies among some of our scholars noticed by me with regret. Sometimes in the natural desire to earn credit for striking hypotheses wild guesses unsupported by any tangible evidence are put forward. For example, recently I found a scholar stating in a footnote in a brief paper that the Sungas originally *seem* to belong to some Chinese stock as the family name Sunga which even now exists in China as family name clearly shows. The same scholar proceeds 'I *believe* that the origin of the Samaveda is Chinese as its peculiarly tonal music suggests.' Comment is superfluous. I may state that it would be best for all of us to follow the rule of Mallinatha 'namulam likhyate kincit'. We should advance our guesses and theories only after the most laborious search for the collection of facts and after patient and critical sifting of the facts collected. Another regrettable feature noticed by me among some scholars is that they resent differences of opinion and indulge in acerbity of language and personal attacks. If we have to differ, we must do so as gentlemen and scholars, the only goal of all being the quest of truth, though from different angles and view-points.

Several sites such as those of Mohenjo –daro and Harappa, Koṇdapur, Nalanda, Paharpur, Pataliputra, Sanchi, Sarnath, Taxila have been excavated. The finds at these places have materially added to our knowledge of the ancient social life of the people of India. Sir Ratan Tata financed for several years the work of excavation at Pataliputra. Recently the Trustees of the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust have made an offer to the Deccan College Research Institute at Poona to bear the entire cost of the 4th pre-historic expedition in Gujarat under Prof. Sankalia and have donated Rs. 19,400 for the purpose. Excavation work will be commenced in November this year. This noble example of the enlightened house of Tatas will, it is earnestly hoped, be imitated by other merchant princes of India. But as compared with the great extent of our country and the number of ancient and famous sites those excavated are really very few. Hardly any sites that will bridge the gulf between the pre-historic antiquities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro on the one hand and the comparatively later sites of Taxila, Nalanda and other places on the other have yet been excavated. It behoves us to press upon the attention of Government, the Princes and the Archaeological Department to mark out such sites and start excavation work there.

It is estimated that about 30 thousand inscriptions have been brought to light during the last hundred and fifty years. Only a very small percentage of these have been read and published in Books and Journals like the Archaeological Survey Reports, Indian Antiquary, the Epigraphia Indica, the three volumes of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum and the volumes on South Indian Inscriptions. The researches in Archaeology made by the Archaeological Department and by others have been the foremost among the main sources for writing a connected and authentic history of ancient and medieval India. But the pace at which inscriptions are published in the Epigraphia Indica or elsewhere is so slow and fitful that one is filled with despondency and anxiety by the thought that even the next one hundred years might not be enough to deal with all the Archaeological material collected, if the present rate of publication is to be continued. Government must increase the size of the Epigraphia Indica, start several Journals devoted to the publication of Inscriptions in several provinces simultaneously and afford facilities to the Journals conducted by Institutes and private persons for publishing Inscriptions.

There are numerous problems which individual scholars can tackle by their single-handed efforts or with the co-operation of another scholar or two. There are serious gaps in our knowledge of many subjects and there is great scope for work in almost all departments of Indology, provided individual scholars will labour patiently on one or more of those subjects for years. Besides, there are many matters, which though discussed for decades, cannot yet be regarded as finally settled by the consensus of opinion among scholars. I shall mention a few topics on which Indian scholars can profitably work for several years to come. Though Weber, Max Muller ,Macdonell, Winternitz and others have written Histories of Sanskrit Literature, yet there is room for Indian scholars to write an extensive History of Sanskrit Literature from an Indian point of view. Not much has been written on the Silpasastras and the numerous styles of architecture prevalent in India in different parts of the country in ancient and medieval times. Deep comparative study of the Vedas and the ancient Iranian Literature has not yet been carried far enough. Although London, Heras, Hunter, Pran Nath and others have worked on the signs found on seals at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, comparison of these with the signs recorded at Ellam, Cyprus, Crete has not been thoroughly carried out and the proper decipherment of the symbols and signs at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro yet awaits a genius. Although excellent monographs have been written on certain ancient and medieval royal dynasties such, as the Guptas, Vakatakas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kadambas and Rastrakutas, it cannot be said that finality has been reached even in these and further there is ample field for work on several other dynasties and oligarchic tribes, such as the Alupas, Banas, Bhanjas, Calukyas in all their branches, Cahamanas, Candellas, Gahadvalas, Gangas, Guhilas, Gurjaras, Haihayas, Hoysalas, Kakatiyas, Kalacuries, Licchavis, Malavas, Maitrakas, Palas, Paramaras, Pratiharas, Rattas, Sailodbhavas, Senas, Sendrakas, Silaharas, Sindas, Traikutakas, Vaghelas, Yadavas, and Yaudheyas. The names of countries and cities, with their boundaries, social life and economic structure as collected from the Vedic Literature, the Epics, the Puranas, the Brhatsamhita and its commentary, classical Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit and Apabhramsa Literature, Kosas, inscriptions will be a very interesting study. The interpretation of the sutras of Jaimini by commentators before Sabara, by Kumarila, Prabhakara, Parthasarathi and others in a thoroughly exhaustive and scientific way has not been yet attempted by anyone. The interpretation of Vedic texts by the Purva-mimansa and the influence of the Purva-mimansa on Dharamasastra and Vedanta works; pre-Sankara systems of Vedanta; the date of Sankaracharya arrived at from all available sources together with the names of his pupils, his and their authentic works, the history of the Mathas established by him and his pupils; Gotras and Pravaras as disclosed by the Inscriptions and their agreements or disagreements with the Srauta-sutras and works like the Pravaramanjari and with modern gotras and pravaras current among the three varnas; the date of the introduction of the names of weekdays and of the signs of the Zodiac and the question whether they were borrowed by India from any foreign source or whether they were indigenous, which subject has an important bearing on the chronology of our ancient and medieval Sanskrit Literature; the relation of the Prakrits and Apabhramsas among themselves and their relation to and influence on modern Indian vernaculars; the history and development of our ancient technical sciences, such as medicine, chemistry, metallurgy, mathematics, astronomy and their influence on the Moslems and the western world; the riddle of Sayana, Madhava, Vidyaranya; the several Bhakti cults; the numerous Saiva sects; the several eras of Krta, Malava, Vikrama, Saka, Valabhi, Gupta, Harsa, Kalacuri, Ganga and their starting points; these are only a few subjects where much light can be shed by an indefatigable scholar. It is needless to multiply examples of problems.

In his Presidential address at the Hyderabad Session of the Conference Dr. G. Yazdani laid great emphasis on two matters, viz. that the conference should have a permanent office with a small but competent staff and the necessity of building up a Permanent Fund. For realizing the latter object he approached several States and private individuals. I am glad to state that he succeeded in inducing the Government of the United Provinces and the Government of Kashmir and Jammu to contribute, Rs. 1000 each to the Permanent Fund. We must strenuously pursue this matter of a permanent fund. The Conference should appoint an influential committee of persons occupying a high place in the public life of the country and of scholars from different provinces to wait in deputation on the Central and Provincial Governments, on the Heads of Indian States and on merchant princes to induce them to make generous contributions to the permanent fund of this Conference in order to enable it to carry on vigorously work in the directions indicated above.

The great French *savant*. Prof. Levi, who presided over the second session of this conference at Calcutta, said that the chief duty of the President is to keep silence and to listen. I have so far acted contrary to his advice, but I must now stop. I shall have plenty of opportunities for obeying his precept in the next two days. Our country is now on the threshold of epochmaking political changes.

Although the Conference is not a political body it cannot fail to be affected by the political and other ferments that are leavening the whole country. The hearts of all, young or old, educated or uneducated, are throbbing with the excitement of great aspirations and expectations. In ages past India was frequently confronted with religious, social and political upheavals. In spite of them all India has exhibited great vitality in survival, did not give up her agelong quest of truth and always attached the highest importance to the things of the spirit. She developed centuries ago traditions for tolerance of varying views in religion and philosophy and showed great capacity for absorption of races and ideas and for adaptation. India is now in the midst of a whirlpool of ideas. The present is full of fear, of religious scepticism, conflicts and eagerness to destroy the old and construct anew after some patterns quite alien to our traditions and ways of thought and not yet sufficiently tested. On us of this Conference rests a manifold responsibility. We have studied the Literature and monuments of the past and therefore it is our duty to disseminate among all our brethren correct knowledge of the past and the present and to discover the manifold gains and glories of the past, to see that the great ideals of our literature and culture do not perish but continue to work on the social life all round and to make adjustments in the superstructure of the many-sided life of the country while retaining the solid foundations that have withstood the storms, the burdens and the wear and tear of ages. It is up to us not to allow, as long as there is life in us, the great ideals and achievements of the past to be swept off altogether by the onrushing avalanche of conflicting and ill-digested ideas. We are all humble devotees of Literature, of the Muses, of Bharati; and in serving Bharati we try to serve our motherland which also bears the name Bharati. Let us hope that by the united efforts of the sons and daughters of India, this ancient land will not only secure for her own children freedom, peace, prosperity and a high level of intellectual and moral life, but will also be able to proclaim to the world a message of hope, of freedom, of co-operation and the practical synthesis of several cultures.

प्रकटितबहुविधशिल्पा विविधागमशास्त्रविस्तरप्रसवा ।
आसन्नस्वातन्त्र्या जयतु सदा **भारती** जगती ॥

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Nagpur Session : 19th, 20th, 21st Oct. 1946.

Minutes of the meeting of the retiring Executive Committee.

A meeting of the retiring Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held on Friday, 18th October 1946, at 6 p. m. in the Assembly Rest House, Nagpur. The following Members were present: Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane, Dr. M. Nizamuddin, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. Lakshman Sarup, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Dr. Hira Lal Jain, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Dr. T. R. Chintamani, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar. Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane was in the Chair. The following business was transacted in the meeting:—

(1) The President moved: "Resolved that this meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Retired Director-General of Archaeology in India, who was a member of the Executive Committee." The resolution was unanimously passed, all members standing.

(2) Dr. Lakshman Sarup, the Treasurer, made a statement regarding the financial position of the Conference. It was supplemented by Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the General Secretary. Dr. A. S. Altekar explained why the accounts of the Benares Session of the Conference were still incomplete. After discussion it was resolved (a) that the accounts of the Benares Session of the Conference as audited by the auditor of the Local Committee be sent to the Treasurer, (b) that the accounts of the Conference at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute as audited by the auditor of the Institute be sent to the Treasurer, (c) that the Treasurer should get his own accounts and the accounts sent by Prof. K. A. Nilakantan audited, and (d) that the Treasurer should prepare a consolidated statement of all these and circulate it to the Executive Committee.

(3) Dr. M. Nizamuddin communicated to the Committee that the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad were pleased to donate a sum of Rs. 500 towards the Permanent Fund of the Conference. Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed and Dr. A. S. Altekar seconded the following resolution which was unanimously passed: "Resolved that the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference places on record its sense of gratitude to the Government of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad for their donation of Rs. 500 towards the Permanent Fund of the Conference."

(4) Dr. M. Nizamuddin presented the second part of the proceedings and Transactions of the Eleventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference,

Hyderabad. Dr. A. S. Altekar presented the second volume of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Twelfth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Benares, and announced that three more volumes were to be published. It was resolved (a) that each part of the Hyderabad Proceedings should be priced at Rs. 3 per copy, the whole set at Rs. 6 and (b) that the second volume of the Benares Proceedings should be priced at Rs. 10 per copy.

(5) Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya moved the following resolution to be recommended to the Council for adoption: "The All-India Oriental Conference is of the opinion that Archaeology should continue as a concern of the Central Government in the new constitution for India to be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly." It was seconded by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. N. Venkataramanayya opposed it. A discussion followed in which several members participated. Eventually the following resolution was unanimously adopted: "Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference recommends that, under the new constitution, the Central Government should not divest itself of the responsibility for the development of archaeological work in India."

(6) In accordance with Rule VII (c), the following gentlemen, recommended by the Local Reception Committee, were duly co-opted as members' of the Council of the Nagpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference:—

(1) Prof. S. P. Tiwari.
(2) ,, V. B. Kolte.
(3) ,, S. G. Somalwar.
(4) ,, S. K. Mishra.
(5) ,, A. Awasthi.
(6) Prof. P. S. Ramanathan.
(7) ,, R. M. Sinha.
(8) Dr. S. S. Patwardhan.
(9) Mr. K. N. Dave.
(10) ,, L. R. Kulkarni.

(7) The draft condolence resolution to be moved by the President in the open Session of the Conference, as prepared by the General Secretary, was adopted.

(8) The President informed the Committee that, in view of the Local condition, he had authorised the Local Committee to add three more Sections, namely, Marathi, Hindi and Urdu, in the Nagpur Session. The Committee approved of this addition.

(9) On behalf of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive Committee to consider and report on the draft, prepared by Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane and Prof. K. A. Nilakantan, of amendments and additions to and alterations in the present Rules and Bye-Laws of the Conference, Dr. R. N. Dandekar presented the report of the Sub-Committee together with its recommendations. These recommendations were unanimously accepted by the Committee and it was resolved that they be recommended to the Council for adoption. Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed a vote of thanks to the Sub-Committee which was unanimously passed.

(10) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, who is the representative of the All-India Oriental Conference on the Advisory Board of Archaeology, explained the Scheme of the Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology on the basis of the report of a committee appointed by the Government of India with Sir Maurice Gwyer as Chairman. He indicated several defects in the scheme and suggested that the All-India Oriental Conference should express its opinion in the matter. A Sub-Committee, consisting of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. K. A. Nilakantan, and Dr. A. S. Altekar, was appointed to draft a resolution in the matter to be placed before the Council next day.

(11) Dr. M. Nizamuddin, the Local Secretary of the Hyderabad Session, informed the Committee that a bill for Rs. 194-4-0 from the Aryabhushan Press, Poona, for the printing of off-prints of the addresses of the Sectional Presidents of the Hyderabad Session, could not be paid from the local funds of that Session. The Committee therefore resolved that the amount of Rs. 194-4-0 be paid to the Press out of the Permanent Fund of the Conference.

(Sd.) R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary.

(Sd.) P. V. KANE,
Chairman.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Nagpur Session : 19th, 20th, 21st October 1946

First meeting of the New Executive Committee.

The First meeting of the newly elected Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held on Sunday, 20th Oct. 1946, at 4-30 p.m., in the Science College, Nagpur. The following members were present: Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Mm. Prin. V. V. Mirashi, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Dr. A. S. Altekar, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. M. Nizamuddin, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Prof. H. D. Velankar, Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Dr. M. Rama Rao, and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane was in the Chair.

(1) The following Office-bearers were unanimously elected :—

President —Dr. R. C. Majumdar.
Vice-President —Pro. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
General Secretaries—Dr. M. Nizamuddin
Dr. A. S. Altekar
Dr. R. N. Dandekar
Treasurer—Dr. Lakshman Sarup

(2) The following five gentlemen were unanimously co-opted as members of the Executive Committee in the vacancies caused by the election of the Office-bearers :—

Dr. Hira Lal Jain
Dr. S. K. De
Prof. D. D. Kapadia
Dr. N. Venkataramanayya
Dr. M. H. Nainar

The meeting then adjourned with a hearty vote of thanks to the retiring office-bearers and the Executive Committee.

(Sd.) R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary.

(Sd.) P. V. KANE,
Chairman.

A joint meeting of the New Executive Committee and the Section Presidents of the earlier Sessions of the Conference who were present at the Nagpur Session was held at 5 p. m. on Sunday, 20th October 1946, in the Science College, Nagpur, to elect the Section Presidents for the next Session of the Conference. Dr. R. C. Majumdar was in the Chair. The following persons were then duly elected the Section Presidents for the next Session of the Conference : —

Section	President
(1) Vedic ...	... Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.
(2) Iranian ...	... Prof. D. D. Kapadia, Poona.
(3) Classical Sanskrit	... Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya, Calcutta.
(4) Islamic Culture	... Khan Bahadur Dr. Abdul Huq, Madras.
(5) Arabic & Persian	... Prof. Abdul Aziz, Aligarh.
(6) Pali & Buddhism	... Dr. Nalinaksha Datta, Calcutta.
(7) Prakrit & Jainism	... Dr. A. M. Ghatge, Kolhapur.
(8) History ...	... Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Madras.
(9) Archæology	... Khwaja M. Ahmed, Hyderabad (Dn.)
(10) Indian Linguistics	... Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, Calcutta.
(11) Dravidian Culture	... Prof. K. Ramakrishnayya, Madras
(12) Philosophy & Religion	... Dr. P. T. Raju, Waltair.
(13) Technical Sciences and Fine Arts.	... Prof. P. K. Gode, Curator, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4.

The Executive Committee then proceeded with its other business. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the General Secretary, informed the Committee that the following Institutions had invited the Conference to hold its next Session under their auspices :—

(1) Rameshwarlata Mahavidyalaya, Darbhanga (through Mm. Dr. Umesh Misra on behalf of the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga).

(2) Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay (by wire from Sri Muni Jinavijayaji).

(3) Karachi Sanskrit Association (through Prof. D. R. Mankad, Vice-Chairman, Managing Committee).

After much discussion the following resolution was unanimously adopted : "Read the letter addressed to the General Secretary by Mm. Dr. Umesh Misra on behalf of the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga inviting the All India Oriental Conference to hold its next Session at Darbhanga and resolved that the Fourteenth Session of the Conference be held at Darbhanga in 1947."

The General Secretary then read to the Executive Committee a letter from Mr. F. G. Natesa Aiyar, member of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference, suggesting that the All-India Oriental Conference should hold a special All-Asian Cultural Conference together with the All-Asian Political Conference convened by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Committee resolved that the letter be recorded.

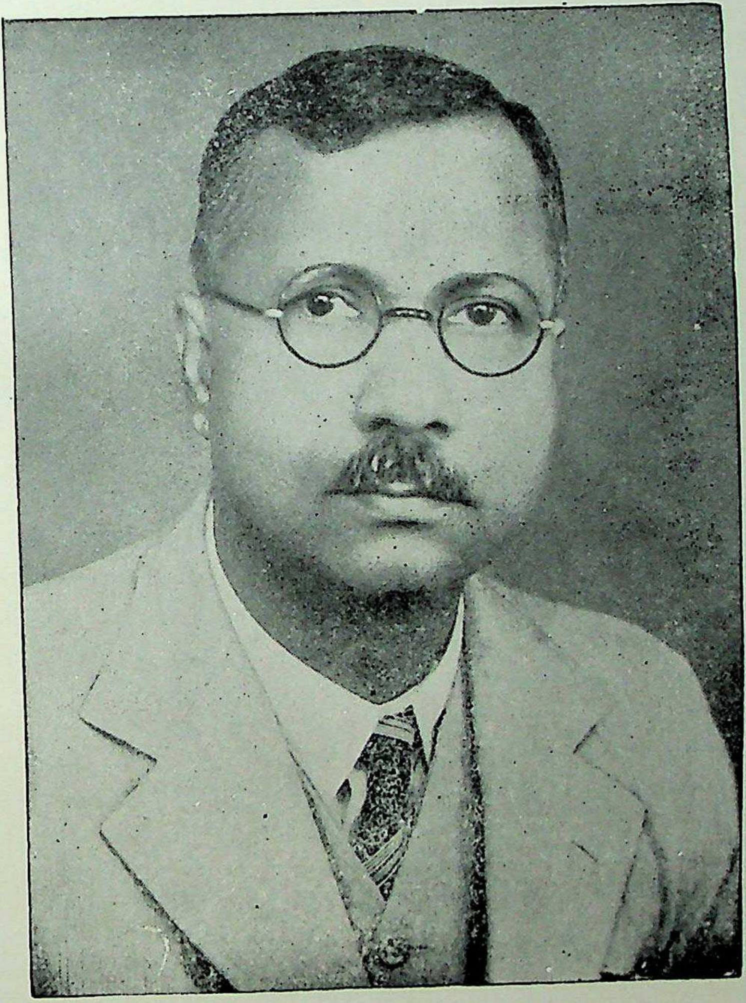
The meeting of the Executive Committee was then dissolved.

(Sd.) R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary.

(Sd.) R. C. MAJUMDAR,
Chairman.

13TH ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

NAGPUR UNIVERSITY 1946



M. M. VASUDEO VISHNU MIRASHI, M. A.
PRINCIPAL, MORRIS COLLEGE, NAGPUR,
VICE CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Nagpur Session : 19th, 20th, 21st October 1946.

First meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference.

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference was held on Saturday, 19th October 1946, at 12 noon, in the Science College, Nagpur. The following members were present : (1) S. K. Belvalkar, (2) A. S. Altekar, (3) P. N. Daroowalla, (4) Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, (5) R. M. Sinha, (6) P. S. Ramanathan, (7) M. A. Qazi, (8) A. Awasthi. (9) S. M. H. Rizani, (10) K. A. Subramania Iyer, (11) N. A. Gore, (12) C. G. Kashikar, (13) C. Kunhan Raja, (14) K. Sita Ramaiya, (15) M. Ram Rao, (16) Shri Kant Mishra, (17) L. R. Kulkarni, (18) K. Goda Varma, (19) Major Syed Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, (20) M. Z. Siddiqi, (21) B. A. Quraishi, (22) S. P. Chaturvedi, (23) K. Chattopadhyaya, (24) M. K. Iyengar, (25) A. S. Gadre, (26) H. D. Velankar, (27) S. M. Katre, (28) P. L. Vaidya, (29) N. Venkataramanayya, (30) S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, (31) Bisheshwar Nath Reu, (32) M. Upendra Sarma, (33) V. Raghavan, (34) P. T. Raju, (35) V. A. Rama Swami Sastri, (36) N. Gopal Pillai, (37) S. R. Shende, (38) A. D. Pusalkar, (39) R. G. Harshe, (40) G. V. Devasthali, (41) F. G. Natesa Aiyer, (42) V. V. Mirashi, (43) V. B. Kolte, (44) R. N. Dandekar, (45) K. A. Nilakantan, (46) M. Nizamuddin, (47) P. V. Kane, (48) K. Ramkrishnaiya, (49) Y. Venkataramana, (50) P. V. Hanamantharao, (51) R. D. Karmarkar, (52) A. M. Ghatge, (53) A. N. Upadhye, and (54) P. Sambamoorti. Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane was in the Chair. The following business was transacted at the meeting: (1) At the outset, Prof. K. A. Nilakantan explained how Mm. Prof. Kane and he had prepared a draft of the amendments and additions to and alterations in the present Rules and Bye-laws of the Conference, and how eventually the Executive Committee appointed a Sub-Committee consisting of the following members to report on that draft and make their recommendations : (1) Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane, (2) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, (3) Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, (4) Dr. P. L. Vaidya, (5) Mr. Yazdani, (6) Rev. H. Heras, (7) Dr. R. N. Dandekar (convener). The report of the sub-committee together with its recommendations was placed before the Executive Committee on the preceding day and was unanimously accepted by it to be recommended to the Council for adoption. Thereupon, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, presented the report of the sub-committee, and the Council proceeded to consider its recommendations one by one. Rules 1 to 5 were unanimously passed. Dr. Siddiqi proposed an amendment to Rules VI (a) (v) that the number of Trustees should be five instead of three. Dr. M. Nizamuddin seconded the amendment. On being put to vote the amendment was declared to have been lost. Dr. C. K. Raja's amendment that the words "which will ordinarily be spread over three days" be added after "the Local Secretary shall settle the programme of the Session of the Conference" in Rule VI (c) iv was unanimously accepted. Dr. Katre proposed that the Rule regarding Membership (i.e. No. VII) should precede the Rule regarding the Office-bearers (i.e. No. VI). Prof. Velankar seconded the proposal. The Council unanimously accepted the proposal. Khwaja M. Ahmad proposed and Mr. K. Sitaramayya seconded an amendment to Rule VII (a) that the contribution for a patron should be Rs. 5,000 or more, instead of Rs. 3,000 or more, as recommended by sub-committee. On being put to vote the amendment was lost. Mr. Y. Venkataramana proposed that the subscription for Life-membership should be Rs. 100 to be paid in a lump sum or in not more than two instalments to be paid within one official year, and not Rs. 150 as recommended by the Sub-Committee in Rule VII (c). Dr. V. Raghavan seconded the proposal, which was carried by a majority. Khwaja M. Ahmad's amendment to Rule VII (d) that the subscription for full membership should be Rs. 10 for every two years was lost. Dr. V. Raghavan proposed that in Rule XII (a), the Pandita Parisad and the Majlis-e-Ulema should be added as regular Sections of a Session of the Conference. After much discussion it was resolved that the following note should be added to Rule XII (a): "Wherever possible, the Executive Committee should arrange a Pandita Parisad and Majlis-e-Ulema together with the session of the Conference." The amendment to the same rule, that "Fine Arts" should be added to the Section of "Technical Sciences", which was proposed by Mr. P. Sambamoorti and seconded by Dr. V. Raghavan, was unanimously accepted. Prof. Barkat Ali Quaraishi's amendment that the "Arabic and Persian" Section should be divided into two sections—"Arabic" Section and "Persian" Section—was put to vote and was lost (18 against, 13 for).

The Rules and Bye-laws as recommended by the Sub-Committee and amended by the Council as indicated above, were then unanimously adopted. It was further resolved that the new Rules and Bye-laws should come in force from 1st of January 1947. The General Secretary was asked to supply to the members of the Conference printed copies of the revised Rules and Bye-laws as early as possible. The meeting of the Council was then adjourned.

The Second meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference.

The second meeting of the Council was held on Sunday, 20th October 1946, at 12-30 p.m. in the Science College, Nagpur.

The following members were present—

(1) S. K. Belvalkar, (2) A. S. Altekar, (3) P. N. Daroowala, (4) Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, (5) R. M. Sinha, (6) P. S. Ramanathan, (7) M. A. Qazi, (8) A. Awasthi, (9) S. M. H. Rizani, (10) K. A. Subramanya Iyer, (11) N. A. Gore, (12) C. G. Kashikar, (13) C. Kunhan Raja, (14) K. Sita Ramaiya, (15) M. Rama Rao, (16) Shri-Kant Misra, (17) L. R. Kulkarni, (18) K. Goda Varma, (19) Major Sayad Muhammad Agha Hyder Hasan Abidi, (20) M. Z. Siddiqi, (21) B. A. Quraishi,

(22) S. P. Chaturvedi, (23) K. Chattopadhyaya, (24) M. K. Iyengar, (25) A. S. Gadre, (26) H. D. Velankar, (27) S. M. Katre, (28) P. L. Vaidya, (29) N. Venkataramanayya, (30) S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, (31) Bisheshwar Nath Reu, (32) M. Upendra Sarma,, (33) V. Raghavan, (34) P. T. Raju, (35) V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, (36) N. Gopal Pillai, (37) S. R. Shende, (38) A. D. Pusalkar, (39) R. G. Harshe, (40) G. V. Devasthali, (41) F. G. Natesa Aiyar, (42) V. V. Mirashi, (43) V. B. Kolte, (44) R. N. Dandekar, (45) K. A. Nilakantan, (46) M. Nizamuddin, (47) P. V. Kane, (48) K. Ramkrishnaiya, (49) Y. Venkataramana, (50) P. V. Hanamantha Rao, (51) R. D. Karmarkar, (52) A. M. Ghatge, (53) A. N. Upadhye, and (54) P. Sambamoorti.

Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane was in the Chair.

(1) The Council first proceeded to the election of 14 members of the New Executive Committee. Thirty-two names were duly proposed and seconded. Votes were registered by ballot. The Chairman appointed Colonel Irani and Prof. N. A. Gore to be Tellers for the election. As a result, the following fourteen gentlemen were duly elected as members of the New Executive Committee: (1) Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane, (2) Dr. R. N. Dandekar, (3) Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, (4) Prin. V. V. Mirashi, (5) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, (6) Dr. A. S. Altekar, (7) Dr. V. Raghavan, (8) Dr. M. Nizamuddin, (9) Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, (10) Dr. R. C. Majumdar, (11) Prof. H. D. Velankar, (12) Dr. P. L. Vaidya, (13) Dr. M. Rama Rao and (14) Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The General Secretary thanked Colonel Irani and Prof. Gore for having acted as Tellers.

(2) Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya then moved the following resolution on behalf of the Executive Committee: "Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference recommends that, under the new constitution, the Central Government should not divest itself of the responsibility for the development of archaeological work in India." Dr. R. C. Majumdar seconded the resolution. Mr. Y. Venkataramanayya opposed it. A lively discussion then ensued in which several members participated. Dr. V. Raghavan proposed an amendment that the words "while they welcome the contemplated transfer of Archaeology to Provincial Governments" be added in the resolution after the words "Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference". Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya accepted the amendment. The following amended resolution was then unanimously passed: "Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference, while they welcome the contemplated transfer of Archaeology to the Provincial Governments, recommend that, under the new constitution, the Central Government should not divest itself of the responsibility for the development of Archaeological work in this country."

(3) Dr. R. C. Majumdar proposed and Dr. A. S. Altekar seconded the following resolution which was unanimously passed. "Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference has considered the Report on the Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology by the Gwyer Committee and recommends that—

(1) The Director of the Museum should be an Indian and a specialist in some branches of Indology.

(2) The Museum should have the following Departments:—

(i) Art and Archaeology ... Pre-historics.
(ii) Do ... North Indian.
(iii) Do ... South Indian.
(iv) Do ... Muslim.
(v) Anthropology.

(3) The Governing Body should be composed in such a way that at least the majority of its members should have a special knowledge of some subjects connected with the Museum. In particular the nominees of Universities and learned societies and institutions should be increased.

(4) The purchase fund should bear a larger proportion to the total amount allotted to the Museum.

(5) That the draft scheme of the Museum should be circulated to learned institutions and the public for opinion before any final decision is taken."

4. The Chairman then called upon Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji to move his resolution. Rao Bahadur Divanji moved: "This Council has reasons to believe that several rare MSS. of very ancient works composed in the ancient languages of India were secured by foreign scholars from their repositories during the 18th and 19th centuries by questionable means and removed to European countries for being kept there for the exclusive use of the students of their national universities. It is of the opinion that such MSS., like the rare specimens of Indian Art, are a national asset, that their proper custodian is the country of their origin and that the newly-constituted Interim National Government of India would be within its rights in claiming them back from the Governments of the countries concerned. With the view therefore of enabling that Government to make a formal official demand for the return of such MSS. to it, this Council appoints a Committee (of following members, with power to add to their number in case of necessity) to investigate and report to the Executive Committee of this Council within 3 months (1) the MSS. of which works had been removed from this countay, (2) to which countries they were removed, and (3) if possible, when and by whom they were removed. This Council further authorises the Executive Committee to forward a copy of this resolution to the Foreign Department of the Government of India and to the Associated Press of India and to move the Government of India to do the needful in the matter after it receives the report of the said Committee." The Chairman ruled this resolution out of order.

The meeting of the Council was then dissolved with a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

(Sd.) R. N. DANDEKAR,
General Secretary

(Sd.) P. V. KANE,
Chairman

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Nagpur Session : 19th. 20th, 21st October 1946.

OPENING SESSION

After the Presidential address. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the General Secretary, moved the following condolence resolution:

"Resolved that the Thirteenth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Nagpur on 19th October 1946, place on record their sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise of (1) Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria, Bombay; (2) Dr. R. Brandstetter, Switzerland; (3) Mr. S. J. Bulsara, Bombay; (4) Dr. Arthur Christensen, Denmark; (5) Sri Shyam Sundar Das; (6) Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Poona; (7) Mr. Edward Edwards, London; (8) M. Muhammad Ali Farughi, Iran; (9) Prof. S. H. Hodivala, Bombay; (10) Prof. A. Berriedale Keith, Edinburgh; (11) Dr. Paul Kraus; (12) Dr. Nicolas Johannes Krom, Netherlands, India; (13) Shaikh Mustafa al-Maraghi; (14) Prof. Henri Maspero, Hanoi; (15) Dr. Meyrhof, Jerusalem; (16) Prof. E. Mitwoch, Berlin; (17) Prof. Reynold A. Nicholson, Cambridge; (18) Don Miguel Asin Palacio, Madrid; (19) Dr. Paul Pelliot; (20) Rai Bahadur G. C, Praharaja, Cuttack; (21) Prof. Jean Przyluski, Paris; (22) Pandit Rangacharya Raddi, Poona; (23) Principal V. K. Rajwade, Poona; (24) Prof. P. P. S. Sastri, Madras; (25) Prof. Dr. Lucian Schermanm, Munich; (26) Mm. Kaviraja Gananath Sen, Calcutta; (27) Dr. R. Shamasastri, Mysore; (28) Pandit Batuknath Sharma, Benares; (29) Rai Bahadur Hirananda Sastri; (30) Pandit Kokoleshwar Sastri; (31) Prof. Otto Stein, Prague; and (32) Dr. W. F. Stutterheim "

The Resolution was passed all standing.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Nagpur Session : 19th, 20th, 21st October 1946

CONCLUDING SESSION

On behalf of the Council of the Conference, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the General Secretary, moved the following resolutions which were unanimously passed:

(I) Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference, while they welcome the contemplated transfer of Archaeology, to the Provincial Governments, recommend that, under the new constitution, the Central Government should not divest itself of the responsibility for the development of Archaeological work in this country.

(II) Resolved that the All-India Oriental Conference has considered the Report on the Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology made by the Gwyer Committee and recommends that—

(1) The Director of the Museum should be an Indian and a specialist in some branches of Indology.

(2) The Museum should have the following Departments—

(i)	Art and Archaeology ...	Pre-historic.
(ii)	Do ...	North Indian.
(iii)	Do ...	South Indian.
(iv)	Do ...	Muslim.
(v)	Anthropology.	

(3) The Governing Body should be composed in such a way that at least the majority of its members should have a special knowledge of some subjects connected with the Museum. In particular, the nominees of Universities and learned societies and institutions should be increased.

(4) The purchase fund should bear a larger proportion to the total amount allotted to the Museum.

(5) That the draft scheme of the Museum should be circulated to learned institutions and the public for opinion before any final decision is taken.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar then made the following announcements :—

(1) Office-bearers and Executive Committee for the 14th Session 1947—

President ... Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Vice-President	...	Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
Treasurer	...	Dr. Lakshman Sarup.
General Secretaries	...	1. Dr. M. Nizamuddin.
		2. Dr. R. N. Dandekar.
		3. Dr. A. S. Altekar.

Members of the Executive Committee—

1. Mm. Prof. P. V. Kane (Bombay)
2. Mm. Principal V. V. Mirashi (Nagpur)
3. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (Poona)
4. Dr. V. Raghavan (Madras)
5. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (Calcutta)
6. Prof. H. D. Velankar (Bombay)
7. Dr. P. L. Vaidya (Poona)
8. Dr. M. Rama Rao (Guntur)
9. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja (Madras)
10. Dr. Hira Lal Jain (Nagpur)
11. Dr. S. K. De (Dacca)
12. Prof. D. D. Kapadia (Poona)
13. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Madras)
14. Dr. M. H. Nainar (Madras)

(2) Section Presidents of the 14th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference—

1.	Vedic	...	Dr. R. N. Dandekar (Poona)
2.	Iranian	...	Prof. D. D. Kapadia (Poona)
3.	Classical Sanskrit	...	Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya (Calcutta)
4.	Islamic Culture	...	Khan Bahadur Dr. Abdul Haq (Madras)
5.	Arabic and Persian	...	Prof. Abdul Aziz (Aligarh)
6.	Pali and Buddhism	...	Dr. Nalinaksha Datta (Calcutta)
7.	Prakrit and Jainism	...	Dr. A. M. Ghatge (Kolhapur)
8.	History	...	Dr. N. Venkataramanayya (Madras)
9.	Archaeology	...	Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad (Hyderabad)
10.	Indian Linguistics	...	Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh (Calcutta)
11.	Dravidian Culture	...	Prof. K. Ramakrishnayya (Madras)
12.	Philosophy and Religion		Dr. P. T. Raju (Andhra University)
13.	Technical Sciences & Fine Arts	...	Prof. P. K. Gode (Poona)

(3) Publications of —

(1) The Second Volume of the Hyderabad Session Proceedings.

(2) Second Volume of the Benares Session Proceedings : Three more Volumes are to be published.

After the concluding speech by the President, resolutions of thanks were moved, on behalf of the delegates and members of the Nagpur Session, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar to the Nagpur University and the C. P. Government, by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri to the Reception Committee (Chairman and Vice-Chairman) and Donors and Patrons, by Prof. D. D. Kapadia to Local Secretaries (Dr. H. L. Jain, and Prof. Aga Hyder Hasan Abidi), by Prof. Subrahmanya Iyer to the Organisers of the Variety Entertainments, by Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi to Volunteers. All the resolutions were passed with loud acclamations.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTEENTH SESSION : NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER 1946

PART II

VEDIC SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

H. D. Velankar, Bombay

I feel deeply indebted to the Authorities of this Conference for doing me the honour of asking me to preside over the deliberations of this i. e. the Vedic Section. I do not know whether I shall adequately fulfil the expectations of those who have elected me to this office; yet I shall honestly try to do the duties that are assigned to me in this behalf. As is expected of me, I shall briefly state my views on some particular aspects of Vedic literature and the method of its study. I do not, however, intend to criticize or pass judgments on the work of my comrades in the field. I shall only stress the point that Vedic literature is the most cherished treasure of ours, and it must be carefully studied from all points of view and in all different ways. For, I firmly believe that it has an important lesson to teach us in these days of countless ideologies and theories about the ideal mode of living, both as a nation and as an individual.

Today, when we are striving hard to win back- our past glory, it is of utmost importance to know why and how we lost it and how and why we had earned it in the past. We can know this best only by a close and careful study of old literature where the mind of contemporary thinkers and leaders is faithfully reflected. Broadly speaking, literature of the Āryan peoples in the middle ages tends to suggest that they had reached the pinacle of glory long ago and had already begun their downward march towards temporal degradation and downfall. This literature of the middle ages which is preserved in Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages bears an unmistakable stamp of a highly cultivated spiritual thought, which has its eye fixed upon the yonder world rather than on this. The soul of the nation had attained its full spiritual development and the culture and civilization of the people were absolutely superior to those of any other contemporary peoples in the world. Yet a ruling tone of pessimism and overgenerosity in earthly matters is quite apparent in almost every stratum of society, and this very well accounts for the gradual disintegration of the Āryan community and its consequent downfall from temporal power. The Āryan community had become unmanageably vast and had lost its unity and urge to self-preservation owing to an improper valuation of certain human qualities and a mistaken co-ordination of spiritual and earthly matters. It is not my purpose to dwell on this period except by way of introduction. My main object is to show how an appreciative but dispassionate study of the literature of the earlier i. e. Vedic period is likely to throw a flood of light on those qualities and national tendencies which raised us to the heights of both spiritual and temporal glory among the peoples of the world.

Vedic literature is broadly divided into three main periods i. e. the Saṃhitā, the Brāhmaṇa and the Upaniṣad Periods. Really speaking, they are not as mutually exclusive as they are sometimes made out to be; but for practical purposes, and particularly for the purpose of a proper estimation of the nation's mind, the division is quite satisfactory. For, the three periods show three distinct stages in the growth of the national thought and spirit. In the Saṃhitā period we were in a stage of a national life when the highest truth about the nature of Man, Universe and their Maker had already dawned upon us; but it had not yet descended into our religious practices. The Ṛgvedic Ṛṣis had realised that the world had emanated from one supreme principle and that the different gods represented only the different aspects or forms of the same. This is amply borne out by the fact, that in addition to the specific mention of this principle under various names such as Ekam Sat, Vṛṣabho Dhenuh, Hiraṇyagarbha, Prajāpati, and Asya Adhyakṣa etc., the highest cosmic activities and divine qualities are ascribed alternately to the more important gods of the Vedic pantheon, such as Indra, Varuna, and others. Yet the Ṛgvedic Āryan still believed that this supreme principle, whatever its name or manifestation was, had to be propitiated for securing what he then considered as the goal of human life, namely earthly prosperity, both in kind and coin. Cows and horses, arrable lands, waterways, as also the less tangible rewards in the form of success and fame, were sought after through the intervention of the gods, who represented the highest principle. He was looking out for this supreme principle *outside* his own self, in the external world and believed that it could be approached and won over for the gratification of his desires through the medium of hymns and offerings, supported by faith and loyalty. I am purposely dropping the word Bhakti; for, I am going to say something about it in the sequel. Here in the Saṃhitā period, we have indeed the biginnings of Bhakti, but its legitimate growth had not yet attained even a part of its perfection which it displays in the later schools of Bhakti. Gradually, however, as was expected in the case of such a highly gifted people, the Vedic thinker began to realize that in the achievement of his goal his own work in the form of hymns and offerings was as much instrumental as the gods themselves. For, he discovered, or, he thought he discovered, that with the improved quality of his work, namely more praiseful and decorated hymns coupled with more elaborate and tasteful offerings of Soma and other food-materials, the achievement of his coveted goal became easier and more certain.

There are countless references in the Vedic Saṃhitās, and particularly in the Ṛgveda, which show how the Ṛṣis believed that on the strength of the superior quality of their hymns and offerings, they could *claim* the deity's favour and that they could also persuade the deity to go to them in decided preference to rivals of theirs.

This discovery naturally made them more self-conscious and introspective, and as a result of it they directed their energies more and more towards the improvement, elaboration and if possible, perfection of this all-important means of achieving their goals of life, namely the Sacrifice, which includes both hymns and offerings. Broadly speaking, this seems to have happened towards the end of the Saṃhitā and the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period. Hereafter, i. e. in the Brāhmaṇa period, the deities and their importance, began to lose their ground very fast, and all thoughts and energies were directed towards the perfection of the sacrificial ritual. Minutest details about it are found discussed and settled, not on the strength of any theological considerations, but merely on the basis of mystical observations, equations and associations which often verge on the magical. The priest attached more importance to his acts and words in the sacrificial ritual, reducing the deities and their powers almost to the status of a pure mechanism. He believed that he could not merely persuade the deities to do him a favour, but could even force them to do so by means of his ritual. Even his surroundings were greatly changed. The black-skinned Dasyus and Panis in human forms had been replaced by the invisible demons and Piśāchas who were supposed to be ever-active in disturbing or destroying the ritual and thus depriving the priest of his legitimate reward, which would otherwise have accrued to him on the strength of his correct and hence powerful rites. The Brāhmaṇas of the Ṛg and the Yajur Vedas, along with the Samhitās of the latter, disclose a consciousness of the malevolent spirits by the side of the Ṛgvedic deities, who play a purely mechanical part in the sacrificial frame-work, namely that of receiving the offerings and granting the wishes as a matter of course, without the exercise of their free will. But, in this very period the lower stratum of the Community seems to have developed a consciousness not merely of invisible malevolent spirits and demons, but also of similar benevolent minor divinities and beings which lived in stones, seeds and plants, and which actively helped, when duly propitiated, in the day-to-day affairs of human beings. This peculiar theory about the intermediate class of beings, of both gracious and vicious tendencies which could be yoked into useful service, or exercised if necessary by means of talisman and spells, was very likely borrowed by the Āryans from the native tribes of those days. At one time, it would appear, this cult was about to cut off a big slice from the great Āryan Community whose religion and theology had strictly prohibited the employment of the service of such semi-divine beings. But wise leaders of the Brāhmanical thought like the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas quietly adopted a part of the cult in the Āryan System of worship, and took care to place the minor divinities under the guardianship of the older Vedic deities like Agni, Indra and Varuṇa. It is my conviction that the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā is the result of such activities of the Bhṛgvangiras family, who, in the epic periods, prevented a similar conversion of the followers of the Vedic religion to the two great religions of the day, namely Buddhism and Jainism, by adopting without much ado what was ritually simple and attractive in these two religions. This is clear to the careful readers of the Mahābhārata.

We thus find that at the end of the Brāhmaṇa period, the Vedic Ṛṣi had grown still more self-conscious, and as a result of this his own work had attained a preponderating importance in religious worship, while the deities were only instruments serving a subsidiary purpose like the other sacrificial material. For achieving success, he had turned his attention from the external gods to something which was nearer to himself, namely his own devout labour. This period had also synchronized with the cessation of the internal and external wars of the Āryan fighters and princes; so that the intellectual energies of this latter class of the Āryans were now free to be directed in other channels. During these wars, the priestly class had monopolized the field of intellectual activity. They had introduced greater and minuter details into their ever-expanding sacrificial ritual and had expended all their thoughts and labours on its perfection, with the result that they remained oblivious to the development of the philosophical thought—currents which already existed in the Ṛg and the Atharva Saṁhitās. Luckily for the Āryan Community, however, the fighting class, i. e. the Kṣatriyas, took up the threads and began to weave out of them a philosophical web which proved to be of the highest merit. The early philosophical deliberations were primarily intended no be an offset against the spreading influence of the priestly ritual. Their main purpose was to show the insufficiency and hollowness of the sacrifices, because these latter had laid an undue emphasis on an unimportant aspect of the highest Truth and seemed to have completely forgotten to pursue an inquiry—which had already been started—into the nature of the one great principle from which the universe had emanated. The tendency to look behind a sacrifial act which the priest performs must have possessed the mind of the Kṣatriya thinker, partly through a feeling of jealousy for the growing influence of the priest, and partly through the inherent restlessness of his intelligent and inquisitive mind, now enjoying freedom from wordly troubles. Already the priestly classes had started on their inward march towards the world within, having realized to a certain extent that the control of the inner world could establish the control of the external world. By controlling their thoughts and acts they could control the working of the deities at the sacrifices. Yet the empty nature of worldly success and pleasures had not sufficiently dawned on them; so that they had not wholly turned away from the outer to the inner world in quest of truth and lasting happiness. The Kṣatriya thinkers, however, carried forward this inward march and soon discovered that the one great principle mentioned in the Ṛg and the Atharva Samhitās was really within our own selves and not at all in the external world. This important philosophical discovery was soon extended to the priestly classes and the more intelligent among them easily came to the forefront as uncompromising philosophers, leaving the work of continuing the sacrificial ritual to their less gifted comrades.

I have briefly indicated how in my humble opinion the Vedic Aryans gradually, in three successive stages, carried out their search after the truth, finally establishing that the source of happiness and final beatitude did not lie in the outside world, but just within ourselves. "Ayam Ātmā Brahma, Tat tvamasi, Idaṃ sarvaṃ yat ayamātmā," was the epoch-making discovery which was made by them. They had thus reached the zenith of the spiritual and philosophical thought, but it is just for this reason that there came about a great and significant change in their outlook in worldly matters. The external world together with its pleasure and pains was of no cosequences in the eyes of the philosopher. To him that blessed person who possessed the knowledge of the inner self was happier and mightier than even the apparently happiest and mightiest person, namely the king. These tendencies of neglect and even contempt of worldly matters very soon spread from the philosopher to the ordinary man who easily imbibed the corollaries of the philosophical truth, but quietly forgot the truth itself as it was difficult to grasp and realize.

There was peace and abundance in this now unhappy land of ours when the Upaniṣadic thinkers first hit upon the truth and propagated the same. For several centuries after this important event people were on the whole free and prosperous. Religions and philosophical systems were freely making progress among us in proportion to their inherent worth and the greatness of their founders. But the ruling thought and insistence of all these was on the inner or the yonder world and they were, therefore, naturally associated with a contemptuous neglect of the external or the actual world around us. I desire to point out that this philosophical contempt and neglect of the practical world around us which has never completely left us since those old happy days, is really the source of all our troubles and shortcomings. In our spirtual drunkenness we have steadily refused to understand the low culture, mean spirit and unholy intentions of the other people with whom we come in contact. So long as we were possessed of temporal power and prosperity, this could be exhalted as generosity of mind; but when we still continue to practise those same qualities even when we are gradually dispossessed of what legitimately belonged to us, we surely deserve to be called the silliest and weakest among the nations of the world. The sooner we realize this the better for us. Without in any way abandoning our philosophical and spirtual grandeur, we must go back to our virtues of the Vedic days, namely shrewdness, practical wisdom, capacity to distinguish between the real and the pretended, as also between the ideal and the actual, and most important of all, acquisition of material and physical power for suppressing the unholy forces which are out to take advantage of our weakness and disunity.

Vedic literature may thus be shown to have preserved for us the whole story of the growth of our spiritual and philosophical thought. It may also be studied from many different angles of academic vision. I shall indicate only some of them. The highly developed theory and practice of Bhakti are one of the few proud possessions which we aquired in the post-Vedic period. But this does not mean that we had not thought about this during the days when we worshipped the Vedic deities like Indra and Varuṇa. My broad analysis of the problem is as follows:—When we compare the hymns addressed to Indra by the Ṛgvedic poets with those that are addressed to Varuṇa, we find an essential difference between the two mental attitudes which characterize them. The poet has a sort of loving admiration for Indra, while he feels deep reverence mingled with a feeling of fear for Varuṇa. Love and friendly attachment are his ruling sentiments in Indra's praise, while fear of punishment and aloofness characterise his prayers to Varuṇa. It is sometimes maintained that the early origins of Bhakti are traced in the Ṛgvedic hymns to Varuṇa; but this is not wholly true. In our conception of Bhakti, there is hardly any room for fear. Bhakti is the deepest affection, complete self-surrender and full merging of one's existence into that of the deity. The Vedic poet's confession of sins to Varuṇa is a confession of an advocate which tries to shift the guilt to some one else; whereas the confession of a real Bhakta is the confession of an innocent child confessing to its beloved mother without any fear of retaliation or repudiation. The one is a skin-saving confession made with the intention of escaping chastisement, while the other is only a faithful report of weakness, without any idea of self-interest, made to one's most affectionate relative for the sake of an effective protection against the weakness. A real Bhakta is never afraid of punishment, bacause he fully believes that his deity is extremely loving and kind—he calls him his mother; and who is afraid of mother?— and would never be unnecessarily harsh to him. On the other hand, the Vedic poet's loyalty and affections for Indra may come somewhat nearer to the lofty conception of Bhakti of the later days. In the praises of and requests to Indra we notice complete absence of restraint and aloofness on the part of the singer. Indra is always addressed as *Sakhā*. With loving tenderness the Kaṇva poet of VIII. 1. 5–6 refuses to part with his Indra for any number of earthly gifts. Another poet of the Bhāradvāja family describes with great enthusiasm how his Indra himself became a cow or a horse if necessary (VI. 45. 26) for the sake of his worshipper who wanted these. An Āṅgirasa poet of I. 51. 13 declares how Indra had once become the wife of one Vṛṣanāśva who was his worshipper. Indra is repeatedly called the inspirer of the meek and the weak. But in spite of all this, the Vedic poet's attitude towards Indra or any other deity cannot be described as real Bhakti of the later days. The essential features of Bhakti, namely complete self-abnegation of one's self-interest and existence in those of the deity are still absent in the Vedic poet's devotion to Indra, much less in that to Varuṇa. It is quite possible that the Vedic poets would have reached this culmination in due course; but the course of circumstances was definitely against this. Owing to his spiritual progress the Vedic Ṛṣi was turning more and more inward as we saw above and so his enthusiasm for the gods who existed only in the outer world was gradually waning. In the Brāhmana period he made the gods occupy a comparatively subordinate position, while in the Upaniṣads he has almost forgotten them. Here, therefore, there was no scope for the further development of the Bhakti, since Karman in the Brāhmaṇa period and Jñāna in the Upaniṣadic period occupied most of the thought-energies of the Vedic thinkers. It is interesting to note that this comparative neglect of the gods and reliance on one's own self were also retained as the characteristic features in early Buddhism and Jainism.

As in the case of Bhakti and Philosophy, we may also see very clearly the early origin and growth of three or four other branches of knowledge. Thus the art of composing rhetorical or specially attractive and impressive poems was consciously developed in the Ṛgvedic period. The poet very often declares his intention to offer to his deity newer and mightier i. e. more forceful hymns. It is indeed not possible exactly to determine in what respect these specially composed hymns were newer and more forceful than the older ones, since these latter are no more available for comparison. Yet it is not difficult to see that difference was not intended to be so much in respect of new matter, as in that of the mode of its expression. The principal events in the life of the deity were well known to all poets; similarly the requests for favour and help were bound to be almost the same. In spite of this when the poet entertains the ambition to compose newer and more forceful hymns, he evidently means that his style and mode of expressing his praise and requests would be more pleasing to the deity. It is possible to discover by means of closer study what exactly the nature of the art of the poetic composition was. An obvious part of this literary art is the use of Alaṃkāras of Śabda and Artha such as Anuprāsa, wordpuns, Yamaka, Upamā, Utprekṣā and Śleṣa. A systematic study of these is bound to be fruitful in various ways. Among the Upamās used in the Ṛgveda, there is one particular type which may be called an Emotional Simile or the Simile of the heart. Generally speaking, a Simile is meant for raising a mental picture of some more familiar object for a quicker and easier understanding of the subject or thing under description; but in the Emotional Simile an appeal to the heart is specially intended in addition to this mental picture which touches only the imagination, of the hearer. In the expression 'pitā eva putrah sicam ārabhe te'--I cling to your skirt as a son does to that of his father—the poet has a clear intention of inviting the deity's fatherly feelings towards himself. There existed a keen rivalry among the poets in drawing the poet's deity's favours and sympathies towards themselves. They employed better and better offerings and newer and more forceful hymns for this purpose as said above, the forcefulness generally consisting in the affectionate tone that sought to touch the deity's heart. This tone of affection is evident in the terms of friendship and relationship which are so often used by the poet with reference to his deity.

It must, however, be observed, that so long as the gods were supposed to be outside, the means of propitiating them were hymns of praise and offerings. An ever-increasing improvement was sought to be made in them by the Vedic people, and so there existed a strong incentive to have better and more pleasing hymns composed. The art of delightful or flowery composition was therefore consciously cultivated almost upto the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period, when however, owing to the changed outlook, it came to be gradually neglected. In the Brāhmaṇa period, the mantras addressed to the deities were almost prosaic formulae, and there was little scope for the poetical art in such compositions. On the other hand, the philosophical topics of discussion in the Upaniṣads required quite a different mode of expression. Even here Similes are employed; but they are illustrative rather than decorative or Emotional. Upanisadic literature is anything but decorative or ornamental and this is as it should be. This literature is characterized by (1) a repetition of an idea in the same words and expressions to ensure firm grasp and comprehension; (2) use of riddlelike enigmatic expressions to rouse curiosity; (3) short stories to introduce philosophical doctrines and (4) corroboration of a philosophical notion by some well observed popular facts to eusure faith. It is only in the early centuries of the Christian era that conscious efforts at stylistic composition were revived, though from an entirely different point of view. An imperfect attempt to appraise the poet's art in the Ṛgveda was made by Bergaigne in 1886. This paper of Bergaigne is translated into English by Dr. Venkatasubiya in the Annals of the BORI., Poona 1935. Hirzel's Similes and Metaphors, Leipzig 1890 is incomplete and mainly attempts to estimate the extent of the poet's observation of the world around him through his similes. So, a fresh attempt in this direction is very much needed.

A similar growth of Vedic music through the Samhitā and the Brāhmaṇa periods deserves a careful and intensive study. Upward and downward modulation of voice was very early recognized to be attractive and hence we find that the Ṛgvedic stanzas were sung in some way instead of being merely recited in a monotonous voice. The raising and lowering of voice in the pronunciation of certain syllables in a word were not only connected with its meaning, but also with a perceptible intonation of the voice of the singer, which was intended to produce a pleasurable sensation in the hearer. Ṛgvedic music is in a stage of infancy having only three different tones and therefore affording very little variety. The proper pronunciation of letters in a word was recognized as an essential part of music along with the intonation of the voice which accompanied it. But gradually it was discovered that the modulation of voice supplied the greater part of the music and that the letters were serviceable only as the basis of this modulation. This must have led to the increase in the number of broadly recognizable tones from three to five, or seven. A separate school of thinkers took up this problem of music and brought a great revolution in this field. They never bothered themselves about the compostion of new hymns; but assiduously studied how the old existing hymns could be made to yield the desired varieties of music. When letters were not available in the original song which could accompany the modulations of voice in their musical system, they fearlessly introduced additional sounds and letters, of course of a definite type which would not be mixed up with those of the original song. Sometimes they even split up or mutilated some of the original sounds and letters as suited their convenience. This school of the Sāmavedins discovered many new melodies which could be sung on the existing Ṛcās, and contended that these melodies were far dearer to Indra than the simple Ṛcās.

It will be easily seen that these melodies were the early habingers and ancestors of the Rāgas and Rāgiṇis of the later days. But a deeper study of the Sāmavedic melodies will surely throw more light on the actual growth of the Svara Saṅgīta in ancient India. Such a study will be possible for scholars only when phonographic records of many different Sāmans are prepared and made cheaply available to them. This is a very urgent need and particularly in view of the fast disappearing class of the real Sāman-singers who are finding difficult to maintain a continuity in their tradition owing to a general neglect of their profession among the people and the consequent difficulty of persuading their pupils to undertake the study of the Sāmaveda music. The preparation of at least a few hundred records of some chosen Sāmans sung by expert Udgātṛs who have actually officiated at some sacrifices, is not a very costly affair when it is undertaken by a University or similar public bodies or even some noble patron of learning. But if this is not done soon, there seems to be very little hope of recovering this very important link in the development of the ancient Indian music.

The Yogaśāstra whose greatest and earliest exponent was patanjali, aims at perfecting the internal machinary of a man's body and mind by means of a graded course of training, with the ultimate aim of the realization of the highest goal of human life, namely, liberation from pain. So far as I can see, the Yogaśāstra is the natural outcome of the Vedic Ṛṣi's discovery in the Upaniṣads that the Sat or the Atman from whom the world has emanated existed inside a man and not outside him. So long as the gods were supposed to be outside ourselves, the means of propitiating them was hymns and sacrificial offerings. An ever-increasing improvement was sought to be made in them as we saw above. But when the great Atman was discovered to be within oneself, naturally, the means of reaching him could not be anything external. So an inquiry into the efficient means of reachig this great principle was started already in the Upaniṣads. The necessity of purifying, controlling and concentrating the mind and the senses, which are the inner forces in a man's body was recognized and stressed. As a corollary to this, the training and discipline of the hody had also to be introduced and all this in its early form is found in some of the oldest Upaniṣads. Really speaking Yoga signifies an Instrument, a remedy, a means to achieve the desired object, and as such the Vedic Āryans hadal ready developed and practised Vāg-Yoga and Karma-Yoga respectively in the Samhitā aud the Brāhmaṇa periods. In view of the changed outlook, however, they now began to work for the perfection of the Mano-Yoga. In the Vedic sacrtfices which may broadly be described as a sort of Karma-Yoga, the importance of training and disciplining the body was acknowledged, as is seen from the special Vratas which are prescribed for the sacrificer. But the scope of this Śārīra or Karma Yoga was very limited and its aim much different. The idea of perfecting the instrument of action by means of a special training is, however, as old as the Ṛgvedic hyms themselves. Only the method of perfection changed with the change of the instrument and of the goal to be achieved; so that the Yogaśāstra in its Upaniṣadic form must be considered as the legitimate successor of the unnamed Yoga of the Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.

Interpretation of Ṛgvedic poetry and also of the Vedas in general is as is generally recognized, very difficult. This is because there is no unbroken tradition about the original meaning of some of the words and expressions in them. There are indeed attempts at all periods of Vedic and post-Vedic literature to explain some of the obscure stanzas in the old Vedic hymns. Thus we find in the Brāhmaṇa, many of the Ṛcs sought to be explained; yet there does not seem to have existed any systematic attempt for the preservation of the original meaning of those very Vedic Sūktas whose text has been preserved with such meticulous care and zeal throughout the many centuries which separate them from us. This would seem rather strange and unexpected; but if we take into consideration the rapid change that took place in the outlook of the Vedic Ṛṣis from period to period, all that becomes easily explicable and looks perfectly natural. During the period of the Samhitas of the Yajurveda, the sacrificial ritual was perfected and systematized to a large extent with the result that the functions of the main priests were wholly separated from each other. Adhvaryu was the working-managing priest and Hotṛ was chiefly to recite stanzas from the Ṛgveda for addressing the sacrificial deities in particular. It was naturally supposed that the Vedic deities were quite conversant with the meaning of the Ṛcs even though they were so intelligible to men who were reciting them; and so long as the Ṛcs were recited in absolutely the same form, the deities would continue to understand their meaning and function properly at the sacrifices. The meaning of the Ṛcs was intended only for the deities and not at all for men, principally. This doctrinal neglect of the meaning of the Ṛgvedic verses must have at one time gone to the farthest extreme; so much so that the Vedic words had actually come to be regarded as mere sacred formulae whose recitation alone was efficacious and for which no meaning was ever intended for human beings. The Mimaṃsakas and the Nairuktas, however, raised a banner of revolt against the Yajnikas who maintained the above-mentioned view and tried to retrieve much of the later Vedic literature from oblivion. They were, however, rather, late for the Ṛgveda. The tradition about the original meaning of certain words and expressions was hopelessly lost and mere guesses had to be made in the case of the obscure words. The Mimamsaka sacrificers tried to understand the meaning of the Ṛgvedic hymns in view of the necessity of their correct employment in the ritual. Yet their very zeal owing to which they asserted that every Ṛk must be interpreted one way or the other, and their axiomatic principle that a sacred rite must be regarded as particularly glorious when it is supported by a Rk or Yajus which conveys a meaning favouring its performance, obviously led them to misinterpret some of the obscure and old stanzas. When a Rk did not yield its meaning with the help of the existing aids, its meaning was guessed and this is perfectly legitimate since we too are doing the same today. Examples of this type of guesses are to be found in Yāska's Nirukta. But even when the real meaning was available, the temptation to put a different suitable meaning upon the words in obedience to the above-mentioned principle, was some tlmes too great for the sacrificing enthusiasts. There are many examples of this type of artificial interpretations in the Brāhmaṇa literature. It would be wrong, however, to reject summarily all such attempts at Vedic exegesis; on the other hand, it would be profitable to value them ptoperly and to see if they contained at least a part of the real meaning, since it is quite possible that they had hit upon the correct sense of a stanza or an expression, which we now assume to have nothing to do with the sacrificial ritual. In addition to the other Vedāṅga treatises which are helpful in this respect I may also point out that Pānini's Vaidikī and Svara Prakriyās are sure to afford some clue to an unbiased interpretation of some obscure words in the Vedas. These portions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī are generally neglected. A good edition which carefully prints the Vedic passages with proper accents and gives their sources wherever possible has not been brought out. Needless to say that these portions of the Aṣṭādhyāyī have not been critically studied from the point of view of the Vedic interpretation.

This brings me to the most pressing need of having a neat critical English translation of the Ṛgvedic hymns. This translation must be accompanied by a few explanatory notes clearly indicating the line of interpretation adopted by the translator. Such a briefly but adequately annotated translation into German was started by Geldner and the first part of it containing Maṇḍalas I-IV was out in 1923. It is extremely unfortunate that its second part has never come out. But even this great translation cannot be regarded as the final word, and this is perfectly natural in view of the extremely difficult nature of the task. Our new translation must show a distinct and definite advance over Griflith's English translation which was published several years back, and which has served a useful purpose thus far. Griffith's translation was, as a matter of fact, not meent to be much more than a popular one, though he had fully utilized the then available German translation and notes by Ludwig and Grassmann. Our new translation and notes will have to be of a different type. As said above, it must contain brief but sufficient critical notes which justify the translation; it must take into account the very vast material written in German by great Vedic scholars like Oldenberg and Geldner, but at the same time it must not neglect the interpretations suggested by older Sanskrit commentators like Sāyaṇa and others. It must see what interpretation the post–Vedic literature has put upon the word of the stanza and then express a judgment after a proper valuation o, all these efforts. Similarly, the efforts of more modern scholars, both Indian and European, in explaining the various aspects of the Ṛgvedic language and mythology must also be duly appreciated and utilized in this new translation. This is however, not all. So far the Ṛgvedic hymns have been approached from the point of view of their language and contents; but their literary side has been neglected as a whole. Ṛgvedic interpretation has thus far assumed that Ṛgveda is a simple unornamented composition having no artificiality about its style, even though this is directly opposed to what is said in the *Sūktas* themselves. Many times the interpretation of a stanza becomes much more simplified when the intended decoration is properly grasped. Similarly, there does not exist so far a proper appreciaton of the pervading mood or feeling of the poet, which if properly understood often simplifies the interpretation of an otherwise obscure stanza or stanzas. Oldenberg has often based his interpretation upon the contents or metre of the different stanzas of a hymn; but this is only a beginning in the right direction. The poet of a hymn must not be supposed to have composed the stanzas of his hymn at random or incoherently, without any continuous underlying thread of thought, and it is always important to find out the possible connecting link between the preceding and the succeeding stanzas of a hymn. This link sometimes wonderfully indicates the true meaning of a hymn. The principle of explaining the Saṅgati between the earlier and the later parts of a text, which is generally adopted by the old Sanskrit commentators is a very healthy one and must be followed wherever possible even in the Ṛgvedic interpretation. To be brief, the new translation of the Ṛgveda must be based upon a deep, careful and dispassionate study not only of its language but also of its accent and metre, style and ornamentaion, as well as of the thoughts and practices, feelings and tendencies of the poets who composed them, as revealed from the hymns themselves. Such a translation alone, I believe, can be a sure foundation on which any important historical, sociological or mythological conclusions can be based.

A natural outcome of such a translation will be a Ṛgvedic dictionary, the preparation of which may either be simultaneous with the translation or may even follow it. The dictionary must possess all the advantages of Grassmann's Worterbuch, but must also contain the necessary alterations and additions. Similarly, for a thorough and correct understanding of the rhetorical side of the hymns, a dictionary of the Upamānas occurring in the Ṛgveda, is, I think, bound to be yery useful. The different passages which employ a particular Upamāna are sure to be mutually helpful, since in some of them the poet's ideas are more fully expressed than in the others.

I may now briefly mention some important undertaking in the field of Vedic literature. It is a matter of great delight that the Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona has brought out the forth volume of their new and improved edition of the Sāyaṇabhāṣya on the Ṛgveda. This volume contains the last two Maṇḍalas and all the Khilas of the Ṛgveda critically edited and neatly printed with a learned introduction. The Maṇḍala has also undertaken a critical edition of the Taittiriya Saṃhitā with the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bhāskaramiśra. They have also started work on the Srautakoṣa, which proposes to be an encyclopaedia of Vedic ritual based on Vedic and Śrauta literature. This latter work is bound to be extremely useful. We heartily congratulate the Mandala and its enthusiastic secretaries on their performance and wish them all success in their new undertakings. The Svādhyāya Maṇḍala of Oundh has issued two more volumes during the last two years. They contain the carefully - prepared editions of the Kaṭhaka and the Taittiriya Saṃhitās. But the most important work connected with Vedic literature which has been published only a few days back is Dr. Dandekar's Vedic Bibliography. This monumental work deserves a rich reward of praise and gratitude from all lovers of Vedic literature. It inspires in us a hope that at least our younger generation of scholars may lay a deep and lasting foundation of Vedic scholarship by bringing out many such works which require untiring patience and unbending perseverence. This work of Dr. Dandekar takes a comprehensive survey of all articles and works connected with Vedic literature published during the last 15 years. It is intended to be a supplement to Renou's well known Bibliographie Vedique published in 1931. There remains hardly anything for me to do here than to recommend this excellent book to you.

With Renou's and Dandekar's Vedic Bibliography on the one hand, and with Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith, the proposed Srautakosa of the Vaidika Samshodhana Mandala of Poona and the Upaniṣad-vākya-koṣa of Colonel Jacob on the other, we have practically all the necessary equipment needed for a critical study of Vedic literature in all its three stages. I may, however, mention in passing that both the Vedic Index and the Upaniṣad-koṣa require a thorough revision in the light of new literature that has come to light. Especially the

Upaniṣad-vākya-koṣa must soon be amplified and brought up-to-date. I am aware of the publication of the two volumes of Pandit Gajanansastri Sadhale's Upaniṣad-vākya-mahākoṣa in 1940-41; but unfortunately, in spite of the great labour expended on it by the old Pandit, the book is practically useless for a critical study of the contents of the Upaniṣads. It is merely an Index of Upaniṣadic sentences and parts of sentences arranged according to the alphabetical order of their initial words, and absolutely without any references to their contents. Naturally, therefore, sentences pertaining to a particular topic or name or word are scattered all over the Koṣa without any hope or clue of being put together.

One feels greatly delighted to see such a large mumber of Indian scholars both young and old, trying to throw light on the various aspects of Vedic literature. Methodical research of literary works is indeed a gift which we received from the Western scholars, and we must gratefully acknowledge this. Yet we might make our own contribution to it by supplying the warmth of a sympathetic appreciation, in the absence of which all research is bound to be as cold as a soulless body. This, of course, does not mean that we must go to the other extreme and be only the passionate advocates of whatever was ours in the past. Far from it. Scholars must always be impartial judges, fearlessly pointing faults wherever they exist and suggesting ways and means of correcting them, if they can. But their Judgment of the events and errors of the past must always be seasoned with a deeply sympathetic understanding of the background which alone may help us to understand their correct lesson.

I thank you all once more and resume my seat.

THE SAMVĀDA SŪKTAS OF ṚGVEDA

Prof. P. S. Shastri, M. A.

The Ṛg Veda Saṃhitā contains a few dialogue hymns whose dramatic quality has been hotly contested by many an orientalist. The themes of these hymns are purely of a secular nature; and the tradition supports it, for we often read the Viniyoga of these hymns as 'gato viniyogah', 'laingika Viniyogah', 'sāmānya viniyogah'. These terms plainly betray the non-liturgical nature of these hymns. Yet the Indian tradition is not definite as regards the actual character of these hymns. About the song 10. 90., The Bṛhad Devatā informs us:—

" आह्वानं प्रति चाख्यानमितरेतरयोरिदम् ।
संवादं मन्यते यास्क इतिहासं तु शौनकः ॥ " (7. 15)

"Yāsks holds this song to be a dialogue, while Śaunaka takes it to be an 'Itihāsa'; and for the author it is a narrative between persons". On 4. 18., Sāyaṇa observes. " अस्मिन् सूक्ते इन्द्रादिति वामदेव-संवाद-रूपिणी काचिदाख्यायिका सूच्यते । ". Here the saṃvāda is almost identified with ākhyāna. Sieg believes that itihāsa and ākhyāna were originally synonymous terms.* Itihāsa is more interested in the content of the narration, while ākhyāna aims at form and the like.† There are many ākhyānas in the Brāhmaṇa literature, which were recited in the great sacrifices like Aśvamedha, Rājasūya and Vājapeya. This special Itihāsa veda is to be recited on the eighth day according to Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (13. 4. 3. 12). By the time of Yāska the term Itihāsa acquired a technical meaning, which led Geldner to term these hymns itihāsas, and not ākhyānas as was done by Oldenberg.

Yāska horribly confuses these two terms. He considers the songs of Devāpi (10. 98. Nir. 2. 10.), Mudgala (10. 102. Nir. 9. 25.), and Saraṇyū (10. 17. Nir. 12. 10.) as itihāsas; while the songs of Saramā and Paṇis (10. 108. Nir. 11. 25.), and Yama and Yamī (10. 10. Nir. 11. 34.) are ākhyānas. As regards the song of Trita in the well (1. 105.) he observes : " तत्र ब्रह्मेतिहासमिश्रं ऋङ्मिश्रं गाथामिश्रं भवति. " Durga explains this as, " तत्र तस्मिन् सूक्ते ब्रह्म इतिहासमिश्रं इतिहासयुक्तमित्यर्थः । तद्यथा—' त्रितः कूपे अवहितो देवान् हवत ऊतये......' इत्येवमादि । स पुनरितिहासः ऋग्बद्धो गाथाबद्धश्च ॥ " Yāska observes about (10. 108.) देवशुनीन्द्रेण प्रहिता पणिभिरसुरैः समुद इत्याख्यानम् ।"; this is explained by Durga as, 'saṃvādaṃ kurvatī'· According to ṣaḍguru śiṣya there are nine saṃvādas in Ṛg Veda : I. 126, 165, 170, 179; III. 33; IV. 18; VII. 32; X. 10, 28. His definition of a saṃvāda is only 'sarasa vākya prati sambandha' and 'sambhūya bhāṣaṇam'. Śaunaka finds saṃvādas in I. 165;

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* Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda, pp. 13, 17, 34.

† Charpentier : Die Suparṇāsage. p. 16.

VII. 33; X, 10, 28, 95. Ṣaḍguru śiṣya calls X. 95 an itihāsa, while Sāyaṇa names it an ākhyāyikā. Yāṣka and Bhāguri treat the Apālā song (8. 91) as an itihāsa, but Śaunaka reads it as a simple song of Indra.

The saṃvāda was originally called a Vākovākya, or an 'ukta-pratyukta' which term he defines as:—

> " यः कश्चिदाध्यात्मिक आधिदैविक आधिभौतिको वाऽर्थ आख्यायते दिष्ट्युदितार्थावभासनार्थं स इतिहास इत्युच्यते स पुनरयमितिहासः सर्वप्रकारो हि नित्यमविवक्षित स्वार्थस्तदर्थप्रतिपत्तॄणामुपदेशपरत्वात् " ॥ (4. 124. 8).
>
> " निदानभूत इति हैषमासीदिति च उच्यते स इतिहासः " । (2. 198. 4).

Indian tradition has employed the term to signify the narration of some historical or mythical incident, whether it be clothed in the form of a dialogue or a ballad. Provided a story is told in the hymn, they called it by any name they liked. Hence the same hymn is named by every one in his own way. But in the earlier days Śatapatha could name 10. 95 only an 'ukta-pratyukta' a dialogue.

This sets the problem, what exactly is the nature of these saṃvāda hymns? Controversies arose and scholars have spent their precious time in determining the true nature of these songs. We are faced with four important theories propounded by eminent Orientalists. They are (i) the Ākhyāna theory; (ii) the ritual drama theory; (iii) the ballad theory; and (iv) the vegetation theory. An examination of these theories will reveal that these songs are only fragments of dramas with a rare literary quality.

1. The Ākhyāna Theory.

The Ākhyāna theory has its origin in certain observations made by Windisch with reference to the song 10. 95.[*] Himself an authority on Irish literature, he saw the narratives mixed there with prose; and in his examination of 10. 95 he carried out the same view. Oldenberg developed this view thoroughly in his papers 'Das alt indische Ākhyāna mit besonderer Rukhsicht auf das Suparṇādhyāya',[†] 'Ākhyāna Hymnen in Ṛig Veda',[‡] and in Gottinglische Anziehen and elsewhere. His Ākhyānas number some 23 hymns. Various criticisms that are levelled against his theory find an answer in his amusing article 'Der Typus der-prosaisch-poetischen Erzahlung und die Jātakas'.[$]

According to Oldenberg these saṃvādas are not understandable as they are. These verses ought to have been originally interspersed with prose passages as can be seen from many narratives in the Brāhmaṇas, and in the Jātakas.

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[*] Vorhandlung des 33. Philologen Vers. p. 28 ff, Also 'Māra und Buddha'.

[†] Z. D. M. G. 37. pp. 54 to 86.

[‡] Z. D. M. G. 39. pp. 52 to 90.

[$] Gottingische Nachrichten, 1911. p. 441. ff.

People generally have a liking for the direct speech, and consequently the narrative was bit by bit dramatised. Verse was normally employed; and it might have been the case whenever there was a heightening of the interest or of the feeling. The Śunahśepa legend of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (7. 13. 18) and the Urvaśī-Purūravas legend of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11. 5.1) add weight to this contention. Hence the oldest form of epic poetry was the Ākhyāna, a tale in mixed prose and verse. Prose is an essential part. This is the position of Oldenberg.

We have no evidence to prove that such Ākhyānas ever existed in the Greek literature of the earliest times. The Celtic Literature is too late to give any support. Any poem might have been originally accompanied by an introduction in prose. But it does not on that account form an integral part of the poem. The verse in Pancatantra is mostly gnomic and didactic, and certainly never dramatic. It sums up the narrative in a formulaic manner. There are many discrepancies between the prose and the verse of the Jātakas. As Charpentier has observed, there is not enough evidence to show that any fable literature and the like ever existed in the pre-Buddhistic times.*

The next basis of Oldenberg's theory is the Śunahśepa legend. But that part of Aitareya Brāhmaṇa where the story occurs is not old. 'The ṛks that are put in the mouth of Śunahśepa have nothing to do with the legend of the Brāhmaṇa. Having been asked to say somthing about the advantages of having a son, Nārada replies in ten verses, which seem to have been culled from the floating mass of ethical literature. The excellencies of energy are rendered into gnomic verse (A. B. 7. 15). The prose here narrates the wanderings of Rohita. Finally some verses have been again incorporated into the text regarding Viśvāmitra's sons and adoption. And Keith is not wrong when he obesrves that 'the tale of Hariścandra and Rohita is based on the verses containing the name of Rohita, taken from a gnomic poem '.†

The support from Śatapatha Brahmaṇa is so weak that Oldenberg himself was compelled later on to give it up. " Apropos of the 'araṇis' or kindling sticks, whence the fire is made for the sacrifice, the Śatapatha narrates (11. 5. 1) to us the tale of purūravas and Urvaśī. He discovers her with her companions at the lake. Then the text inserts the ṛks X. 95. i, ii, xiv and xv with a brief word of explanation after each verse. Then a single verse, the xvi and then, without commenting on that verse, the text continues, ' this discourse in 15 verses has been handed down by the Bahvṛcas '. Thereafter the story pursues its way untramelled with reference to Ṛgveda."‡ Oldenberg believed that the prose has been curtailed for ritual purposes. But the text is explicit in saying : ('तदेतदुक्त-प्रत्युक्तं पञ्चदशर्चं बह्वृचः प्राहुः' 11. 5. 1. 10). It has taken up a story that does not belong to it, and has only commented upon a few verses by way of an example. The comments are not in the manner of interpreting an Ākhyāna. No additional facts are given but verses are simply paraphrased. The summary of the omitted verses is given in the prelude. The prose here 'is an explanation of and an introduction to the dialogue.' 'In the explanation of the 14th verse the Brahmaṇa seems to propose two different renderings of the original text, interpreting Purūravas' intention as being either to throw himself down, that is hang himself, or to start forth, presumably on his wild rushing over the earth'.* It narrates in correct chronological order the story of Urvaśī, while the author of the Ṛgvedic hymn only alludes to the previous facts, as is often the only possible method in a dramatic dialogue.

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* Suparnāsage. p. 53.

† Keith in J. R. A. S. 1912. p. 433.

‡ Ibid. p. 990.

The ākhyāna came into existence only in the Buddhistic period. Yāska never tells us that it existed in the vedic period. He only supplies the ākhyāna basis which enables us to know the back-ground of the particular hymn. It is only with reference to the song of Trita that he says that it was mixed up of ṛks, gāthās, and itihāsas. Gāthās are 'current materials of an epic and gnomic content.' Itihāsas are narrative strophes. Yāska does not even hint at the existence of an Itihāsa Veda, which was supposed by Geldner and Sieg to be the source book of many a Ṛgvedic ballad. The prose-poetic narrative does not belong to the Vedic times. The prose-poetic narration of the story of Naciketas in Kaṭhopaniṣad too does not support Oldenberg, for the older upaniṣads too have only a few quoted verses. The Suparṇādhyāya too cannot afford any proof, for Hertel successfully maintains it to be a drama, a mysterium.† Keith takes 'a part of it as an epic, needing no Ākhyāna theory; the rest may be epic dialogue.'‡ Charpentier, after a careful examination of the Suparṇādhyāya, has rejected an interpretation of it on the basis of the Ākhyāna theory.$

The prose, if at all it existed, in these saṃvādas, could not have been lost. Indian tradition was so scrupulous in maintaining carefully every syllable they came to know of. With marvellous perseverence the prose of the Brāhmaṇas was preserved. Keith observes : "No one who has compared the texts can doubt that there was at one time a prose text of the Yajurveda which must have been carefully handed down until radically different schools developed their own individual texts. We are thus carried farther than ever back to a period when prose also was carefully preserved alongside with the mantras of Yajurvedas. The prose, as is well known, explains the mantras, and the question inevitably presents itself, on what grounds can we claim the loss of the prose, which was an essential part of the Ākhyānas, was a natural thing, when the prose of the Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, which is not half so closely related to the mantras is preserved clearly and beyond doubt, with jealous care ".[*]

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* Ibid. p. 991.

† V. O. J. 23. 273 . ff.

‡ J. R. A. S. 1912. p. 434

$ Die Suparnasage. Kapitel IV.

This Ākhyāna theory was next taken up by Geldner,[†] Pischel,[‡] and by the former's disciple, Sieg.[$] These scholars preferred to give the term 'Itihāsa in accordance with the traditional usage. Himself a great Avestic scholar, Geldner tried to give support to this theory from the Iranian sources.[||] Gāthā meant to him an epic or gnomic strophe. In the Yaśnas and Gāthās of Avesta, we come across the terms Afsman and Vacastasti. He interprets the former as the poetic part, and the latter as the prose part. In Haptajhaiti, which is written in prose, the meaning 'composition in prose' is completely clear. But as Bartholomae has shown, Afsman means 'a row of verses', and 'Vacastasti' is 'strophes in Gāthās'. Charpentier's examination of Geldner-Bartholomae hypothesis as regards the prose in the Gāthās is fruitful in yielding the inevitable conclusion that it does not lend support to the Ākhyāna theory.[¶]

Besides, Geldner asserts the existence of an Itihāsa Purāṇa, from which these itihāsas of Ṛgveda seem to have taken their origin. But Sieg has thoroughly examined all the available evidence on this point and has only come to the conclusion that the existence of such a work is only a matter of faith; for he observes that 'no such collection has a fixed form; and that there was nothing to hint that the form of this collection was a blend of prose and verse'.[℣] This is another point against the Itihāsa theory.

2. The Ritual Drama Theory.

Maxmuller, while explaining the hymn 1. 165, gave in germ the idea that these Saṃvādas are dramatic pieces: "if we suppose that this dialogue was repeated at sacrifices in honour of the Maruts, or that possibly it was acted by two parties—one representing Indra, the other the Maruts and their followers—then the two verses in the beginning and the three at the end ought to be placed in the mouth of the actual sacrificer, whoever he was."[§] Sylvain Levi followed suit in his La Theatre Indien and developed this view. Here he saw the origin of the Indian drama. The poet, according to him, reproduced some of the scenes he actually saw. Sylvain Levi here rcognised even a chorus and the restriction of the actors to three as in the early Greek drama. Even before these scholars and

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[*] J. R A. S. 1911. p 987 ff

[†] Vedische Studien I. 284 ff; II. i ff; 266 ff.

[‡] Vedische Studien II. 42 ff.

[$] Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda.

[||] Vedische Studien I. 287 ff.

[¶] Die Suparnasage pp. 71 to 77.

[℣] Sagenstoffe des Ṛgveda p. 33

[§] Sacred Books of the East. 32. 183.

Horwitz, Adalbert Kuhn thought, as early as 1859 itself, that the hymns IV. 26 and 27 are dramatic pieces.[*]

This view has been fully developed by Hertel[†] and von Schroeder.[‡] Hertel takes X. 34 and 119 as monologues, and the rest as dramatic pieces. He compares these hymns with Gītagovinda and the Yātrās, and in this light the vedic dialogues are the precursors of the modern drama. The Suparṇādhyāya is a complete mystery, a drama. The hymn of the frogs (7. 103) is a secular drama. Here men mask themselves as frogs, and dance the spell to procure rain. Similary in the gambler's hymn (10. 34) he imagines that the dances represented the leaping and falling of dice. Yama and Yamī enact a fertility drama. (10. 10).[§]

Von Schroeder leaves the Greecian atmosphere and enters medieval European theolgy, when the Germanic drama proper began. He was weighed under the ethnological considerations and the Christian Mysteries, Moralities and Interludes. Since music and dancing too were found in the saṃvāda sūktas, he at once took them to be Cult-dramas, which were later on represented as Viṣṇu-Rudra cults. Both these scholars found here 'really speeches belonging to some dramatic performances connected with the religious cults; we have only to supply the dramatic action.' Von Schroeder has examined some 17 hymns, found similar things existing in the Indo-Germanic period, and reconstructed these socalled Cult-dramas with chorus and dance, vegetation and magic.[||]

Reviving the dramatic theory of Max Muller, these scholars gave the lie direct to the Ākhyāna theory. As Hertel points out the Vājasaneyi Saṃhita knows of a Śailuṣa, an actor (30. 6). The existence of the traditional actors precludes the possibility of the grānthikas or of prose fillings. Though Hertel postulates some sort of relationship between these Cult-dramas and the classical dramas, von Schroeder plainly admits his inability to connect the two.

Hertel maintains that the Ṛgvedic hymns were not recited, but sung. Von Schroeder brings in not only music and song, but also dance, emphasising it much. He shows the ethnographical parallels. He finds cognate groups of dancers for the Maruts in other countries. Hertel agrees with him in showing some sort of mimic actions in masks. Both of them do not explain why and how such dramatic performances were lost even in the later day rituals.

We have to remember that a ritual application of these songs is not handed down to us by the Indian tradition. It is almost paradoxical to think that mimic dances existed once in the rituals, that they disappeared in later ritual observances, and that the tradition was totally ignorant of them.

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[*] Herabkunft p. 146. A. 1.

[†] Der Ursprung des indisches Drama und Epos : W. Z. K. M. 18. 59 ff; 137 ff.

[‡] Mysterium und Mimus.

[§] W. Z. K. M. 23. 273 ff; 18. 59 ff; 18. 137 ff.

[||] Mysterium und Mimus. p. 13 ff.

Von Schroeder closely links up this explanation to the vegetation ritual. He applies the principle of vegetation ritual to a good many hymns. He finds a grand allusion to it in the "Upala prakṣiṇī" of IX. 112, which he interprets as 'corn-mother'. But the Maruts, who play a prominent part in this theory as dancers have apparently no real characteristics of the vegetation magic. The Lopāmudrā dialogue (1. 179) represented to him the ritual of fertility and vegetation, when the corn has been cut. Hence Lopāmudrā signified to him the disappearance of the corn-spirit,[*] much in the same way as that of proserpine. The simple song, IX. 118, "becomes a wild scene of revelry by a masked crew of vegetation spirits dancing to music and singing the song".[†] In X. 10 there is a variant of the fertility magic.[‡] Unlike Hertel, von Schroeder believed that the vedic drama was dying out when we find it.[$] As such the later ritual is silent regarding the ritual drama. But even then tradition could not have ignored it.

Von Schroeder places X. 119 in the performance of Soma-festivity. He considers X. 97 to be a medicine-mimus "The song of the gambler (X. 34) would find its place, accompanied by dances of the personified dice and of apsarasas at the kindling of the fire of the sabhā, which served also as the place of dicing. It would serve also as an interlude in the midst of the offering to recall the mind of the spectators to the dangers of gambling, and it would thus serve the purpose of a Morality of the middle ages in Europe".[||] This is all wishfull thinking and reading the Christian parallels into a harmless monologue of an introspective and didactic value. Von Schroeder is too much led away by the medieval European mysteries, moralities, and interludes, as Hertel is misled by the Yātrās.

3. The Vegetation Theory.

A. B. Keith visualises the vegetation theory in interpreting the dialogue hymns.[¶] According to him, it is only Patanjali that first notices the regular drama. The vedic ritual is full of dramatic elements. But the Mahāvrata ceremony[℣] contains many dramatic devices based upon the vegetation magic. Keith categorically denies the existence of any drama in the vedic times. "It may be true that the hymn X. 10 was originally suggested by observations of a nature–ritual of some sort, while it may not be true that the hymn was ever used at a dramatic performance in the rite. There is no necessary reason why a Ṛṣi might not compose a hymn which directly reflects a ritual custom of a dramatic character without intending the hymn to be used as a ritual drama, and unless so used there is no question of a drama as a literary form, which essentially implies a representation through action''.[*] Further, no Indian tradition speaks of the prevalence of drama in this period. And the "drama represents the outcome of a vegetation ritual''. The ancient Indian ritual is full of ritual dialogues. There were elaborate dialogues in the Aśvamedha and other rites. The speech of the queen in the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (33.18), the speech of the Brāhmaṇa student and of a hetaira in the Mahāvrata (Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā 34. 5; Aitareya Āraṇyaka), the Brahmodyas and other rites are recognised as important parts of the sacrifices. So, while "drama is a representation, this dramatic ritual is a presentation pure and simple".[†]

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[*] Ibid. p. 168.
[†] Ibid. p. 408.
[‡] Ibid. p. 275.
[$] Ibid. p. 70.
[||] Keith in J. R. A. S. 1911. pp. 1004, 1005.
[¶] Z. D. M. G. 64. 534 to 536; J. R. A. S. 1909 to 1912 and 1916.
[℣] Kāthaka Saṃhitā 34. 5; Sānkhāyana Āranyaka.

It is impossible to say, proceeds Keith, whether the verses were sung at all in the vedic times. The Brāhmaṇas regularly employ the word 'gāy' for the sāman and 'śams' for the ṛks. "The drama springs from the dramatic ritual, and there must be a stage when the two seem but one. But the essence of the two is distinct, and depends on the relation of the performers to the action. In the dramatic ritual they are actors themselves seeking some direct end; in the drama they conscientiously represent the action of others".[‡] With this theory Keith tries to solve the problem of silence in later Literature regarding the ritual–vegetation–dramatic–elements. Here he imagines certain things. The priests, who admitted the popular chariot races, abuses and the like, "could not see the dancing and singing of the gods on the stage. Moreover, stress must be laid on the fact that the ritual drama was in great measure a phallic drama, and phallic rites were hated of the priests."[$] This is the answer sponsered by von Schroeder. The old ritual was coarse, but there is not enough evidence to show that 'the drama was inevitably bound up with the phallic practices'.[||] These saṃvādas ceased to have successors, not because the Indian drama terminated by the Vedic period, but only because it has not yet begun.[¶] With Maurice Bloomfield,[ψ] Keith holds that many of the Ṛgvedic songs were mainly composed for the ritual. There hymns 'fill up the pauses in the sacrifice'.[§] 'The drama developed outside the Brahminical stratum of the populace,' in popular life and religion. 'The Ṛgveda, which is essentially a religious work, does not contain any dialogues of a dramatic character.'* These arguments are presumed to have the support of the fact that the Mahābhārata knows only the pantomimes and puppet shows. There is no early Buddhistic evidence for a drama. Pāṇini's Naṭa Sūtra (4. 3. 110, 111) cannot possibly be said to refer to dramas.†

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[*] J. R. A. S. 1909. pp. 202, 203.

[†] Ibid. pp. 1911. pp. 996, 997.

[‡] Ibid. pp. 999 to 1001.

[$] Ibid. p. 1002.

[||] Ibid. p. 1003.

[¶] Ibid. p. 1003.

[ψ] J. A. R. S. 17. 177.

[§] J. R. A. S. 1911. p. 1006.

Before examining these arguments we have to bear in mind certain very mportant points. The Ṛgveda, as we have it now, is only a collection of some of the songs that were selected by the compilers. Even so conservative a critic as Oldenberg has admitted that many of the most beautiful secular songs have been lost, and that only a few escaped into this selected edition.‡ These socalled Ākhyānas or saṃvādas suffered a good deal in this process of unnatural selection. Secondly, there are lapses in tradition. A long time did elapse after the composition of the ṛks, and the beginning of a critical study of these compositions. By this time the interpreters have lost the original aesthetic interpretation, and consequently the text was interpreted in a way that is foreign to the spirit of the authors.$ The ritualistic tradition commenced long after the Ṛgvedic songs were composed. Hence we cannot deduce satisfactory conclusions from the traditional accounts regarding the form of these Saṃvādas. Further, the absence of a traditional account is never a proof of the falsity of a new interpretation. Besides the Ṛgveda presents the culmination of a great Era of Civilization and Culture.

The origin of drama is an unsolvable riddle, like the origin of language, of mankind. In Greece we can trace it to the vegetation magic and the Bacchanalian festivities. But just as Greece and India differ in their beginnings of Philosophy, so do they in their origins of the drama. The Mahāvrata and other rites occur in later ritual and literature; but it is no point to argue from a pantomime of the modern day that the drama has its origin in these pantomimes, and vegetation magic. The dramatic sense is the most common thing inherent in every man. It is a fundamental axiom of the dramatic technique that the drama is intended to be staged. It is only later on that we have purely imaginative dramas like King Lear or Prometheus Unbound, that are to be read and enjoyed.

The very term Nāṭaka implies that the drama employs dancing; and dance always demande action and music. The Ṛgvedic period does not lack reference to the popularity of dancing. There are many allusions to the dances of the

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* Ibid. pp. 1008, 1009.

† J. R. A. S. 1916. pp. 146 to 151.

‡ Nachrichten von der Koniglischen Gesselschaft der wissenschaften zu Gottingen. Heft 1, 1918. pp. 35 to 71. See also the present writer's article on the Fragmentary nature of Ṛgveda in Prabuddha Bhārata.

$ See the writer's article in Nagpur University Journal.

Maruts* and Uṣas. Women and men used to dance on festive occasions. It was even cultivated as a diversion and amusement. Like a dancing girl Uṣas used to put on her valuable jewels and lay bare her breast like a cow that yields milk to her young ones. "अधि पेशांसि वपते नृतूरिवापोर्णुते वक्ष उस्रेव वर्जहम्" (1.92.4). There were maidens in those days who decked themselves in splendid raiment, danced and attracted lovers. Music accompanied dancing. The Saṃhitā refers to a good number of wind instruments like Vāṇa, Vāṇi Bhṛtni, Bākura, Nāḷī, Vanśa, Kṣoṇi, Dhamani, Āghāti and so on. There are again refrains in some songs and dialogues too. We know that a refrain demands some sort of music and action. The hymn of the drunken Indra—X. 119—and the Soma labour song—IX. 112—must have been accompanied by dance and a chorus. A similar thing appears in the Vṛṣākapi hymn, X. 86.

In the dialogues themselves the poet has recognised the dramatic note. Purūravas asks Urvaśī to stop so that they might converse, and not hear a narration. "वचांसि मिश्रा कृणवावहै नु". The Śatapatha explicitly names this hymn —X. 95—an 'Uktapratyukta'—a dialogue. Further, even the tradition does not give any ritual or vegetation colouring. There is no proper Viniyoga for these hymns in the rituals. Hence the vegetation theory is contrary to all available facts, and to the spirit of the songs as well.

4. The Ballad Theory.

The ballad theory is a modification of Windisch-Oldenberg-Geldner-Pischel hypothesis of the Ākhyāna or the Itihāsa. It is systematically developed by Geldner,† Winternitz‡ and Charpentier.$ from the Itihāsa it is an easy jump to the ballad. While Geldner styles all these hymns as ballads, Charpentier holds that X. 51, 52, 53 and 86 are the only dramatic pieces, the rest being ballads. And Winternitz reads here a combination of the epic, ballad and lyric forms. According to him the dramatic theory is really correct in some cases; but in other cases both the ballad and dramatic theories equally hold good. These hymns, he observes, 'throw considerable light on the origin of both epic and dramatic poetry'. 'The saṃvāda hymns are nothing else but ancient ballads... This ancient ballad poetry is at once the source both of the epic and of the dramatic poetry...There is certainly a strong dramatic element in all these ballads, both secular and religious. And there can be no doubt, that they

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|| See Ṛgveda : I. 37. 1, 5; 87. 3; 166 2; V. 52. 12; 60. 3; VII. 56 16; VIII. 20. 22; X. 78. 6.

† Ṛgveda im Auswahl; Dai altindische Balladen Dichtung (Festschrift d. univ. Marburg f. die Philologen Vers.) 1913. p. 93 ff.

‡ History of Indian Literature; Some problems of Indian Literature; XXX W. Z. K. M. 23. 102 ff.

$ Die Suparnasage.

contributed as much to the origin of the drama as to the origin of the epic.... This, however, is only a survival of an early stage of poetry, when our distinctions between epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry cannot be applied at all, but when all poetry was dramatic, epic and lyric at the same time and generally accompanied by dancing, music, and singing....This poetry was as a rule religious'.*

At the outset let us draw the distincion between these three literary forms. A ballad is a dancing song in the form of a narrative, having the connecting links in it.† A lyric is 'a short poem usually divided into stanzas or strophes, and directly expressing the poet's own thoughts and sentiments'.‡ An epic is a quasi-historical and quasi-mythological narrative of vital importance to the history of mankind. Thus, while ballad and epic stress the objective interest and value, the lyric is too personal to be mixed up with them. It is impossible to think how these three can coexist in one and the same poem.

Narration is not found in these dialogue hymns. The incidents and history previous to those related in these hymns are only referred to by way of allusions. Purūravas and Urvaśī often allude to their past life. Yami alludes to the happenings before they were born. And allusion is not narration. The connecting links...like 'said he', 'said she'...are totally absent here. It is only from the meaning that we can infer who is speaking. It is this note of intense dramatic spirit that has baffled many scholars in ascribing the speeches to the proper characters.

Charpentier rejects the Ākhyāna theory completely. He proves well that the Jātaka literature has no bearing on the Vedic. No original ākhyānas existed even in the epic period. The Ākhyāna makes its first appearance only in the Pāli texts.§ These Saṃvādas are not cult dramas, as a ritual application of these songs is not delivered to us.|| Where the tradition does not mention any saṃvādas, there we have monologues (10. 34, 37, 119; 9. 112). In 10. 97 and 7. 103 we do not have dramatic pieces. They are songs of magic. 10. 34 is didactic and belongs to the epic literature. Dramatic poetry can be seen only in 10. 86 and 10. 53. The former is a jesting play (Scherzspiel), a Mimus; the latter is a mysterium connected with the sacred cult of the placing of the fire. All the other songs, which Von Schroeder has examined, belong to the epic poetry and to the saga of Gods.¶

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* Some problems of Indian Literature. pp. 44 to 57.

† Fowler : Dictionary of Modern English Usage. p. 600

‡ Oxford English Dictionary.

§ Die Suparnasage. pp. 61 to 67.

|| Ibid. P. 80.

¶ Ibid. P. 121.

On the whole, there are roughly some twenty songs that played a prominent part in the controversy. They are, I. 165, 171, 173; III. 33; IV. 18, 42; VII. 103, IX. 112; X. 34, 51, 52, 53, 86, 95, 97, 102, 108, 119. This list includes songs, ballads, monologues, and dialogues. The hymn of the frogs (7. 103) is a ballad of superstition, not of magic. The Mudgala song (10. 102) is a perfect ballad. The harmless little song, 9. 112, is a fine lyric of extraordinary mirth and melody. The hymn of the gambler (10. 34), though didactic, is a perfect specimen of a monologue. The songs of Atharvan (10. 97) and of the drunken Indra (10. 119) are monologues. The rest are dramatic pieces, pure and simple.

While examining Keith's vegetation-hypothesis, it is maintained that, dance and song existed in the Vedic period. Literature envolves in the order of epic, lyric and drama. The drama represents the culminating stroke of poetic genius; and the songs of Ṛgveda represent the last days of a great epoch and civilisation which could not have missed the drama. In the redaction of the present text many songs were omitted; but, as the compiler could not resist the temptation, he included these saṃvādas also. As such it is not correct to say, like Von Schroeder, that they are a sort of decorative and literary bywork, mainly designed to add a charm.

The conversation in these dialogues is highly polished, poetic, and at the same time simple and elegant. The figures employed have a naked simplicity throwing fresh light on unexpected quarters. There is much of brisk action throughout. Ths serious and the comic (I. 179; X. 108), the hailing and the retort (X. 10; 95), the fun and the frolic, and the real and the mystic (III. 33; IV. 18) join hands together and move in a lively concert till the curtain falls. No solution is stated in these dialogues, excepting those of Maruts, Lopāmudrā, Viśvāmitra, and Agni. The problem is simply raised, and the dramatis personae leave us with expectation. Much is left for our imagination, and 'more is meant than meets our ear' or eye. 'An atmosphere of infinite suggestion', the typical characteristic of all great-poetry, hovers round these dialogues, and we fail to articulate how they might have concluded. They are specimens of mighty concepts that pass before our eyes as simple facts. They are short, unusually crisp, and often misty owing to their fragmetary character.

These Saṃvādas set the mind to thought, and suggest a mystical and symbolical explanation throughout. Urvaśī, who has the whole universe in her control, identifies herself with Uṣas; and remaining on the stage, she informs us that she has fled with the speed of the wind from the grip of the mortal like the first of the dawns; this is evidently the utterance of a mischievous nymph, a nymph like that of Ariel. Yamī stands on the stage as a youthful maiden in love, but she continues to talk of the beauty and youth of her parents, the Gandharva in the floods and Apyā Yoṣān or the maiden of the waters. Lopāmudrā is in her lusty youth, full of beauty and vigour; but she complains of old age spoiling her beauty. We do not see, nor do feel Saramā as a dog. Agastya converses with the Maruts and Indra; they are not represented as divine personages. Wen Viśvāmitra approaches the rivers, they do not flow as rivers, but walk gracefully like lovely maidens full of love and affection.

Throughout these hymns we find brisk and lively action, which we have to infer from their speeches. Passions, sentiments, and feelings that are the necessary accompaniments of dramatic action, are represented artfully and most naturally. Allusion and references to past events heighten the dramatic interest; they acquaint us in an artistic way with the incidents necessary for a proper understanding of their contents. Almost all these dialogues take up their themes at certain crucial point and open the scenes very abruptly and artistically. The Vedic dramatist sought after brevity, symmetry, artistic polish, and a high and noble and lofty imagination. The classic instances are I. 179; X. 10; X. 95.

The last and the most important factor that finally makes out these hymns to be dramatic fragments, is the presence of stage–directions in some of them. The stage direction is supplied by a verse or two, or at times by a line or two. Sometimes we have to infer them from the actual conversation itself. In I. 165 Indra approaches the Maruts by saying to himself. " केन महा मनसा रीरमाम ". The Maruts address him in the next, which enables us to infer his approach: Yami approaches her brother speaking to herself. " ओ चित्सखायं सख्ये ववृत्याम् ". From the next line we infer that she has come near. Purūravas hails Urvaśī to halt so that they can converse. Though we are not told whether she stopped or not, we can easily imagine that she did, for otherwise they could not have carried on the dialogue. While the gods were engaged in a conversation with Agni in X. 53, Tvaṣṭar was sharpening his axe, which is alluded to in the ninth verse. The last two verses are spoken by Tvaṣṭar, and this indication suggests that Tvaṣṭar has to utter them sharpening the axe. Again the verses X. 86. 20, 21 are spoken by Indra and Indrāni, and they clearly give the stage direction regarding Vṛṣākapi, who is slowly moving out of the scene.

The tenth verse of IV. 18 informs us that Aditi gave birth to Indra, and that she left her unlicked calf to wander. After this stage direction we have the eleventh verse which reads :

" उत माता महिषमन्ववेनदमी त्वा जहति पुत्र देवाः । "

" Then to her mighty child the Mother turned her saying, 'My son. . . ' . " This together with the preceeding verse make up the stage direction. Viśvāmitra requests the rivers to give him way, to which they finally yielded (III. 33. 10, 11). The dialogue stops here and the next verse read & :

" अतारिषुर्भरता गव्यवः समभक्त विप्राः सुमतिं नदीनाम् "

' The warrior host of the Bharatas has crossed the rivers safely, winning their favour'. This much is the stage direction, for in the next half we have an address by the poet who exhorts the rivers to ' swell with their billows hasting and pouring riches, to fill channels and roll swiftly onward '.

The best type of stage direction is to be found in the dialogue of Lopāmudrā (I. 179). She has put forth her complaint and request to her husband in the first two verses. Agastya first rejects her pleas in the first half of the third ṛk. He, however, fell in, as the second half reveals. She justifies her longing in the first half of the fourth ṛk. Then it is said :

" लोपामुद्रा वृषणं नीरिणाति । "

This plainly states that ' she approaches her husband'. It is a clear stage direction. This is closely followed by a short' Aside' by Agastya in the last line : 'the unsteady female beguiles the steady male'. The stage directions and the 'Aside here should convince every one regarding the dramatic nature of these hymns.

The whole controversy regarding the nature of the Saṃvāda Sūktas has arisen simply because the scholars went on discussing the dramatic nature and otherwise of these along with other hymns have totally nothing to do with the dramatic qualities. They have included beaufiful songs and lyrics like VII. 103; VIII. 89; IX. 112; X. 34, 97, and 119. But the Saṃvādas that have a real dramatic quality are only thirteen in number. These are the fragments of Vedic One-Act and One-Scene plays of a rare literary value. Their dramatic character is too vitally felt at every step.

PARENTHESIS IN THE ṚGVEDA

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The parenthesis occuring in the Ṛgveda has received different treatments at the hands of different interpreters. Sāyaṇa and Grassmann practically ignore it; they fill in the supposed lacunae or change the order of words or change the forms and thus make the parenthetical clause yield a plain meaning. Geldner and Ludwig have recognized its existence probably in an exceeding measure. Oldenberg is ever cautious; ordinarily he is for avoiding it and admits it only under compulsion. In Ṛv I. 153. 4; II. 38. 10; VI. 47. 19, VII. 6. 1; 19. 5; VIII. 1. 11, 20; 48. 5; 55. 1; 77. 6; IX. 102. 3; X. 15. 4; 22. 9; 51. 5; 55. 5, 66. 13; 80. 1; 93. 6; 98. 1; 106. 7 he has refused to accept it when it has been affirmed by other scholars like Geldner, Bhartholomae and Henry. Surely not in all these cases can Oldenberg be right in rejecting parenthetical construction. None of these authors, moreover, have explicitly pointed out a conscious rhetorical purpose served by the parenthesis.

Vedic poetry is very unequal in its literary merit; some poets write with a sense of style and an eye to picturesque effect which are absolutely modern, while others write without inspiration and purely with eye to ritual use. In general, however, the vedic poet can, without exaggeration, be described as a great artist in words, when especially a poet shows himself a master of expression and a stylist in other verses of the same hymn; and when an interpreter assumes his poet to be an exception to the normal working of the human mind and interprets his poetry in such a way that it either yields no sense or only an imperfect sense only after an artificial and forced interpretation, surely it is the interpreter that is at fault.

As an example I will cite I. 184. 1, which runs thus in the Pada text :

ता वाम् अद्य तौ अपरं हुवेम उच्छन्त्याम् उषसि वह्निः उक्थैः ।
नासत्या कुह चित् सन्तौ अर्यः दिवः नपोता सुदाःऽते राय ॥

Sāyaṇa takes वह्निः as an epithet of अहम् understood, and to secure agreement between the subject and the verb either the one or the other is to be changed. In the alternative he proposes to understand *b* to constitute a dependent illative clause : यस्माद्वह्निर्युवां शंसति तस्माद्वयं हुवेम etc. Grassmann would change वह्निः into वह्नी and an adjective to अश्विना, the object of हुवेम. Olderberg remarks that the syntax is irregular. Geldner takes *b* as a separate sentence and understands वह्निः in the sense of 'priest', which yields only a nonsensical meaning. All the interpreters apparently assume that the poet is incapable of writing sense. By understanding *b* to constitute a parenthesis, the verse yields a sufficiently good sense.—

'Wherever you may be, oh Nāsatyas, offspring of heaven, may we today and in future invoke you, those (famous rescuers), the (very) fire at break of dawn (does so)—for him (our patron) who is more liberal than a rich lord'. As another example I take II. 38. 10

भगं धियं वाजयन्तः पुरंऽधिं नराशंसः ग्नाः पतिः नः अव्याः ।
आऽअये वामस्य संऽगथे रयीणां प्रियाः देवस्य सवितुः स्याम ॥

Grassmann arranges the two clauses one after another and thus removes the parenthesis. Oldenberg does not notice it nor does he anywhere refer to the favourite device of the Ṛgveda poets to introduce invocations and praises of deities by the back door as it were; cf. I. 25. 6, where Varuṇa is introduced in a hymn to Mitra; I. 184. 3, where he is brought in in a hymn to the Aśvins; I. 154. 6, where Indra is introduced in a hymn to Viṣṇu; II. 31. 5, where **द्यौः** and **पृथिवी** receive compliments in a hymn to उषासानक्ता, etc.

Let us try to understand the true nature of the Ṛgvedic parenthesis. Parenthesis is the insertion of a sentence into another sentence or sentence-group, this latter being left unfinished at the point where the parenthesis starts and being resumed where it closes. It is an aside, usually an afterthought, introduced generally for some literary effect, which is distinct from the picturesqueness of the thought itself. The following are not instances of parenthesis, although the thoughts contained in them may be striking, because the clauses do not break the continuity of the main clause :

पुरः...अग्निं...दधिध्वम्...सः हि नः विभावा । VI. 10. 1
अध्वर्यो वीर प्रमहे सुतानां इन्द्राय भर सः हि अस्य राजा । VI. 44. 13

The following is an instance of parenthesis : II. 18. 3 **मो सु त्वां अत्र बहवः हि विप्राः निरीरमन् यजमानासः अन्ये** or VI. 45. 16 **यः एकः इत् तम् ऊं स्तुहि कृष्टीनां विचर्षणिः पतिः,** where **अत्र बहवो हि विप्राः तमु स्तुहि** are inserted into the main clause for a certain rhetorical effect.. In the same way the passages to be mentioned later on under varieties iv and v of the artistic parenthesis form examples of parenthesis in sentence-groups. On an analysis of the parenthetical clauses in the Ṛgveda it will be seen that the Vedic poet is a consummate artist and has made the parenthesis serve five different purposes, besides using it in the common-place way how the parenthesis is used in colloquial language.

For the common place use of parenthesis I may cite the following :

I. 23. 20 अप्सु – मे सोमः अब्रवीत् – अन्तः विश्वानि भेषजा.

V. 16. 5 नु नः–आ इहि–वार्यं अग्ने गृणानः आ भर. For other examples of **एहि** cf. V. 35. 8; VIII. 4. 12.; 61. 7; 64. 10.

X. 95. 1 हये जाये मनसा-तिष्ठ घोरे-वचांसि मिश्रा कृणवावहै नु

i Amongst the artistic varieties of the patenthesis, by far the most current variety is that which introduces an explanation; cf. उत्सः आसां परमे सदस्थै in V. 45. 8; सः हि विभावा in VI. 10. 1; also VIII 4. 17; VI. 47. 19

ii The parenthesis often introduces an after thought, or an exhortation, or an emphatic assertion. cf. I. 149. 1, VI. 45. 16; I. 32. 5. अहन् वृंत्रं वृत्रतरं व्यंसं He killed Vṛtra—and another greater, Vyaṃsa.

iii Instead of an after thought, there is often a preparation for a following idea introduced by the parenthesis.

III. 1. 1 सोमस्य मा तवसं–वक्षि अग्ने-वह्निं चकर्थ विदथे यजध्यै

Oldenberg does not take वक्षि as parenthetical and explains the accent by taking the first quarter as a dependent clause, which is unjustifiable. Geldner takes वक्षि as parenthetical, but derives it from वश्. It is really a preparation for the वह्निं चकर्थ that follows. I would translate it thus : 'Thou hast made me a powerful carrier (of oblations)-indeed it is than that carriest ('the oblations, not I)—that I may secrifice in an assembly.'

Similarly प्र आसां गन्धर्वः अमृतानि वोचत् is a preparation for the next line in X. 139. 6.

In VII. 61. 5, the clause न यासु चित्रं ददृशे न यक्षम् comes in between इमाः and its substantive द्रुहः. The poet anticiputes that the demon of Varuṇa may be mistaken for other demons acting in a mysterious and miraculous manner and states beforehand that there is nothiug mysterious beforehand. Grassmann, Lanman, Bergaigns and Oldenberg change the text to अदूराः विश्वाः so that the first quarter may contain other adjectives than इमाः to द्रुहः; which is certainly an unwarranted procedure.

iv The parenthesis accompanies an action or gesture

III. 1. 1 युञ्जे अद्रिं शमाये अग्ने

VII. 6. 1 इन्द्रस्य इव प्र तवसः कृतानि वन्दे दारुं वन्दमानो विवक्मि, where दारु is probably an epithet of Indra and before bowing to Agni, the poet, because he has thought of Indra is this connection, bows to him.

v The parenthesis introduces indirect compliments to deities. A few instances have been already quoted above. I shall add VII. 6. 1; 34. 15; 95. 5.

The parenthesis explains the accents of verbs, but it is not for explaining accents that the parenthesis should be thought of. It is in comformity with the practice of Vedic poets that a passage could be declared to be parenthetical. In the light of the above X. 55. 5 अद्या ममार स ह्यः समान can safely be treated as containing ममार स ह्यः by way of a parenthesis of variety.

THE NATURAL BASIS OF VARUṆA IN THE ṚGVEDA

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1. The diversity of views held by scholars, regarding the personality of Varuṇa is truly bewildering ! The most widely accepted view [Roth, Bartholomae, Hopkins, Eggers, Darmesteter, L. von Schroder, Spiegel, Bohnenberger, Macdonell, Keith etc.] is that Varuṇa originally represented 'the encompassing sky'. Slightly modified versions of this view are that the physical basis of Varuṇa is 'the starry vault of heaven' (Max Muller) or 'the dark night-sky' (Knauer). Other theories are that Varuṇa primarily stood for 'the Night' (Meyer), 'the half-year-long Arctic night' (Tilak), 'the Moon' (Oldenberg), 'the Soma : Moon' (Hillebrandt), 'Vṛtra who restrains the waters with his *pāśa* (Bergaigne), 'the *Winter* in its divine aspect, the demoniac one being represented by Vṛtra (Johansson), 'the Cosmic-magician, the Asura who possessed the maximum of *asu*, an all penetrating occult power-substance postulated by the Primitives' (Dr. Dandekar), or 'the god of the Ocean' [Pischel, Luders, Kretschmer & Przyluski].

2. Review of all the Ṛgvedic passages pertaining to Varuṇa clearly establishes, in the opinion of the writer, that the natural basis of Varuṇa is *the aerial or celestial Waters*, the special field of his activity and rest—Waters which turn out on closer inspection to be not merely earthly waters or rain-waters but also and chiefly elemental *Watery vapours* which because of the important role they play in the cosmogony and cosmology of the ṚV. may be called '*Cosmic Waters*'.

3. There are two vital considerations that lead us to this conclusion. (i) There is in the ṚV. in the first place, ample evidence of Varuṇa's close association bordering on identification with and Overlordship of, not only the waters of the terrestrial rivers and seas or oceans, not only the rain-waters but also the waters of the aerial or celestial rivers and oceans. (ii) Secondly, these Waters deified as they are (*divyāh*) figure as the creators of the world, or as the primeval stuff out of which the universe is created These celestial waters or watery vapours (*purīṣa*) seem further to be conceived by the ṚV poets as something like subtle matter pervading the space or the regions above, below and around them and making the movements of the luminaries possible by constantly circulating from the nether hemisphere to the upper one and *vice versa* !

4. The following passages may be cited as relevant in this connection. That the waters are the peculiar and almost exclusive sphere of the *activity*

ant *rest* of Varuṇa is indicated by passages like the following:—" Through heaven move the Maruts, along the earth Agni, this Vāta moves through the air (and) *ove) the Waters, across the oceans moves* Varuṇa—(all) seeking you, O Sons of Strength ! " (I. 161. 14). " In the midst of the Waters moves Varuṇa watching the truth and falsehood of men " (VII. 47. 3) " Varuṇa has sat himself down among the Waters for (the exercise of) sovereignty" (I. 25. 10). The *Watery Home* of Varuṇa is mentioned in II. 38. 8. "He is the (very) *form* of the Rivers "(VII. 34. 11). According to VIII. 41. 7, Varuṇa lies on the Waters as a (veritable) garment. IX. 90. 2 in a simile speaks of Varuṇa *clothing himself* with the Rivers. The last two passages together establish the identity of Varuṇa with the Waters, the poets wondering as it were, whether to describe Varuṇa as the garment of the Rivers, or the Rivers as a garment of Varuṇa ! " He (Varuṇa) is a hidden Ocean " (VIII. 41. 8). When in VIII. 69. 12, it is said that the Seven Sindhus pour themselves into the jaws of Varuṇa as into a surging abyss, he is both compared to and identified with the Ocean.

5. Among the numerous other passages associating the Waters with Varuṇa in a special manner, the following are typical:— In I. 25. 7 *(veda nāvah samudriyah)* Varuṇa is called *samudriyah* 'residing in the Ocean'. The accent of this word admits of its being construed either as Nom. Sing. of *samudriya* (masc.) or as the Acc. pl. of *samudrī* (Fem.) If the latter alternative be adopted, it must qualify *nāvah*, but the accent of the latter word shows it to be a Gen. Sing. ! So, if no violence is to be done to the accentuation of the two words in the traditional text, *samudriyah* must be taken as Nom. Sing. Masc. qualiiying Varuṇa as we have done [compare IX. 107. 16 and X. 65. 13 for a similar use of the word]. The Rivers follow the *ṛta* of Varuṇa, when released by him (II. 28. 4). He lets the moistening Waters swell (IV. 42. 4). When it is said (V. 85. 3–4), that he moistens the earth 'as rain bedews *Yava* (barley)', and that he does so with a cask which has an opening below and which he empties on the firmament, on heaven and on earth, the Waters that Varuṇa commands must be adjudged different from rain-waters. He lets forth the Watery floods of Rivers for whom he has cut out a path (VII. 87. 1; X. 75. 2). In a hymn to the All–gods (VII. 34), among verses which set forth the distinguishing characterestics of the various gods, one (v. 10) tells us that Varuṇa marks out the pathways for the Rivers. "Varuṇa, *like heaven*, descends to the Ocean *(Sindhu)*" [VII. 87. 6.]. Is there not here a reference to the lower invisible half of the Cosmic Ocean surrounding the Universe, which, its upper half, as represented by heaven, must descend to or touch at some point ? It is very significant that out of the *eight* hymns that celebrate Varuṇa exclusively, *four* are found in the Vasiṣṭha Maṇḍala (VII. 86–89) ! The seer, Vasiṣṭha and his family stand in a particularly close relation to Varuṇa. What is noteworthy from our point of view, is that the special favour shown by Varuṇa takes the from of a joy-ride, *in a ship* which he grants to Vasiṣṭha

in his own company. The two together mount to the ship which puts out to the very middle of the sea and ride on the crests of the waves, moving gracefully up and down, as it were, on a swing ! (VII. 88. 3-4). Similarly in VII. 42. 3, the poet prays to Varuṇa that he and his people may mount a ship which will bear them to safety. It is hardly any wonder that *ships* should be the special charge of a god who is 'lord of the sea'. In VII. 89. 4, an appeal for mercy is made to Varuṇa by his praiser who is overtaken by thirst in the very midst of the Waters ! I am not inclined to read in this verse a matter of fact reference to 'dropsy' or a figurative allusion to 'greed inspite of plenty'. If the Waters are those of an earthly sea, then the reference may be to the thirst which the Saltish Waters cannot quench. It is more probable, however, in my view, that the poet intends a pun, on the word '*apām*', which means 'Waters' both '*cosmic*' and 'ordinary', by presenting the paradox that the Cosmic Waters which are all around the poet fail to allay his thirst ! Varuṇa stands at the source of the Sindhus (VIII. 41. 2). The Waters sing aloud unto Varuṇa as mother kine unto their calves (VIII. 69. 11). In X. 124. 7, it is said that Varuṇa let out the Waters, where on the latter, the Bright Ones, took on the colour or splendour of Varuṇa, bringing on prosperity, *like (his) wives.* This idea finds an echo later in the Taittiriya Saṃhitā (V. 5. 5. 4) where it is said that the Waters are the wives of Varuṇa.

6. It is quite unnecessary to labour the point that Varuṇa is connected with rain-waters. Mitra and he figure prominently among the gods, invoked for rain. One whole hymn (V. 63) is devoted to their praise, as bestowers of rain. The *ghṛta*, (ghee) *Madhu* (honey) and *pīvas* (fat) which they send down and in which they are clad are all figurative allusions to the refreshing sweetening and fattening qualities of the rain and moisture which they dispense to the earth.

7. It is in fact these numerous allusions in the ṚV, to the association of Varuṇa with Waters of all kinds-earthly, aerial and celestial—that have led scholars to formulate the various theories (quoted by Dr. Dandekar in the ABORI XXI pp. 167-8), such as:—(i) Mitra and Varuṇa represented the twin principles of light and moisture respectively (N. N. Ghose); (ii) Varuṇa was the most prominent god of fertility in Ancient India (Johansson) and (iii) Varuṇa was primarily a vegetation-god and phallic divinity (J. J. Meyer).

8. Such theorizing is inevitable so long as the mystery of the true nature of the so-called 'Waters' as conceived by ṚV poets is not unravelled. If they were just terrestrial waters, then Varuṇa would have been a minor god, a sort of Indian Neptune ! If they were rain-waters, he would have been a mere duplicate of Parjanya, but in the ṚV, he is the *pāśin*, the All-binder, the All-enveloper, the Controller *par excellence*, the one and only *dhṛta-vrata* (the keeper of the Ordinances), the supreme moral ruler; He and Indra are the two gods that tower above the rest as the two most prominent deities in the ṚV. The exclusive (and at the same time fundamental) trait of his

character whereby he appears a *pāśin*, is on the one hand, a poetic version of Varuṇa's nature as the All-encompassing, ubiquitous, omnipresent god, and on the other, is based on his connection with *ṛta*. The Ṛta (lit. 'the course') which represents 'the Cosmic Order or law prevailing in Nature,' 'Truth' or 'Right' as the Order in the moral world and 'sacrifice' or 'rite', as the Order in the religious world, is his special charge. In my paper 'Ṛta in Ṛgveda' (Silver Jubilee Vol. of the ABORI) and in the paper ' The Ṛgvedic antecedents of the *Dharmapāśa* of Varuṇa in the Mahābhārata ' in the Sukthankar Memorial Vol. (January 1944), I have shown that by the side of these well-known secondary meanings of 'Ṛta', the Ṛgveda has even preserved the *primary* or *physical* sense of the word, namely 'the settled course never deviated from by the luminaries' or in other words, 'the belt of the zodiac,' which represented (in my view) orginally, the *pāśa* (in a good sense) of Varuṇa. Finally, it must be noted that Varuṇa rules over light as well as darkness, over day as well as night.

9. Varuṇa's rulership of the aerial or celestial Waters can fit into this impressive picture of his omnipotence only if the term *divyāh* 'celestial' is understood in its original sense as 'Cosmic', as it must be for the following reasons:— (i) The Waters are clearly distinguished as celestial or divine, as flowing through artificial channels and as ' self-born ', flowing to the sea as their goal in VII. 49. 2. (ii) The Waters are the creators of all that is fixed and moving (VI. 50. 7). The universe consisted of nothing but undifferentiated Waters in the beginning (X. 129. 3). In the cosmogonic accounts of the Brāhmaṇas, the starting point is either Prajāpati or the primeval Waters (Compare also the Manu-smṛti I. 9). (iii) The rays of light and the Waters are set free *simultaneously*, as a result of the killing of Vṛtra [I. 51. 4; 52. 8; II. 19. 3; III. 34. 8; VI. 30. 5; VIII. 89. 4]. In fact, the same word *go* (cows) is used both for 'the Waters' and ' the beams of light' thus released ! This close association (verging on indentification) of the Waters with the rays of light cannot square with the assumption that they are rain-waters or the waters of earthly seas or rivers ! The movement of the waters and the spreeding forth of the rays of light spring up from the same source and follow the same path of *ṛta simultaneously* (I. 164. 51; VII. 87. 1). (iv) The Waters are close to the Sun and the Sun is with them (I. 23. 17). The Sun mounts the Shining flood of waters (VII. 60. 4). The passage III. 22. 3 cd is very important in this connection. To obviate the suspicion of any special pleading on my part, I quote the translation of Oldenberg (S B E 46); " To the Waters which (dwell) on high *in the ether of the sun* and to those which approach below." Geldner translates " The Waters which appear in the light-chamber, on the other side of the Sun and below (it)." Similarly X. 27. 21 speaks of the *vajra* being hurled down from the lofty *purīṣa of the sun !* The fact that Parjanya and Vāta are invoked in VI. 49. 6 to stir up watery vapours (*apyāni purīṣāni*) into rain shows by the use of the same word (*purīṣa*) that on the one hand the *light-vapours are identical with the (cosmic) watery vapours* and

on the other that it is the latter that are converted into rain. *The Streams (of Water) are turned into channels for the days* to move through by Varuṇa (VII 87. 1). No wonder, then, that when Vṛtra blocks up the Waters, the rays of light are shut off and *vice versa*. That earthly streams or seas and rain-waters could be meant in these and the following passages is simply impossible. (v) In II. 15. 6, it is said that Indra discharges the Sindhu *upwards (udañcam)*. Surely, neither rain waters nor earthly waters move upwards ! A very convincing passage is I. 164. 51 where we are told that '*the same waters go up and down* along with the days (the Instr. *ahabhiḥ* being used in a sociative sense). (vi) That the cosmic circulation of the aerial or celestial waters and the simultaneity of the flowing of the Waters and the spreading of Sun-light (which latter phenomenon is rendered possible by the former) are unambiguously stated in the Avestā and hinted at in the Greek and Egyptian mythologies, has been pointed out by Warren (*Paradise Found*) and by Tilak (*The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp. 270–78).

10. To sum up, the celestial Waters or watery vapours were envisaged by the ṚV poets as something like a misty mass of thin subtle matter diffused everywhere in space and serving as the medium for the transmission of light and the movements of the luminaries, *very much in the manner of the ether of modern scientists*. The researches of Warren and Tilak in this connection, have not received the attention they deserve ! Unfortunately, Tilak did not see the bearing of this theory of the Cosmic Waters on the conception of Varuṇa their overlord. Carried a little too far by his Arctic theory, he suggested that Mitra and Varuṇa were originally conceived as two correlated deities representing respectively the half-long light and darkness in the paradise of the Aryan race ! This is clearly impossible, because in the ṚV, Varuṇa true to his form, as the All-encompasser, rules over *both the spheres—of light as well as of darkness*—over day as well as night ! It is true that certain grand cosmic functions are attributed to a number of gods without distinction, but the following distinctive features of Varuṇa's activity rule out the whittling down of his dominion to darkness or night, however long ! For example, Varuṇa sets in motion the day-star (the Sun), *in both directions* (westward by day and eastward by night) according to VII. 86. 1. In V. 85. 5, he is described as taking his stand in the firmament and measuring out the earth, *using the Sun* as a measure. He is the lord of both-light *(svar)* and darkness *(andhah)* [VII. 88. 2]. The Dawn is a relation *(jāmi)* of Varuṇa [I. 123. 5]. The Dawns-the same to-day and the same tomorrow follow the lasting law of Varuṇa (I. 123. 8). A direct allusion to his illumining of both the wide worlds with its splendour is found in VI. 68. 9.

11. The hypothesis stands firm on linguistic grounds too. Any one of the three most probable derivations of the name 'Varuṇa' whether from Sk. *vṛ*

'to cover' (an etymology widely accepted), or from *idg* *Uer, 'to bind' (Petersson, Dumezil) or from *Uel-lu 'to bind' (Johansson)—equally favours the character of Varuṇa as the lord of the 'All-covering' and *therefore* 'All-bindig' Ocean of Cosmic Waters and their lord!

12. This view offers the *most natural* explanation of the subsequent modifications in the conception of Varuṇa, in post-Ṛgvedic and post-Vedic or Classical Indian mythologies, in which he has fallen to the subordinate rank of an Indian Neptune! As early as the Atharvaveda, it appears to have been forgotten that *āpah* in the ṚV, meant not only 'the (ordinary) Water' but also 'the (extra ordinary) Cosmic Waters', described above. Varuṇa, therefore, though still retaining the control of the Waters, has ceased to be the Universal Ruler that he was!

13. This theory lends a peculiar interest to the fact that, in the clay-tablets discovered at Boghaz-koi, recording the treaties between the Hittite and Mitani kings concluded about 1400 B. C., out of the two variants: 'A-ru-ṇa' and 'U-ru-w-na, of the name Varuṇa, the former means 'the Sea'! We can also now understand (if we cannot accept) the attempt of J. Przyluski to derive all these three names from the Austro-Asiatic *baru* (= see) and to identify Varuṇa with a non-Aryan god of the sea (*baru-baruna*). Similarly, we cease to wonder if Hopkins proposes to see a linguistic connection between the words: 'Varuṇa' and '*Vāri*' (= Water).

14. This is indeed, a merit of our hypothesis, that it enables us to view the hypotheses of other scholars, in the proper perspective and to understand how they arose. They are now seen to be *not erroneous*, but as expressing a part of the truth, owing to individual emphasis on one aspect or the other of the nature of the ubiquitous Varuṇa. For example, the theory that Varuṇa goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, the Ahura Mazda of the Avesta, agreeing with him in character if not in name, and that the name may even be Indo-European, if it could be equated to 'Ouranos' (the Greek Sky-god), and that Varuṇa orginally represented the encompassing sky, is now seen to be not too wide of the mark, because an all-encompassing ocean of cosmic Waters is so apt to be confused with the encompassing sky which is after all a prominent part of it. As the two natural divisions again, of this surrounding Ocean into the visible upper One and the invisible lower One were *both* associated with Varuṇa, an emphasis on his association with the latter will naturally lead to Varuṇa being regarded as the 'moon' or as any one of the following conceptions: the night-sky, the night, the winter-night or Winter! Such a misunderstanding is helped materially by his association with Mitra with whom he forms a Dual Divinity and who usurps Varuṇa's connection with the upper bright division of the Cosmic Ocean. The *mere inclusion* of the dark lower region of Nirṛti within his all-comprehensive dominion makes Varuṇa (in my opinion) one of the three gods associated

with Yama and the Pitrs. Against this dark back-ground, his *all-binding* character, which is but a stronger version of his *all-enveloping* nature, led to his being associated with fetters, to his being confused with Vṛtra (by Bergaigne) and to his being looked upon as a Cosmic-magician to whom mysterious deeds and miracles like 'binding with bonds not made of ropes' (VII. 84. 2) as well as occult knowledge are ascribed. Especially noteworthy in this connection are the following passages:—V. 85. 6; VII. 25. 9; 50. 1; 60. 10; 85. 6 and VIII. 41. 5. No wonder, the fitting epithet *māyin* for which the variant *yakṣin* is once used (VII. 88. 6) is chiefly applied to him among the gods (compare, for example, passages like VI. 48. 14; VII. 28. 4; X. 99. 10; 147. 5 etc).

15. Incidentally that great paradox—*Agni as the son of the Waters*—which the Ṛgvedic *ṛṣis* (poets to the core that they were) use with such remarkable skill and frequency is now explained, as never before !

THE PROBLEM OF THE GAḶANTAS IN THE ṚGVEDA-PADAPĀṬHA

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Students of the history of the Vedic religion will ever remain grateful to the Brāhmans who have preserved the Vedic scriptures from alteration through unfaltered oral tradition. Their method of preserving the voluminous texts in the absence of the art of writing consisted of the formation of the different pāṭhas. Next to the original text, there was the padapāṭha which helped to preserve it and also served as the first means of ascertaining its meaning. "A further measure for preserving the sacred text from alteration with still greater certainty was taken in the form of the Kramapāṭha in which every word of the pada text comes twice, being connected both with that which precedes and that which follows. Thus the four words, if represented by *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, would be read as *ab*, *bc*, *cd*." This was again followed by eight different and more complicated pāṭhas. The climax of complication was reached in the Ghanapāṭha. One versed in the Ghanapāṭha was considered as a celebrated Vaidika. These eight systems or *Aṣṭau Vikṛtayaḥ* are enumerated in the following verse:

जय माला शिखा रेखा ध्वजो दण्डो रथो घनः ।
अष्टौ विकृतयः प्रोक्ताः क्रमपूर्वा मनीषिभिः ॥

These *Vikṛtis* are based on the Kramapāṭha which in its turn depends upon the padapāṭha.

As regards the padapāṭhā of the Ṛgveda, we find that the composer of the same has, with a view to minimise the labour of the Vaidikas in learning the same by heart, omitted certain consecutive words, because they were exactly identical with those already occurred. It is to be noted that such omission of repeated words in the padapāṭha is peculiar to the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā only. This omission of repeated words is represented in the MSS. of the Ṛgvedapadapāṭha by a hollow dot placed between the preceding and the following word. The traditional term for the words thus omitted is *Gaḷanta*. This system of observing the *Gaḷantas* is faithfully followed by the Vaidikas and is also rigidly maintained in the MSS. of the Ṛgvedapadapāṭha available in all parts of the country. the Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya which takes the Ṛgveda-padapāṭha as its basis, contains a rule (ṚV.-prāti. X. 19)* regarding the recitation of the Kramapāṭha in the case of the *Gaḷanta* words. This seems to be the only reference to the observation of the *Gaḷantas* in the Literature on Vedic phonetics. The term used in the Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya for the *Gaḷanta* is *Samaya*. No rule seems to be laid down anywhere as to where the *Gaḷanta* is to be observed. The general practice, however, seems to be that if three or more consecutive padas are identical, they are retained in the place where they occur first and are shown as the *Gaḷantas* in all subsequent places.* Take for example RV. I. 176. 2 : तस्मिन्ना वेशया गिरो य एकश्चर्षणीनाम्। अनु स्वधा etc. The words य एकश्चर्षणीनां have already occurred in RV. I. 7. 9. Therefore the traditional padapāṭha of RV. I. 176. 2 runs thus : तस्मिन् । आ । वेशय । गिरः ॥०॥ अनु । स्वधा । etc. The purpose of this paper is to review the position of the Ṛgvedapadapāṭha with regard to the *Gaḷantas*.

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* दृष्टक्रमत्वात्समयान् संदध्यात्सर्वशः क्रमे। पदेन च पदाभ्यां च प्रागवस्येद्तीत्य च ॥

On a closer scrutiny of the *Gaḷantas* we find that there are at least three cases in the Ṛgveda padapāṭha in which two identical words are marked as *Gaḷantas*. The words सुजाते अश्वसूनृते occur in RV. V. 79. I and are repeated in verses 4 to 10 of the same hymn where they are made *Gaḷantas*. Similarly the words इंद्राग्नी सोमपीतये occur in RV. VIII. 38. 7 and are repeated in the next two verses where they are made *Gaḷantas*. Again the words अग्निं समुद्रवाससं in RV. VIII. 102. 4 are repeated in the next two verses of the same hymn and are shown in them as *Gaḷantas*. In these three cases the number of repeated words is two; so there was no occasion for the *Gaḷanta*. It is to be noted that in all the three cases each latter word is a compound.

The verses 9 and 10 in RV. I. 108 run thus :

यदिन्द्राग्नी अवमस्यां पृथिव्यां मध्यमस्यां परमस्यामुत स्थः ।
अतः परि वृषणावा हि यातमथा सोमस्य पिबतं सुतस्य ॥
यदिन्द्राग्नी परमस्यां पृथिव्यां मध्यमस्यामवमस्यामुत स्थः ।
अतः परि वृषणावा हि यातमथा सोमस्य पिबतं सुतस्य ॥

In the padapāṭha the latter half of the 9th and the whole of the 10th verse are shown as the *Gaḷantas*. The latter half in both the verses is a refrain occurring in verses 7 to 12 of this hymn and was therefore marked as *Gaḷanta*. As for the first half of the 10th verse, the fact is that the words अवमस्यां and परमस्यां in the 9th are placed in the reverse position in the 10th. But this has violated the identity of any three consecutive words. So there was no occasion for the *Gaḷanta* of the first half of the 10th verse. A simillar case is RV. VI. 27. 1, 2 :

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* This practice is also followed in the Vālakhilya hymns themselves. e. g. Comp. तं त्वा वयं in ṚV. VIII. 51. 6; 52. 4. If, however, any portion from the genuine Ṛgveda subsequently occurs in the Vālakhilya hymns, it is not made *Gaḷanta*; e. g. तं त्वा वयं in ṚV I. 30. 10; VIII. 51. 6. Similarly a portion from any Vālakhilya hymn is also not made *Gaḷanta* in the subsequent authentic Ṛgveda text. e. g. comp. the latter half of ṚV. VIII. 51.6; 61. 14.

किमस्य मदे किम्वस्य पीताविन्द्रः किमस्य सख्ये चकार
रणा वा ये निषदि किं ते अस्य पुरा विविद्रे किमु नूतनासः ॥
सदस्य मदे सद्वस्य पीताविन्द्रः सदस्य सख्ये चकार ।
रणा वा ये निषदि सत्ते अस्य पुरा विविद्रे सदु नूतनासः ॥

Here the whole second verse excepting the beginning words सत् and अस्य is marked as *Gaḷanta* in which case the rule is violated.

On the other hand, there is a considerable number of cases in which the *Gaḷantas* are not marked. Among these there are some in which the *Gaḷanta* is not marked at all. In the rest of the cases it is marked in some places, but not in others. I first record here the cases of the former class. RV. I. 24. 1; 2 provide the first example :

कस्य नूनं कतमस्यामृतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम ।
को नो मह्या अदितये पुनर्दात् पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥
अग्नेर्वयं प्रथमस्यामृतानां मनामहे चारु देवस्य नाम ।
स नो मह्या अदितये पुनर्दात् पितरं च दृशेयं मातरं च ॥

Here the second mantra is fully analysed in the padapāṭha. In fact the whole mantra excepting the beginning words अग्नेर्वयं प्रथमस्य and the initial स in the latter half is identical with the first mantra and hence should have been marked as *Gaḷanta* to that extent. It is to be noted that here as well as in case of RV, VI. 27. 1; 2 the former mantra is a question and the latter provides a reply to it.

RV. VII. 1. 25 is exactly the same as VII. 1. 20, but it is not marked as *Gaḷanta*. It is remarkable that the fourth pāda of this verse, यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः occurring at the end of a large number of hymns in the seventh maṇḍala is marked as *Gaḷanta* in all their respective places, but is retained in VII. 1. 25.

In each of the following few cases the first reference denotes the place where the portion concerned occurs first. An asterisk mark attached to the number of verse in the other references shows that the *Gaḷanta* is not marked in it : यश्चिद्धि I. 24. 4; 84. 9*; य एक इत् I. 84. 7; VI. 22. 1*; यो नः सनुत्यः II. 30. 9; VI. 5. 4*; विश्वा हि त्वा I. 10. 10; III. 42. 6*; VIII. 45. 13*; 81. 2*; अग्न आ याहि VI. 18. 10; VIII. 60. 1*; तवेदिन्द्र VII. 32. 16; VIII. 6. 22*; 78. 10*; तं त्वा विप्रा III. 10. 9; IX. 64 23*; जागृवांसः समिन्धते I. 22. 21; III. 10. 9.*

The following are some of the cases in which the *Gaḷanta* is marked in some places, but not in others. The number of verse which is not marked with an asterisk means that the *Gaḷanta* is marked in it : इमा ऊ षु श्रुधी गिरः I. 26. 5, 45. 5*; II. 6. 1; वरुणो मित्रो अर्यमा I. 26. 4; 36. 4*; 40. 5*; 41. 1; V. 46. 4*; VII. 66. 11*; 12*; 82. 10*; VIII. 26. 11*; X. 36. 1*; 65. 1*; 9*; 92. 6*; यच्चिद्धि I. 25. 1, 26. 6*; 28. 5*; 29. 1; IV.

12. 4*; 32. 13; V. 79. 5; VIII. 1. 3*; 8. 6*; 45. 19*; 65. 7; आ तू नः I. 10. 1; 29. 1–7; III. 41. 1; IV. 32. 1; VIII. 21. 10*; IX. 72. 9*; स इमं नः I. 14. 11; 16. 5*; 9; 26. 1; VIII. 66. 8; तं त्वा वयं I. 30. 10; 60. 5*; 187. 11*; VI. 1. 6*; 7; VIII. 43. 23; तमु त्वा I. 78. 2; 3; 4; VI. 16. 14*; 15; 45. 10*; 11.

This list can be enlarged by a thorough investigation of the whole of the pada text. I have been able to collect about 300 passages where the repetition ought to have been omitted as *Gaḷantas*. The examples quoted above will, however, suffice to expose the character of the padapāṭha with regard to the *Gaḷantas*. The question now is, how to account for the frequent violation of the apparent rule.

We have already seen that the marking of the *Gaḷantas* in the Ṛgveda-padapāṭha is a uniform tradition all over India both in the oral as well as in the MSS. form. It is older than the Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya which mentions it. The pada and the krama texts are, moreover referred to in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka. It is therefore quite evident that the system was introduced by the composer of the padapāṭha himself. Now, as far as the application of the *Gaḷanta* system is concerned, it is difficult to understand why the repetition marked in so many places is not marked in so many other places some of which are noted above. The intention with which this system was introduced, would have been fully carried out, had the repetitions exhaustively been traced and marked. There does not seem to be any particular object on the part of the composer in not observing the *Gaḷantas* in those places. We have, in my opinion, nothing but to suppose that these non-marked repetitions escaped notice of the composer. If this supposition is accepted, then we have to assume that the compilation of the Saṃhitā and the composition of the padapāṭha were carried out at one and the same time by one and the same person. The absence of adequate attention towards the repetitions is explicable in that case only.

The collection of old and new hymns which were not necessarily composed for being utilised in the sacrificial rites, but were being used as such to a great extent, was considered as essential both for the sake of preservation through learning by heart and for the use of the Hotṛ priest in the most flourishing period of Brahmanism. The hymns thus collected needed an analysis in view of the preservation from alteration and also of understanding their meaning. It was, of course, necessary to learn the analysed text also by heart. It was considered that the efforts of doing so could be reduced to a certain extent by omitting the repeated portions which could easily be comprehensible to the reciter on account of his knowledge of the Saṃhitā text. The system of the *Gaḷantas* was, therefore, introduced and brought into operation as far as possible. However, it could not be applied exhaustively. The analyser who himself had arranged the Saṃhitā, could not hunt each and every repetition. A number of such repetitions escaped his notice.

In the majority of cases it appears that repetitions occurring after a long interval have remained unnoticed. There are certain cases where certain words are repeated several times, but the *Gaḷanta* is marked only partially; e. g. तमु त्वा occurs in RV. I. 78. 2; 3; 4; VI. 16. 14; 15; 45. 10; 11; but the *Gaḷanta* is observed only in I. 78. 3; 4; VI. 16. 15; 45. 11. It seems to be observed in VI. 16. 15 on the authority of VI. 16. 14 and in VI. 45. 11 on the authority of VI. 45. 10, not on the authority of I. 78. 2 where it first occurs. There are, on the other hand, cases in which the repetition even in the vicinity has, strangely enough, remained unnoticed, e. g. compare also यश्चिद्धि I. 24. 4; 84. 9*; स नो नियुद्भिः VI. 22. 11; 45. 21.* Compare also VII. 1. 20 and 25. Similarly there are cases, as shown above, in which there was no occasion for the *Gaḷanta*, but composer of the padapāṭha, in his zeal for minimising the burden of the brains of the reciter, observed it.

The *Gaḷantas*, thus, being as old as the compilation of the Saṃhitā and the composition of the padapāṭha, were naturally recognised throughout, leaving no chance for difference. If we suppose that the pada text was composed long after the Saṃhitā was compiled, we cannot justify the absence of adequate attention towards the repetitions, because in that case the composer of the padas would have had before him the Saṃhitā text fixed long ago, thus leaving no room for missing the repetitions.

The above exposition of the Ṛgveda-padapāṭha with regard to the *Gaḷantas* thus provides a supporting proof to the conclusion already reached which may be summed up as follows : The padapāṭha of the Ṛgveda was composed by Śākalya.* Weber in his comprehensive study of the pada text of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (*Indische Studien* XIII pp. 1–128) has made a general remark that "the composition of the padapāṭha† probably went hand in hand with the compilation of the Saṃhitā itself. In fact it was a work of the same requirements; it formed, as it were, the first authentic commentary on the Saṃhitā text." Oldenberg‡ observes in this connection that "if this general rule is applied to the Ṛgveda, it follows that the compilation of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā must have been carried out by Śākalya himself or by somebody closely related to him." In his opinion this view has to be accepted even though comprehensive material supporting the same cannot be available. He says that traces of a historical personage flourished before Śākalya must be made available if distinction is to be made between the redactor of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā and the composer of the padapātha.

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* Cf. *Nirukta* IV. 4 and Durga's commentary thereon; śaunaka's *Anuvākānukramaṇi*, verse 45.

† The pada text of the Sāmaveda was composed by Gārgya, cf. Durga's comm. on Nir. IV. 4. The padapātha of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā was composed by Ātreya; see Kāṇḍānukrama II. 27, Bhāradvāja Gṛhya Sūtra III. 11, Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra IV. 8.

‡ *Hymnen des Ṛgveda*, Band I, p. 383.

Such traces are, however, not available. Geldner[*] and Scheftelowitz[†] also consider Śākalya as the compiler of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā. There are, in the Ṛgveda, six verses (VII. 59. 12, X. 20. 1, 121. 10, 190) which have no pada text. This suggests that the compiler of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā was doubtful about their general recognition, so he incorporated them into the text, but did not analyse them. If the pada text were composed by a person different from the compiler of the Saṃhitā, he would not have left those verses unanalysed, since he would have no reason to suspect their genuineness. He would also have no reason not to mark the words वयं स्याम पतयो रयीणां in RV. X. 121. 10 as *Galanta* while they were so marked earlier (VIII. 40. 12; 48. 13). Śākalya can, therefore, be considered both as the compiler of the Saṃhitā and the composer of the pada text.

The Ṛgvedic hymns were looked upon as sacred texts *(Apauruṣeya)* since a very long time. This was not the case with the pada text which was evidently a *Vikṛti* and hence *Paurṣeya.* It was, therefore, quite natural that Śākalya was simply called as the *Padakāra.* The only argument put forward against the pada text being equally old with the Saṃhitā is that it contains some undoubted misinterpretations and misunderstandings.[‡] But this does not necessarily contradict the conclusion reached. It may only show that the hymns, having come down by a long tradition, had become unintelligible to a certain extent even in that period when they were collected together and edited.

With regard to the date of Śākalya, there seems to be some difference of opinion amongst scholars. Oldenberg[$] has put forth arguments to show that even though the text of the Ṛgveda had been stabilised in general in the Brāhmaṇa period, the final regulation of the Saṃhitā which is connected with Śākalya's name, must not have taken place before the end of the Brāhmaṇa period.[||] But Geldner[¶] has refuted those arguments[Ψ] and has shown that the compilation of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā took place in the period of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā. According to him, Śākalya was a contemporary of Āruṇi who is mentioned in many Brāhmaṇas and also of Yājñavalkya who flourished somewhat later. Śākalya is referred to in the Ait. Ār. III. 1. 2. 1, 2. 1. 1, 2. 6. 7 where he is called *Sthavira Śākalya.* There is also the mention of the Śākala in A. Br. III. 43 (अहेरिव सर्पणं शाकलस्य) which, according to Weber,[§] refers to the Śākala school of the Ṛgveda. He also identifies the *Padakāra* Śākalya with the *Vidagdha* Śākalya in the Śatapatha

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[*] *Vedische Studien*, Band III, pp. 144–46.

[†] *Apokryphen des Ṛgveda*, pp. 4–5, cf. also the *Poona Ṛgveda edition* Vol. IV, p. 902.

[‡] Cf. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 50.*

[$] *Hymnen des Ṛgveda* ,I, pp. 370–79.

[||] Cf. also Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 49; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 283.

[¶] ibid.

[Ψ] Cf. also C. V. Vaidya, *History of Sanskrit Literature* I, pp. 48-51.

[§] *Indische Studien* IX, 277.

Brāhmaṇa[*] (XI. 6. 3). This Brāhmaṇa relates in two versions the dispute of Vidagdha Śākalya with Yājñavalkya at the court of king Janaka which ultimately became the cause of the death of the former. The Vāyupurāṇa (LX. 32-62) also relates the same dispute in its own way. According to the same, Yājñavalkya asked Śākalya the *Padakāra*[†] a question with the condition that in case he was unable to reply the same, he may die. Śākalya could not give the answer, so he died. The Vāyupurāṇa clearly identifies this Śākalya with the famous compiler of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā.

From this narrative it becomes clear that Śākalya was the inhabitant of Kosala Videha, the theatre of the activities of Janaka and Yājñavalkya. The Kramapāṭha of the Ṛgveda was composed by Gālava of the Bābhravya gotra; an inhabitant of the Pancālas.[‡] "Thus we see that to the Kurupancālas and the Kosala-Videhas appertains the chief merit of having fixed and arranged the text of the Ṛk, as well as that of the Yajus, and this was probably accomplished, in the case of both the Vedas, during the most flourishing period of these tribes."[$] A further proof for the contemporaneity of the compilation of the Ṛgveda and the Śukla Yajurveda is that "the Pada of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā follows closely the principles of the Pada of the Ṛgveda and this accords with the fact that the Vājasaneyi itself in its readings constantly stands closer to the Ṛgveda than the texts of the Black Yajurveda."[||]

The name of the Śākalas is evidently related to Śākalya.[¶] It is quite appropriate that the name of Śākalya should be associated with the school he inaugurated, along with four others, Bāṣkala, Śāṃkhāyana, Āśvalāyana and Māṇḍūkeya, who might also be considered as the redactors of the different schools of the Saṃhitā text in so far as they differ from the Śākala. The Vāyupurāṇa not only attributes the redaction of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā to Śākalya, but also mentions the five divisions of the same which he taught to five disciples, Mudgala, Golaka, Khālīya, Matsya, and Śaiśirīya.[ψ] The Viṣṇupurāṇa (III. 4. 20) gives the names as Mudgala, Gosvalu, Mātsya, Śālīya and Śiśira. In the commentary on the Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya (1. 7) they are given as Mudgala, Gokhula, Vātsya, Śārīra and Śiśira. The Śaiśirīya school introduced by Śiśira, one of these five disciples seems to have acquired wide recognition. This is why the school generally recognised and preserved to this day is known by both the names, Śākala and Śaiśirīya.[*] Sākalya was also known by another name Vedamitra.[†] Its short form would be Veda which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata I. 3. 19 in company with Āruṇi and Upamanyu. This Veda cannot but be the great Śākalya, the compiler of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā.[‡] The name Devamitra which comes in the Vāyupurāṇa (LX. 32, 63) seems to be a misreading for Vedamitra. It appears that the name of Śākalya was also used as a patronymic. The Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya mentions two different views held by Śākalya (IV. 4) and Śākalyapitā (IV. 13). Mahābhārata XIII. 134 relates a story according to which Śākalya performed austerities and propitiated Śiva who gave him a boon by which his son became a famous Sūtra-writer. Unfortunately, there is no detail here as to who this Śākalya was and what his sūtra was about. Mr. C. V. Vaidya[$] is inclined to believe that Śākalya the father was the author of the Pada text and Śākalya the son was a grammarian and composed a sūtra on the grammar which is always mentioned with respect by Pāṇini.

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[*] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also mentions *Vārkali* (a local form of Bāskali) as the name of a teacher, i. e. Bāṣkala, the originator of another Ṛgveda school.

[†] The Anandśārama edition gives शाकल्यमिति होवाच वादकर्तारम्. But three out of the four MSS. used for preparing that edition read शाकल्यमिति होवाच पदकर्तारम् which seems to be a better reading.

[‡] Cf. Ṛgveda-prātiśākhya XI. 33, MBh. XIII. 341, śāntiparvan, Nārāyaṇīya Ākhyāna, C. V. Vaidya, ibid. pp. 54, 183-84. It is also to be noted that Pancālas are quoted as an authority along with the Prācyas in ṚV-Prāti II. 12, 44.

[$] Weber, ibid. pp. 34, 35, 39.

[||] A. B. Keith, *The Veda of Black Yajus Translated*, HOS. Vol. XVIII intro. p. xxx.

[¶] Cf. Weber, ibid. p. 32.

[ψ] देवमित्रस्तु शाकल्यो महात्मा द्विजसत्तमः। चकार संहिताः पञ्च बुद्धिमान् पदवित्तमः ॥६३॥
तच्छिष्या अभवत् पञ्च मुद्गलो गोलकस्तथा। खालीयश्च तथा मत्स्यः शैशिरेयस्तु पञ्चमः ॥६४॥

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[*] Cf. Max Muller, ibid. pp. 135-36, 368; Weber, ibid. Cf. śaunaka's Anuvākānukramaṇī, verse 9 : ऋग्वेदे शैशिरीयायां संहितायां……श्रणुत शाकलाः ॥ Ṣaḍguruśiṣya says : शैशिरीयायां शिशिरनाममहर्षिप्रोक्तायाम् Vesse 36 : तान् पारणे शाकले शैशिरीये etc.; ṚV-prāti I. 7 : वक्ष्ये शास्त्रमखिलं शैशिरीये. The comm says शैशिरीया संहिता शिशिरदृष्टत्वात्.

[†] Cf. ṚV. prāti, I. 51; Maxmuller. ibid., Viṣṇupurāṇa, ibid.

[‡] Cf. Geldner, ibid.

[$] ibid. p. 55.

ĀPRĪ HYMN IN THE ATHARVAVEDA* (V. 27)

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The Āprī Hymns in the Ṛgveda form a unique collection of hymns, a close study of which† gives very interesting results,‡ regarding their sacrificial setting. Before proceeding to analyse the Āprī Hymn in the Atharvaveda, it is desirable to state here the net results of that study.

The Āprī hymns in the Ṛgveda, it appears, were composed to glorify metaphorically some family ritual centred round fire, which again appears to be a very simple one, where Hotṛ was the only priest to guide it. The later and the commonly accepted view that the Āprī hymns are meant for employment in the Prayāja offerings of an animal sacrifice cannot be substantiated by the internal evidence of those hymns. Nor can the view that there are eleven or twelve deities be upheld. It came to be believed that there were eleven or twelve deities, because a particular order of stanzas was followed in all those hymns, possibly on account of very close family affinities and traditions. Otherwise, a closer investigation of the internal evidence of those hymns, reveals the fact that Agni is the deity, predominantly praised in at least four places out of eleven and excepting Uṣāsā-Naktā, there is no pure divinity, that is referred to therein.

Thus, when the metaphorical character of the Āprī hymns in the Ṛgveda is recognised, it becomes an interesting study to examine similar hymns in the other Vedas and to compare them with those in the Ṛgveda. We come across similar hymns in the Yajurveda too, some of which are pretty obscure to interpret. Here however it is proposed to discuss the character of the one in the Atharvaveda, especially as the Atharvaveda is nearer in spirit of collection to the Ṛgveda and in the light of the discussion, a fresh translation of the hymn is added at the end.

It is a well recognised fact now that the collection of hymns in the Atharvaveda is done from literary point of view, like the one in the Ṛgveda, as distinguished from those in the Yajurveda and the Sāmaveda, which are done from the ritualistic point of view. It is not clear why Ṛv. X. 110, should be reproduced verbatim at Av. V. 12. But it is a question linked up with similar other reproductions in the Atharvaveda, which can be discussed separately on its own merit. In passing, however, it may be remarked that strong family traditions may possibly have been the cause of such reproductions, as they have been in the case of the Āprī hymns in the different maṇḍalas of the Ṛgveda.

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* The Atharvaveda contains two Āprī hymns V. 12 and V. 27. But V. 12 is just a reproduction of Rv. X. 110; which has also been reproduced at Kāth. Sam. XV. 20, Mait. Sam. IV. 13. 3 Tait. Brā. III. 6. 3. Therefore, V. 27, can alone be called the real Āprī hymn of the Atharvaveda.

† cf. my paper on Āprī hymns in the Ṛgveda: a study, published in the Journal of the University of Bombay, September 1945 and September 1946.

‡ Contributed as paper to the 12th Oriental Conference and published in the Proceedings thereof.

Structure:—

The order of the so called Āprī deities has been mechanically maintained, but all the conventions of the Ṛgvedic poets do not seem to be observed here. Thus in the Ṛgveda, one independent verse is given to every one of the so called Āprī deities; but here it is not so. The verses have to be unequally divided in order to construe them with different deities. Like the two Āprī hymns of the Ṛgveda (I. 13 and I. 142) however, the Āprī hymn in the Atharvaveda contains 12 verses. Like Ṛgveda again, when Tanūnapāt and Narāśaṃsa are both praised, Tanūnapāt is placed earlier and Narāśaṃsa later.

In the first stanza here, both Samidh and is Tanūnapāt are referred to. As distinguished from the Ṛgveda, Samidh is used in nom. plu. (samidhah). The propriety of the mention of both these in the same stanza is that here, the 'samidhah' are referred to as connected with Agni and Tanūnapāt is after all a form of Agni. Again, Tanūnapāt is used in nom. sing. as distinguished from the Ṛgveda, where it is used in voc. In the third stanza, Narāśaṃsa is referred to in nom. sing. as in the Rv. I. 142. 3. etc. In the 4th and a part of the 5th stanza, in place of Iḷas, the form 'Iḍānah' is used. As in the Ṛgveda, it is a form of the root 'iḍ', but here present part. is employed as distinguished from the past or poten. parts. of the Ṛgveda. After this, 'Barhih' is not directly referred to, but as can be seen from the translation and notes below, the trend of the stanza, indicates it. In the 7th stanza, 'dvārah devīh' are referred to in nom. plu. as in the Rv. I. 13. 6; I. 142. 6. etc. Uṣāsā-Naktā are referred to in nom. dua. as in a number of places in the Ṛgveda. Daivyā Hotārā are referred to in voc. as in Rv. V. 5. 7. and X. 70. 7. and Tisro Devīh in the same stanza, in nom. plu. as in Rv. II. 3. 8. In the 10th stanza, Tvaṣṭṛ is mentioned in voc. as in Rv. III. 4. 9. In the eleventh, Vanaspati is used in voc. as in Rv. I. 13. 11 etc. Lastly, Svāhā is used adverbially as in Rv. I. 13. 12. etc.

As far as metre is concerned, in the Ṛgveda, uniformity of metre was preserved in the same hymn; but in the Atharvaveda, a wide variety of metres has been employed. viz. Triṣṭubh, anuṣṭubh, bṛhatī, gāyatrī, paṅkti etc.

This would indicate that even though the order of the so called deities has been mechanically maintained from the traditions of the Ṛgveda, as they were handed down, it was recognised that no fixed rules be observed in connection with the size or amount of importance to be attached to any particular deity. This structural difference would indicate a rather late period of composition for this hymn, even though as is welknown, some of the hymns of the Atharvaveda must have been contemporaneous in composition with the hymns of the Ṛgveda, when apparently, the earlier and strict traditions of the Ṛgveda had come be forgotten. It should be noted that the ritual is necessarily the ritual of the classes and even though this character was apparently retained, it becomes clear how even the classes had started tempering with the older character of the hymn.

Comparison of Contents.

1. *Samidh:*—As in the Āprī hymns in the Ṛgveda, Agni is prominently praised in the first place, samidhs being mentioned subordinately as belonging to him (asya samidhah). As distinguished from the Ṛgveda, the upward position of the samidhs (ūrdhvā...bhavanti) has been referred to here. The most brilliant flames of fire (śukrā dyumattamā socīmṣi) are referred to as going up (ūrdhvā) as in Rv. VII. 2. 1c (upa spṛśa divyaṃ sānu stūpaih).

2. *Tanūnapāt:*—Tanūnapāt is praised in a part of the first stanza and in the second one as well. That we have to construe the stanzas this way becomes clear on comparison with Vāj. Sam. 27. 12, Kāṭh. 18. 17. 2 Maitrā. II. 12. 6. 2. " tanūnapāt asuro viśvavedo devo deveṣu devah path anaktu madhvā ghṛtena". These hymns and the Atharvaveda version bear so close similarities with each other that it is almost certain that one has borrowed from the other. As we shall see below, these similarities offer us a good deal of help in the interpretation of the Āprī hymn itself, which is obviously obscure at places.

Description of Tanūnapāt in the Ṛgveda Āprīs too, would favour this construction. cf. Rv. X. 110. 2 (patha ṛtasya yānān madhvā samañjan) and Ṛv. 1. 188. 2 (tanūnapāt ṛtam yate madhvā yajñah samajyate). As distinguished from the Ṛgveda, Tanūnapāt is qualified here by adjectives, supratīkah (in Ṛgveda, 4 times used with Agni only), sasūnuh (used only here), bhūripāṇi (used only here).

3. *Narāśamsa:*—The description of 'narāśamsa' is identical with the one in the Vāj. 27. 12. For 'madhvā yajñam nakṣati' compare Rv. I. 142-3 'madhvā yajñam mimikṣati'. For 'prīṇānah' compare Rv. I. 73. 1. 'sukṛt' is used only here. 'Viśvāvāra' occurs at half a dozen other places.

4. *Iḷa:*—Here too, Vāj. Yaj. passage helps us to understand that v. 4 and 5a have to be construed together in the description of the Ṛgveda iḷah. It is only this way that the meaning would become clear. 'Iḍānah' (pres. part. passively used,) is the form used corresponding to 'Iḍyah' (Rv. X. 110. 3) and ' Iḷenyah '

(Rv. VII. 2. 3; IX. 5. 3). As 5a would show, the ladles have poured ghee and consequently, Agni is said to be shining with his strength (śavasā v. 4a). Chariots, which are associated with this place in the Ṛgveda Āprīs, are conspicuous by their absence here.

5. *Barhih:*—v. 5b and v. 6 appear to describe the 'barhih' of the Ṛgveda Āprīs. This is made particularly clear by the description that gods sit on it, as also Agni. (vasavaśca atiṣṭhan vasudhātaraśca). The form ' tarī ' seems to be a corrupt form from ' stṛ ', from which a number of forms in the Ṛgveda Āprīs are derived. For more discussion see note below on the translation.

6. *Devīh Dvārah:*—As regards, the Divine Doors "guarding the Law of Agni" (asya viśve vratāni rakṣanti viśvahā). cf. Rv. I. 13. 6; I. 142. 6 (ṛtāvṛdhah); III. 4. 5 (ṛtena viśvam invantah); X. 110. 5 (viśvaminvah). Here they are said to be 'opening widely' (uruvyacasā), unlike the Ṛgveda, where they are requested to open widely. This may perhaps indicate that at the time of the composition of the Atharvaveda Āprī hymn, this fact about the opening of the Divine Doors was taken for granted and hence no request was thought necessary to do so. This will make it clear that this Āprī hymn was separated from the Ṛgveda Āprīs by a fairly long period of time, when strict association of activities with the Āprī deities was not considered desirable nor necessary. It is only the order of the so called deities that was to be maintained intact. It should further be noted that very close connection of the so called Āprī deity 'dvārah' with Agni has been stressed in the most unmistakable terms here when (as we construe), they are said to be " lording with the lustre of Agni ". It goes without saying that this supports very clearly our theory about the Ṛgvedic Āprī deities.

7. *Uṣāsā-Naktā:*—In no Āprī hymn of the Rgveda, the Uṣāsā-Naktā are asked to protect the sacrifice as they are requested to do here. This is another instance as to how on account of the length of time, that separated this hymn from the Ṛgvedic Āprīs, much liberty has been taken in associating this activity with the Uṣāsā-Naktā, whereas in the Ṛgveda Āprīs, they are mainly asked to come and occupy a seat on "barhih". (Rv. I. 13. 8, I. 142. 8, I. 188. 7, VII. 2. 7, X. 70. 7, X, 110. 7).

The expression " ā suṣvayantī yajate upāke " has been bodily borrowed from Rv. X. 110. 7, which hymn, as we have seen, is bodily repeated as an Atharvaveda Āprī hymn at Av. V. 12.

"Upāke" is also used in Rv. Āprīs at I. 142. 8, III. 4. 7. " yajate " cf. "yajñiye" at Rv. VII. 2. 7.

8. *Daivyā Hotārā:*—With "urdhvam no adhvaram abhigṛṇata", cf. Rv. VII. 2. 8. "ūrdhvam no adhvaram kṛtam". For "yajñam" no yakṣatam cf. Rv. I. 13. 9; I. 142. 9. " jivhayā abhigraṇa " is comparable with Rv. "sujivhā" I. 13. 9; "mandrajivhā" I. 142. 9; "suveasā" I. 188. 8; "suvācā" X. 110. 8.

9. *Tisro Devīh:*—As regards the Three Deities, the only activity of occupying the seat on 'barhih', is mentioned as in the case of the unanimous reference in all the Āprī hymns in the Ṛgveda.

10. *Tvaṣṭṛ:*—For "tannasturīpam adbhutam", cf. Rv. I. 142. 10. "Tannasturīpam" at Rv. III. 4. 9, VII. 2. 9. "Purukṣu" in the Av., is comparable with "poṣayitnu" Rv. III. 4. 9, VII. 2. 9, "rāyaspoṣa" has only "poṣāya" corresponding with it.

11. *Vanaspati:*—The activity of releasing the offering to gods, (devebhyo havyam avasṛj), is associated with Vanaspati as at Rv. I. 13. 11, I. 142. 11, I. 188. 10; II. 3. 10 etc. and similarly, sweetening of the same is done by Agni, as in the Ṛgveda, in practically those same stanzas. "Rarāṇah", as adjective of Vanaspati is peculiar to the Atharvaveda Āprī hymn.

12. *Svāhā:*—In the Ṛgveda Aprīs, the gods are requested to feel delighted by the 'havih', offered with ṣvāhā. Here they are asked to accept that 'havih' (haviridam juṣantam). It is rather peculiar that Agni is asked to pronounce the utterance 'svāhā' which is not done elsewhere. Of course it only means that the 'svāhākṛti' is to be performed before the 'havih' becomes acceptable to the gods.

Ritual:—Atharvaveda XI. 7. 19 mentions "āpriyah" as side by side with "cāturmāsyāni" and "nīvidah", indicating that at the time of the Atharvaveda, independent character and status of the Āprī ritual was already recognised. In that ritual, the predominance of Agni remains unchanged. In the Atharvaveda Āpri, Agni is referred to in more places than in the Ṛgveda Āprīs. Thus, in the Ṛgveda Āprīs, Agni is explicitly mentioned in at least four places. But here, we find Agni referred to prominently in nine places out of twelve (i. e. excepting Uṣāsā-Naktā, Tisro Devīh and Tvaṣṭṛ). Out of these, the word Agni is used in eight places. In the remaining place, Agni need not be mentioned as such, because, Tanūnapāt is after all a form of Agni. This should do away with doubts, if any, regarding the ritual of the Āprī hymns, being a self-sufficient ritual, centred round Agni.

In essential respects, the ritual appears to have remained the same, further indicating how strong the traditions associated with it were. One small detail is referred to clearly, viz. that the samidhs were to be arranged in a vertical position so that the flames rising from them would also rise upwards. (ūrdhvā asya samidho bhavanti, ūrdhvā socīṃṣi agneh). Ghee was being poured at intervals, as the plural form "ghṛtā" (v. 4), would show. As in the case of the ritual of the Ṛgveda Āprīs, this ritual was also apparently of a very general character, as the reference to all the deities accepting the gifts, offered therein would show. (v. 12 viśve devāh haviridam juṣantām).

One more thing is noteworthy, viz. that even though, it occurs in the Atharvaveda, it is free from 'atharvanic' character, especially as even very highly philosophical hymns are employed for 'atharvanic' purposes by the authors. This, coupled with the mention of 'āpriyah' independently in the Atharvaveda (XI. 7. 19), and their later preservation in Avesta, in the from of "Afringans", ought to make it clear that it escaped being 'atharvanised', on account of its very strong family and ritualistic associations.

Thus, on the whole, it seems that the Atharvaveda Āprī was separated from the Ṛgveda Āpris by a long stretch of time and hence there appear to have been introduced some changes in the structure, placing, ritual etc., but on account of family and sacrificial associations, the spirit of the 'āprī' appears to have remained the same.

TRANSLATION

(With stanzas divided according to the so called Āprī deities.)

[The figures in the brackets, refer to the numbers of the stanzas in the original and those outside refer to the numbering according to the deities.]

1. (1 abc). Uplifted are the samidhs of this (fire) (and consequently) uplifted (become) the bright flames of Agni. Most brilliant (is Agni) of beautiful face, with his son.

(Note):—'c' will better be read with Vāj. Yāj. as dyumattamā supratīkasya 'sūnoh' "Most brilliant (are the flames of Agni) of beautiful face, the son" The epithet 'sūnu' is used of Agni also at VI. 4. 4. 'sahasah sūnuh' is of course a very common epithet of Agni.

2. (1d and 2). Tanūnapāt, the Asura, many-handed, a god among gods, the god anoints the paths with honey, with ghee.

(Note):—As distinguished from the Ṛgveda Āprīs, tanūnapāt is used in nom. qualified by adjectives, 'asura', 'bhūripāṇi'. The adjective 'asura' as applied to Tanūnapāt, indicates the latter's association with the divine aspect of Agni, as contrasted with the familiar one in 'narāśaṃsa'.

3. (v. 3) With honey, he approaches the sacrifice, (the) Agni, pleased, the well-doer, the god, the impeller, (one) possessed of all the choice things.

(Note):—This description further strengthens the conjecture, forwarded in the "Āprī Hymns in the Ṛgveda : a study and a theory" (B. U. J. 1945 and 1946.) that the Tanūnapāt refers to the divine aspect of Agni, while Narāśaṃsa refers to the more popular and familiar one on earth. Thus when Tanūnapāt is said to be 'anointing' the paths (of the gods), Narāśamsa is said to be approaching the sacrifice of the mortals, being near to them.

4. (4 and 5a) With strength, he comes towards (accha) our ghees, being praised with homage, (Agni), the carrier. Agni (comes towards) the ladles in the sacrifices, where many offerings are made. (or, which are holy or sacred).

(*Note:*)—Griffith renders 5a 'at holy rites and offerings, Agni loveth the scoops'.

Whitney:—"Agni unto the spoons, at the sacrifices, the profferings (prayāj). 'Prayakṣu' may be taken as adjective of 'adhvareṣu'. (cf. translation). Perhaps, 'prayatsu' is a better reading, meaning 'full of efforts'.

5. (5b and 6) May he sacrifice (to) the greatness of Agni; Among the delightful offerings, (stands the grass that is) spread. (on it) The Vasus and (Agni) the greater bestower of wealth, stood.

(*Note*):—These lines are obscure. As Whitney points out, there was no certain tradition about the passage from the fact, that in other samhitās, there are different readings. He interprets 'tarī' as 'crossing'(?) and apparently is not satisfied with his interpretation. Griffith renders "He is furtherer at glad oblations". But both these scholars miss the point. They have not taken into consideration the main character of this hymn as an Āprī hymn.

The form 'tarī' is apparently a corrupt form. But if the other reading is taken into consideration, viz. "sa īm mandrā suprayasā starīman, barhiṣo mitramahāh" (Maitrā. Samh.), and if the tradition of an Āprī hymn is taken into consideration, it can be understood, beyond any possibility of doubt, that the description here should refer to 'barhih'.

For this reason, 'tarī' should be taken as a corrupt form from 'Stṛ' to spread, and equivalent to 'starī'. (that which is spread). The tradition of the Ṛgveda Āprīs would indicate the employment of a form from the root 'stṛ' at this place. cf. 'stṛṇīta' at I. 13. 5, 'stṛṇānāsh' at I. 142. 5 'astṛṇan' at I. 188. 4; 'stīrṇam' at II. 3. 4; 'stṛṇimahi' at III. 4. 4; 'stṛṇan' at IX. 5. 4.

V. 5b has to be construed here, because the expression 'sa yakṣat' can better be construed in the context of 'barhih' cf. Rv. X. 70. 4 "uśato yakṣi devān".

For 'atiṣṭhan' cf. 'sīdata' II. 3. 4; 'nyasādi, III. 4. 4; 'anūṣata' (from anu-vasa) V. 5. 4.

In general, again, Barhih is meant for the occupation by the gods as the tradition of the Ṛgveda Āprīs would show. The gods are requested to sit on it at Rv. II. 3. 4 "vasavah sīdatedam".

'Vasudhātarah' should refer to Agni as does the 'vasudhātama' in Vāj. Yaj. 27. 15. and we have seen above this particular hymn in the Vāj. Sam. bears very close affinities with the Atharvaveda Āprī.

6. (7 and 8a) The divine Doors (and) all (the gods) guard his Law in all the ways, opening wide and lording by the lustre of Agni.

(Note):—Whitney and Griffith construe 8a 'uruvyacasā agnerdhāmnā patyamāne' with 'uṣāsā-naktā'. This however does not apppear to be the proper way of construction for various reasons. A comparison with the other Āprī hymns and their general trend would clearly show that this line has got to be construed with the Devīr Dvārah. Merely the dual form 'patyamāne' cannot be the indication of their having to be construed with 'uṣāsā–naktā'.

In this connection, it should be noted that the use of the term 'uruvyacasā' is significant. It seems to correspond with similarly derived words from the Ṛgveda Āprīs. cf. 'vyacasvatī' II. 3. 5; 'vyacasvatīh' X. 110. 5. Separation indicated by the meaning of the root "ac" with 'vi', and which is also differently referred to in the Ṛgveda Āprīs, (cf. asaścatah I. 13. 6), is quite foreign to the nature of Uṣāsā–naktā, who are referred to in quite contrary terms in the Rv. Āprī (cf. samici, II. 3. 6) indicating that they are closely associated with each other. Besides 'opening widely' is a distinct activity going with the Divine Doors. (cf. X. 70. 5 divo vā sānu spṛśata varīyah, pṛthivyā vā mātrayā viśrayadhvam and X. 110. 5 'urviyā viśrayantām')

Regarding the dual form 'patyamāne', it may be noted at Rv. VII. 2. 5, such dual form is used in the 'upamāna' sentence, going with the Divine Doors. (cf, durah pūrvī śiśum na mātarā rihāṇe). Besides, it should be noted that Vāj. sam. 27. 6 gives the reading 'patymānāh' and construes it with Devīh Dvārah. From the close affinity of that hymn with this Atharvaveda Āprī, it should be taken as a guide for construing 'patyamāne' rather as a corrupt form and take it with Dvārah.

It should further be noted that with our interpretation of the conception of the Divine Doors (cf. my paper on Āprī Hymns in B. U. J. 1945 and 1946.), the expression 'agnerdhāmnā patyamāne', becomes more significant as they thus can alone shine and spread about with the lustre of Agni.

Besides, it should be noted that it is only thus that the meaning of 'asya' in 'a' would become clear and it can be said to refer to Agneh in 'c'.

Regarding the word 'viśve in 7a, it should be noted that we have to supply 'devāh, At Vāj. sam. 27. 6, the reading is 'viśve vratāni'; but the reading of the Maitrā. sam. 'viśvā vratā', makes the sense quite clear and smooth.

7. (8bc) Impelling, holy and near (to us), may Uṣāsā-Naktā protect this sacrifice of ours, free from killing.

(*Note*):—'a' has been borrowed bodily from Rv. X. 110. 6. In tha Ṛgveda Āprīs, Uṣāsā–Naktā are called to occupy a seat on barhih (I. 13; X. 70; etc.). At VII. 2. 6, they are called for 'wellbeing' (suvitāya).

8. (9ab) Two Divine Hotṛs, sing on all sides, our sacrifice with the tongue of Agni, sing (on all sides) for the good performance of our sacrifice.

(*Note*):—Ūrdhvam should preferably be read adverbially. For similar use cf. VII. 2. 8 'ūrdhvam no adhvaram kṛtam haveṣu'. The crackling sound associated with the flames as they are rising up, is very graphically described here.

9. (9ab) The three Goddesses (may) occupy (the seat on) this Barhih (three goddesses) Iḍā, Sarasvatī and Bhāratī the great, being sung.

(*Note*):—In the Av. Āprī, 8 and 9 are read together; but both on the ground of their having independent places in the Ṛgveda Āprīs, as also on comparison with Vāj. Sam. Āprī, with which it has very close affinities, it is better to construe them as we have done here.

10. (v. 10). That unforeseen seminal fluid of ours, of ample nourishment and increaser of wealth, oh god Tvaṣṭṛ, may you release, towards his (i. e. of the sacrifice) navel.

(*Note*):—Griffith with 'pour down this man's kindred' and Whitney with 'release thou the navel of it' are not clear.

The expression which variously occurs as 'no nābhā' Rv. I. 142. 10, 'nābhim asme' Ṛv. II. 3. 9 and Vāj. 27. 10, seems to refer to Agni. On comparison with Vāj. 27. 10, we may say that our 'nābhimasya' is corrupt from 'nābhimasme' and then render 'towards the navel' i. e. Agni for us. It is however not impossible to render it as we have done in the translation, because 'asya' can refer to sacrifice and Agni would be his navel. Agni is very frequently referred to as 'pṛthivyā nābhih' Ṛv. I. 59. 2; 'bhuvanasya nābhih' I. 164. 34. At VIII. 12. 32 and 13. 29, Agni is specially referred to as 'nābhi' of the sacrifice, ('nābhā yajñasya').

11. (v. 11) Oh Vanaspati, release down (offering) bestowing; May Agni the cutter, willingly sweeten the offering for the gods.

12. (v. 12) Oh Agni, oh Jātavedas, pronounce the (utterance) svāhā; (this) sacrifice (is) for Indra; May viśvedevas accept this offering.

(*Note*):—Vāj. sam. reading, 'indrāya havyam' (pronounce the svāhā with reference to this havya for the sake of Indra) makes better sense.

'INDRA' IN THE ATHARVAVEDA

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Mythology of the Ṛgveda is a subject of study of a number of scholars. Mythology of the Yajurveda and Sāmaveda does not in many ways differ from that of RV. Mythology of these Vedas is highly valuable for the proper understanding of the Vedic religion. But for the proper appreciation of the popular religion as distinguished from the hierarchical religion, mythology of the AV. is highly important. For, it is likely to explain the sources of many popular beliefs, which have been handed down to the posterity by continuous tradition. The life of a householder, in its various conditions—his troubles, his remedies, his pleasures and his appreciations—is faithfully recorded in the AV. It will thus be very interesting to know how an Aryan led his normal life. What help did he get from divine or other sources in times of distress? Whom did he invoke for his help? An answer to all such questions will be suitably found in the study of mythology and religion of the AV. It is from this point of view that I have attempted to study the mythology and religion of the AV.

To avoid repetition, I have not touched the traits of the character of the deities, common to both the RV. and the AV. Here is thus an idea of the seers of the AV. about Indra as purely represented in the AV. only. Indra is one of the most important Gods in the AV. The word Indra occurs about 800 times in the AV. His general attributes and physical features are the same as are found in the RV.

Indra is born alone. He has many names (6. 99. 1) He has his bodies on earth, sky, water and fire (17. 1. 13). Indra is born of Aṣṭakā, a daughter of Prajāpati. She practised penance and gave birth to Indra (3. 10. 12), Indra is also born of Goddess Tviṣī (brilliance) (6. 38. 1). He was glorious at the time of birth (6. 39. 3). He is born first for doing heroic deeds (4. 24. 6). He has formidable arms (4. 24. 3).

Indra is the most powerful lord among the people. He controls everything. His might is unassailable. His fame is unwavering. He is possessed of delightful disposition (3. 33). Bh*ū*mi (earth) freed by Indra, chose Indra as her Lord (12. 1. 10). He is invoked by the seer to protect him with his two hands in distress. He is the Saviour (6. 99. 3). Indra is the standard of great power (1. 35. 3). He is provided with all things as the lord and master of all (13. 4. 46. 51). Indra is all pervading. He is the bull which sustains earth, sky and wide atmosphere. He is the basis of all human and divine existence. (4. 11. 1-2).

The priests perform sacrifices on the earth to offer Soma to Indra (12. 1. 37-38). He comes to the invocation of the worshipper to drink Soma.

The pressing stones in the Soma sacrifice proclaim his manliness (4. 24. 3). To the barren cow to be offered (Vaśā gauh) Indra gave thousand vessals of Soma to drink (10. 10. 9-10).

Indra is identified with Viṣṇu in the entire book XVII. He is identified with Vrātyas when they go to the South (15. 14. 3). Brahmacārī became Indra and killed demons (15. 14. 5). The sacrificial residue is deposited in Indra (11. 7. 1). He is equated with Skambha, on whom everything rests (10. 7. 30). Indra is also asked to take the worshipper to the place where the knowers of Brahman go (19. 43. 6).

Thus, Indra is conceived by the Atharvanic singers as a mighty God, working for the good of the worshipper. Indra is associated with the gods of equal power and is identified with the new and powerful divinities.

Another important feature of Indra is the ready help he gives on various occasions either on battlefields or to overcome domestic worries. Coming to the help he gives in battlefield to the kings and fighting forces it will be observed that Indra is prayed to keep off the burning missile of the enemy, when the gut-string on the wooden bow makes the reed-arrows whistle (1. 2. 3). With the help of Indra, warriors in the battles hope to overcome the foes irresistibly (7. 93. 1). If a warrior is wounded on the battlefield, Indra, is called upon to cure him and thus to enable him to defeat his rivals (2. 29. 3). In the battle, Indra's help is sought to kill the enemy from all quarters (6. 40. 3). In the battle, warriors favoured by the priest, attempt to round up the enemies, by combing thir shelters. Such tying up of enemies is made, and it is made more sharp with fervour (tapas) by Indra. Indra is also prayed to tie up the enemies (6. 103. 3. 104). With Indra's help enemy is assaulted. Their hands are cut off. They, who come with the armies to fight, collide with the great weapons. They are pierced through. The enemy may come discharging arrows with the bow-string, but Indra demolishes them (6. 66). The reasons for calling upon Indra is that Indra used successfully this devise of cutting of the heads, first against the Asuras. Consequently, Indra is depended upon as a staunch ally (6. 65. 3). On another occasion Indra comes to the help of the worshipper by confounding and thus scattering the enemy on all sides. Indra, urged by two bays, is prayed to confound the enemy with the blast of fire and wind and make them disappear. (3. 1. 5). Indra, not only confounds the enemy with fire and wind, but actually confounds their designs, plans and is prayed to communicate the knowledge of their plans to the side of the worshipper (3. 2. 3). Indra kills the enemy with thunderbolts with three joints (triṣandhi) (11. 10. 27). Against the thunderbolts of Indra, urged by an offering, the arrows of the enemies, however strong, do not reach. Their arrows fall off far away dispersed (1. 19. 1) Indra is the past-master in the technique of War. He has a device to encircle the enemies, however large they be, hundreds or thousands. The worshipper prays that Indra, the hero, has a huge net (jāla). With this he encircled the huge armies of the barbarians. When encircled with the net of Indra the enemy naturally is in the trap of debility, formidable failure, misfortune, toil, weariness and confusion (8. 8. 9). Actually, Indra's net is the great world; the darkness encircles the enemy (8. 8. 8). In such brave deeds, Maruts are the followers of Indra (3. 19. 6). The drum is beaten to keep up the spirits of the fighting force. The drum is the friend of Indra (5. 20. 8).

Indra is not only invited to help his worshippers in the battle against human enemies, but also is prayed to destroy the demons, the Rakṣas, who reside in various diseases and thus attack the body of the person. With Indra's thunderbolt the demons fly off and thus relief is given to the sick person (2. 3. 6). Indra helps to drive off demons such as Yātumats, Atrins and Kimīdins. Indra with his hands pushes them aside (1. 7. 4). He also pierces the bodies of Gandharvas with his formidable hundred golden spears (4. 37. 8).

Indra is called upon to help a priest, who is set upon by another rival priest. The priest urges that the rival priests have transgressed the dominions of India (atisara). So he insists that those priests must submit to his will. With the spell of Indra the rival priest trembles and falls off breathless. Indra is compelled to do this act for the priest, in spite of the fact that the rival priests have defended themselves with incantations and offering to the Gods (5. 8). The priest who compels Indra to submit to the desire naturally believes that he is superior to Indra and those kings, whose Purohita he is, are sharper than Indra's thunderbolts (3. 19. 4).

Another important aspect of Indra is that he is a king. He is ever victorious and is never conquered by any one. He is like a Sovereign ruler to be famed, to be praised, to be greeted, to be waited upon and to be reverenced ! Like a king on earth, he is ambitious. He overcomes people. He rules over the Gods. His domain is long-lived and unfading. He is a ruler of quarters (6. 98). As the Sovereign ruler, Indra is invited to restore an exiled king. His red horses are urged to bring Indra for the ceremony of reinstallation (3. 3. 2). Indra comes on the scene and calls the exiled king for the sake of the subjects (3. 3. 3). Indra's desire to reinstate the exiled king is final; whosoever comes to dispute the call of Indra is thrown off (3. 3. 6). On another occasion, Indra is called to elect a king for the clans. The elected king is a human Indra. Indra hands over a new king to the people (3. 4. 6). A king elected to his position by Indra, naturally looks at him for help. The Purohitas invoke Indra to increase the domain of the king who, with Indra as a friend, aspires to be the sole chief of the clans. He gets a position of the property in horses and cows in a village. He is expected to be the summit of authorities. He becomes Lord of the riches, He becomes the popular king. The Purohita joins the king with Indra, thus the king becomes superior to all, uppermost of kings descended from Manu. The king has an emblem of lion and tiger. With the help of Indra, all his enemies are defeated and never rise again (4. 22).

Indra is thus identified with a human king who is Kṣatriya. Consequently, all Kṣatra is originated from Indra (15. 10. 3). He is Mahendra (17. 1. 18).

Indra is also actively made to indulge in the magical rites. In these rites, his usual associations remain common, such as his Vajra and others. He is seen here being invoked for a number of rites. He is invoked to drive away demonic Sadānvas sitting on the bottom of the house (2. 14. 4). Indra is called upon to bestow on a person whose virility is dead, the energies of herbs, the essences of bulls and the virility of men (4. 4. 4). Indra, the gracious lord with golden hook, is prayed to assign a wife to a person who seeks wife (9. 82. 3). A rival, who fights, is thrust out of his home by means of 'an oblation of ejection' to Indra. He is thrown far away from which he will never come back, as long as the sun is in the sky (6. 75). Indra comes to the help of a pregnant woman who is suffering from pains in her loins. This pain is due to the demons who have a huge head; Indra drives them away and relieves the woman from her pain. With Indra as a friend, a witchcraft, whether made by men or God, is thrown aside (5. 14. 7). More voilent are the invocation of a woman to Indra for making impotent, her unfaithful lover, Indra is asked to crush his two testicles with the pressing stones (6. 138. 2). Indra also helps his worshipper medically. Indra is asked to kill the worms in the body of a boy (5. 23 2). With Indra's millstones, the worms are crushed (2. 31. 1). Indra recovers the mental deseases of a person (6. 111. 4). Indra cures a person of a tuberculosis when offered with the offering of withered cane, tilpinja and reeds (12. 2. 54). Indra also figures in a charm to grow hair (6. 30. 1). Indra plays a very prominent part as a favourite god of a householder who on various occasions prays him to carry him safely across various odds that he meets in his daily life. Indra kills serpents (10. 4. 10). Indra kills a thief entering in a house with his bolts (4. 3. 5). In an assembly when a speaker becomes nervous, Indra readily helps him to outwit the opponent and to be famous (7. 12. 3). Indra makes the paths safe for the journey (7. 55. 1.) When the cattles are branded on their ears, Indra comforts them (6. 141. 2).

Indra actually becomes a trader and is invoked for prosperity and safety in trading. He thrusts aside the niggard and wild animals from the path of journey. This path becomes safe and the trader secures hundred old fortune.

These are the important features of Indra. Indra, like other Gods, is invoked in groups. It is only in the individual invocations to Indra that the features of Indra are markedly noticed. He is praised in company with the others too. With Agni, he is invoked to kill the Yātudhānas (1. 7. 3.) and to conquer Paṇis (4. 23. 5). With other Gods such as Savitṛ, Agni, Aṅgiras, Indra is invoked to secure the quenching of fire (3. 21. 8). With Pūṣan, Varuṇa, Mitra, Agni, Indra is invoked to cut off the head of the adversaries.

It will be observed from the descriptions of Indra in the AV, that Indra was a trusted friend of a worshipper and the lord of the earthly kings, winning success to the side of the worshipping warriors. The tricks he uses in the battlefield may be the nucleus of the various Astras mentioned in the Mahābhārata. To overcome domestic worries, Indra readily helps his worshippers. In the popular religion of the AV, it will be noticed that the Ṛgvedic Indra is transformed into a deity of popular appeal, to redress private and public grievances.

ĀṄGIRASA KALPA AND PRATYAṄGIRĀ KALPA

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In the course of my work in the MSS. Library of the Nagpur University, I came across a MS. entitled "Pratyaṅgirā Kalpa" (ACC. NO. 170). The extent of the MS. is of 17 leaves with ten lines to a page and 36 letters in a line. The paper used is home-made country paper and the text is written in Devanāgari characters. The appearance of the MS. is very old. The hand-writing is somewhat careless, but it is clear and legible, in between borders of double black lines. Red pigment is used to mark the numbers and the Pratīkas of the Mantras. The MS. begins as follows:—श्री मङ्गलमूर्तये नमः । अथ प्रत्यङ्गिरा दिग्बन्धनम् । तच्छंयोरिति मन्त्रस्य बार्हस्पत्य ऋषिः । शक्वरीच्छन्दः । शान्त्यर्थजपे विनियोगः ।

And it ends as:—

अथ होमादौ दक्षिणा महाप्रत्याङ्गिराकल्पे ।
होमान्ते दक्षिणां दद्यात् द्वित्तशाद्यविवर्जितः (?)
शतं सुवर्णमुख्या स्यात् मध्यमार्धशतं मता ॥
तदर्धं तु कनिष्ठा स्यात् तदधार्धमथापि वा ।
अतो न्यूना न कर्तव्या काम्यकर्मणि दक्षिणा ॥
प्रभुः प्रथमकल्पस्य योऽनुकल्पेन वर्तते ।
सर्वमाप्नोति फलं तस्य कर्मणः काम्यकर्मकृत् ॥
अन्नहीनो दहेद्राष्ट्रं मन्त्रहीनस्तु ऋत्विजम् ।
दक्षिणाभिर्विहीनस्तु यजमानं हिनस्ति सः ॥*
इति प्रत्यङ्गिराकल्पे काम्यकर्मविधिः ।

The Ms. is placed in the Exhibition for the perusal of the scholars.

The MS. appears to be incomplete; the date of its writing is not given. But from its old and rusty appearance it can be conjectured without much risk that the MS is about 300 years old. The subject of the work is clearly witchcraft -defensive witchcraft. No name of the author is given. But even without the name of the author and the date, the MS. seems to be of unique importance.

The same or a similar work entitled "Ātharvaṇa Pratyaṅgirā Kalpa" is mentioned by A. Weber in his Indische Studien I. 469.

The witchcraft ritual of the Atharva Veda is given in the sixth chapter of the Kau. Sūt. But according to the tradition, the ritual of the Atharva Veda is dealt with in five independent Kalpa works. From the testimony of the great Pūrvamīmāṅsā teachar Upavarṣa,[*] we know that the five Kalpa works attached to the Atharva Veda are like five śrutis (Vedatulyāh). Keśava in his gloss on the Kau, Sūt. also emphasises this. The Indian tradition of Charaṇavyūha, Atharvapaddhati, Mahābhārata, Mahābhāṣya, Purāṇas etc, unanimoualy holds that the ritual part of the AV. is presented by the Nakṣatra Kalpa, Vitāna Kalpa, Saṃhitā Kalpa, Āṅgirasa Kalpa and the Śānti Kalpa.[†] The Nakṣatra Kalpa, otherwise known as Kṛttikā–Rohiṇī, is known to us and it is published by Bolling and Negelein (Leipzig 1909) as the first Atharva Pariśiṣṭa. The Vitānakalpa is identified with the Vaitāna Sūtra and that is also known to us. It is edited and translated by R Garbe (London and Strassburg 1878). The Saṃhitākalpa is also called as Saṃhitāvidhi and it is identified with sound reasons with the Kauśika Sūtra. (Ed. Bloomfield JAOS XIV). This identification of the Vitāna Kalpa and the Saṃhitā Kalpa with the Vaitāna Sūtra and the Kauṣika Sūtra respectively has become easier by the mention of the Kalpas of Kaśyapa and Kauśika in the Mahābhāṣya.[‡] If the Kalpa of Kauśika is the same as the Kau. Sūt. then the Kalpa of Kaśyapa can be none other than the Vai. Sūt,. We also know the Śāntikalpa which too is of the nature of an Atharva Pariśiṣṭa as is the Nakṣatra Kalpa. The Śāntikalpa is available with text, translation and commentary by the efforts of G. M. Bolling (in the Transactions of the American Philological Association VOL. XXXV and a part in JAOS XXXII). Thus, except the Āṅgirasa kalpa, the other four of the five Kalpa works are available.

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* This exhibits the Pariśiṣṭa nature of the work.

These five Kalpas were known and studied in the days of Mahābhārata. This we know by the appearan ce of the term " Pañchakalpin "[$] in the Mahābhārata (XII. 342–99) and also in the Mahābhāṣya.[||] Keśava the commentator of the Kau. Sūt also knew all the five Kalpas including the Āṅgirasa Kalpa, for in his introduction to the witchcaft practices of the Kau Sūt., he saya "आङ्गिरसकल्पोक्ताः सम्भाराः प्रत्येतव्याः।" The Āṅgirasa Kalpa and the other four Kalpas were available to Sāyaṇa also. In his introduction to his commentary on the Atharva Veda of the Śaunakins he gives summaries of all the Kalpas. He also interprets "आहृत्याङ्गिरम्" (Kau. Sūt 6. 1) as "आङ्गिरसकल्पोक्तं सम्भारमाहृत्य". Thus the five Kalpas attached to the AV. were known and studied until the 14th century. In the Charaṇavyūha affiliated to the White Yajurveda the Āṅgirasa Kalpa is called as Abhichārakalpa or Vidhānakalpa.

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[*] Colebrook Essays II. 319 ff.

[†] Atharva Pariśiṣṭa 49.

[‡] Mahābhāsya. " काश्यप–कौशिकग्रहणं च कल्पे नियमार्थम् "
Keilhorn's. Edn. Vol. 2, p. 286.

[$] For the discussion of the term Pañchakalpin see Bloomfield JAOS. XI. 378.

[||] Indische Studien XIII. 455.

The text of the Āṅgirasa Kalpa is not available now. It is supposed to be missing. No Mss. catalogue announces its discovery. The American and the European scholars, in spite of their methodical search for Mss., have failed to trace this lost Kalpa work.

From its summary as given by Sāyaṅa in his introduction:-

" तथा आङ्गिरसकल्पे अभिचारकर्मादौ कर्तृकारयितृसदस्यानां स्वात्मरक्षाकरणम् ।
अभिचारोपयुक्तदेशकालमण्डपकर्तृकारयितृदीक्षादिधर्म–समिदाज्यादिसम्भारनिरूपयादिकम् ।
ततः आभिचारिककर्माणि । परकृताभिचारनिवारणादीन्यन्यान्यपि कर्माणि । "

and also from its alternative title "Abhichārakalpa", it becomes quite clear that the text of the Āṅgirasakalpa deals with the Abhichāra practices which are to be performed in accompaniment with the recitation of the Atharvan spells and incantations. The title Āṅgirasakalpa also speaks about the nature of the lost work.

In the Atharvan literature-Saṃhitā, Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Vaitāna and Kauśika Sūtras, Atharva Pariśiṣṭas etc, the terms Āṅgirass and Abhichāra are treated as synonyms. Even the non-Atharvanic texts corroborate this (cf. SB. X. 5. 2. 20). Of the two great natural divisions of the "Atharvāngirasām Brahma" the Ātharvaṇa part pertains to auspicious side and the entire field of terrible wichcraft is covered by the Āṅgirasa part. Thus, Āṅgirasa stands for Abhichāra. Even the plants to be used in witchcraft are called as "Āṅgīrasīh" (cf. Paribhāṣā 46. 9-10). The Kau. Sūt. mentions 'Saṃbhara Āṅgirasah' (42. 7), 'Daṇḍa Āṅgirasah. (42. 12), 'Agnir Āṅgirasah' (14. 30) making witchcraft the special charge of the Āṇgirasa sages. The Atharvan hymns too mention "Kṛtyā Āṅgirasīh" VIII-5. 9. " Pratīchīno Āṅgirasodhyakṣah " (X. 1. 6).

Pratīchīna Āṅgirasa is the president of counter witchcraft. Prati in Atharvan terminology stands as the defensive epithet. Pratisara (IV. 40) is an amulet used in defensive witchcraft. " Pratīchīh Kṛtyāh Pratisarair Ajantu " (VIII. 5. 5)-the Pratisara turns the hostile spell as a boomerang upon him that performs it. In AV. II. 11. 2 Pratisara is used synomymously with Pratyabhicharaṇa. Similarly, the term Pratyaṅgiras is the exact equivalent of Pratyabhicharaṇa. The Ṛgvidhāna says (IV. 6. 4 ff):-

यमाङ्गिरसकल्पैस्तु तद्विदोऽभिचरन्ति स ।
प्रत्यङ्गिरसकल्पेन सर्वांस्तान् प्रतिबाधते ॥

Now the text in hand is Pratyaṅgirākalpa. Its theme is counter (defensive) witchcraft; it quotes Pratīkas of the Atharvan hymns (e. g. " Parehi Kṛtye ", Yam dviṣmo yaścha no dveṣṭi, Yo nah śapāt etc. from the Kṛtyāpratiharaṇa Gaṇa and as such attaches itself to the AV.; in it Vedic divinities such as Indra, Rudra, Agni are invoked; the metres employed such as śakvarī, Gāyatrī etc. are also

Vedic; It recommeds Śāntis as the Śāntikalpa does; it is too, like the Nakṣatra Kalpa, of the Pariśiṣta nature. It prescribes Brahmāstra i. e. the famous Gāyatri mantra in its inverted form; and all these with the Homa are for dispelling the fear of Kṛtyā, ghosts etc ; It too describes Kṛtyā as a hedious bogey with the epithets "Sīrṣaṇvatī" etc. exactly in the manner of the Atharvan spells and last but not the least, the whole work breathes the spirit of intense hatred–"Yo māṃ dveṣṭi yaṃ cha vayaṃ dviṣmah" as it pervades in the Atharvan spells and incantations and witchcraft practices.

Thus, it is not much to say that the present Pratyaṅgirākalpa has something to do with the lost Āṇgirasa Kalpa. As the present work concerns with the defensive part of Atharvan witchcraft, it can be a part of the Āngirasa Kalpa where both offensive and defensive might have been given. The testimony of Sāyaṇa and Keśava is sufficient for that, for the time being. What is exactly the relation between the Āṅgirasa Kalpa and the Pratyaṅgirākālpa will be clear when the lost work will be brought to light; till then we will have to wait.

But one thing is clear. The present Pratyaṅgirākalpa has nothing to do with the divinity "Pratyaṅgirā" which is praised in the Tantra works like "Kubjikā" and others. She is described as follows in the above-mentioned Tantra:—

देवी प्रत्यङ्गिरा विद्या सर्वग्रहनिवारिणी ।
मर्द्दिनी सर्वदुष्टानां सर्वपापविमोचनी ॥
स्तम्भिनी मोहिनी चैव क्षोभिणी द्राविणी तथा ।
जृम्भिणी भ्रामणी रौद्री तथा संहारिणी अपि ॥

The description of the divinity Pratyangirā, who is identfied with भद्रकाली of the Tantra works, has little to do with the Atharvan witchcraft ritual work-Pratyaṅgirākalpa. No doubt this Tantric divinity has the same name and performs the same function of deluding or killing the enemy, but that can be justified in another way.

OMENS AND PORTENTS IN VEDIC LITERATURE

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The struggle for existence is instinctive and evident in man and microbe alike. Thus, the purpose of every science is to know the end and avert death. Every phenomenon was looked upon as full of meaning and significance and strenuous efforts to interpret the same always continued. This continuous development and process of evolution of human mind with growing intensity and extent of human experiences ultimately gave birth to a regular science of Omens and Portents. 'Coming events cast their shadows before', and the science of such shadows which gave the knowledge or a clue to general disaster was of great concern and significance to the human mind. Consequently, this subject has had great attraction since the ancient times and the early traces of the same can be found as far back as the Vedas. This branch of knowledge is surely not insignificant, since, even in early times scholars like Weber, Pischel, Dr. Kuhn, R. Roth, Burnouf, Muir etc. were attracted to it.[*] Thus, Weber says : " The Doctrine of Omens and Portents was with the Indians intimately connected with Astrology from the earliest times. Its origin may likewise be traced back to the ancient Vedic, nay-probably to some extent even to the primitive Indo-Germanic period."[†]

There are three distinct stages through which this branch of knowledge viz. the Śakuna and Nimitta Śāstra has developed. The first stage begins with faint and indistinct traces of this subject in the Vedas and its consequent development in the Brāhmanic literature, till the time of the Sūtras. The second stage gives us the complete development of this branch of study in the hands of the authors of the Epics, Purāṇas, Itihāsa and Tantras. At this stage a distinct tradition is simultaneously maintained by the Non-Vedic systems of thought The third stage starts with the classical Sanskrit period down to the present time, when many of the old ideas and beliefs are replaced due to changed times and circumstances. In this paper I propose to deal with the development of this branch of study in the first viz. the Vedic stage.

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[*] Weber : Ind. Streifen I-P. 50; Pichel : Vedische Studien; Dr. Kuhn : Zeitschrift fur Vergl, Sprachf IV, P. 91; R. Roth: Zeitschr. d. Dentsch Morg. Gen. II. P. 216; E. Burnouf: Journ. Asiat. V. P. 120; Muir : Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I.

[†] Weber : The History of Indian Literature (P. 188, 264).

That the belief in DREAMS was common in Ṛgvedic times is clear from Rv. VIII. 47. 13–15.* The belief seems to have gained ground well, since the evil effects of Dreams are clearly mentioned and the same are requested to be transferred to Trita Āptya. In this passage the dreamer is tempted by gold and flower garlands, and this is considered as evil दुष्ष्वप्न्यम्, probably as being led away by some evil minded fellow. This same idea is seen developed in later Vedic Literature as in the Śatapatha Br. 1. 2. 3. 2–3, where all kinds of evil Omens are to be transferred to Trita Āptya. A Similar idea is connected with the Iranian Thraetonā, son of Āthvya. It is interesting to note that even the Chinese regard Baku, an animal, as entrusted with the work of eating away evil dreams. A reference to evil and auspicious dreams is again found in Rv. V. 82. 4–5, where the दुष्ष्वप्न्य is requested to be removed, but not so an auspicious one.† For the same idea also cf. Rv. II. 28. 10.‡ References are also found in Ṛgveda where notice is taken of the auspicious and evil cries of birds as part of Omens. cf. Rv. II. 42; II. 43.§ Thus a bird is considered as harbinger of good and auspiciousness, and he is addressed as भद्रवादी, सुमङ्गल and शकुन. At the same time it is evident that fear was also entertained about the bird being a messenger of Yama foretelling evil, death etc.|| Thus, the belief that birds are the forerunners of good and evil omens is clearly signified in RV. The belief that the sight of dogs is evil and should be avoided is clearly hinted at when the soul is asked to avoid the two dappled hounds of Yama and go by the auspicious path.¶ These dogs are the messengers of Yama,⁋ and are always on the out-look of the movements of human beings. It is this belief that is found further developed in the Gṛ. Sūtras.

Another earliest distinct reference to Dreams and Omens as part of Portents is found in the Atharvaveda. We are also here given the methods and formulae

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* निष्कं वा घा कृणवते स्रजं वा दुहितर्दिवः । त्रिते दुष्ष्वप्न्यं सर्वमाप्त्ये परि दद्मस्य......etc.
Rv. VIII. 47. 15.

† अद्य नो देव सविता...। परा दुःष्वप्न्यं सुव ॥...यद् भद्रं तन्न आ सुव ॥ Rv. V. 82. 4–5.

‡ यो मे राजन् युज्यो वा सखा वा । स्वप्ने भयं भीरवे मह्यमाह ॥ ...तं तस्माद् वरुण पाह्यस्मान् ॥ Rv. II. 28. 10.

§ अव क्रन्द दक्षिणतो गृहाणां । सुमङ्गलो भद्रवादी शकुन्ते ॥ Rv. II. 42. 3.
Also सर्वतो नः शकुने भद्रमा वद ॥ Rv. II. 43. 2.

|| शिवः कपोत इषितो नो अस्तनागा देवाः शकुनो गृहेषु ॥ Rv. X. 165. 2.
शं नो गोभ्यश्च पुरुषेभ्यश्चास्तु मा नो हिंसीदिह देवाः कपोतः ॥ Rv. X. 165. 3.
यस्य दूतः प्रहित एष एतत् तस्मै यमाय नमो अस्तु मृत्यवे ॥ Rv. X. 165. 4.

¶ अति द्रव सारमेयौ श्वानौ चतुरक्षौ शबलौ साधुना पथा ॥ Rv. X. 14. 10.

⁋ उरूणसावसुतृपा उदुम्बलौ यमस्य दूतौ चरतो जनाँ अनु ॥ Rv. X. 14. 12.

whereby the evil influence can be warded off.[*] In this passage an evil dream, the crossing of the path by inauspicious wild animals, sneezing and evil shrieks of birds are all referred to, and an amulet is prescribed as a remedy, to remove the portending evil, cf. Av. X. 3. 6–7. The idea of magic–spells, formulae, counter–magic etc. which is in germinal form here, is seen worked out in its details in subsequent literature. Again, a reference to ten dreams prognosticating death is found in Av. III. 2. 4. It is prescribed that one should turn over on the other side in sleep and recite the foumulae (Av. VII. 100; VII. 101) for removing the evil effects of dreams.

In Āraṇyakas we perceive a definite step forward in as much as, there, for the first time, we meet with the mention of specific time-limits for evil portents to bring off their results. cf. Aitareya Āraṇyaka : III. 2. 4. In the Upaniṣads too references are found to Omens and Dreams foreboding evil effects including death. Compare Chāndogya Upaniṣad quoted in Shānkara Bhāshya.[†]

Now the study of this branch of knowledge is seen far advanced in the Brāhmaṇa literature where various references to all kinds of Omens, presages and prognostication are found It also becomes clear that a system of prognostication fore–knowledge and foretelling had definitely come to exist by this time. An idea of this is given to us in a mythical story where Āptya deities are invested with the fore–knowledge of Indra going to kill Viśvarūpa, and taking advantage of this, Trita is said to have straight away killed him (cf. Sata. Br. I. 2. 3. 3.)[‡] Another legend also ascribes fore-knowlege to a fish who predicted a deluge to Manu many years before, and ultimately which took place exactly as foretold.[$] In Sata Br. III. 3. 4. 11 rain is foretold from the colour of the animals that are given away in the sacrifice. Similarly, the destiny and luck of the sacrificer is prognosticated from the movement of the cow let loose.[‖] In another reference the out-come of war and soul's condition after death is predicted from the behaviour of the sacrificial fire and smoke.* Weber has thus rightly observed : "The Doctrine of Omens and Portents is with the Indians intimately *linked with Astrology* from the earliest times."

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[*] स्वप्नं सुप्त्वा यदि पश्यासि पापं मृगः सृतिं यति धावादजुष्टम् ।
परिक्षावाच्छकुने पापवदाद्यं मणिर्वरणो वारयिष्यते ॥ Av. X. 3. 6.
Also cf. Ath. Paris. 32, 8; कौशिक. 46. 9.; शान्तिकल्प 17, 19,
Av. IV. 17. 5; IX. 2. 2-3; VII. 64; VI. 46., IV. 9. 6; VII. 83. 4.

[†] तथा च श्रुतिः—'यदा कर्मसु काम्येषु स्त्रियं स्वप्नेषु पश्यति ।
समृद्धिं तत्र जानीयात् तस्मिन् स्वप्ननिदर्शने '॥ (छा. ५-२-९)
इत्यसत्येन स्वप्नदर्शनेन सत्यायाः समृद्धेः प्रतिपत्तिं दर्शयति । तथा प्रत्यक्षदर्शनेषु केषुचिद् अरिष्टेषु जातेषु 'न चिरमिव जीविष्यतीति विद्यात्' इत्युक्त्वा 'अथ स्वप्नाः पुरुषं कृष्णं कृष्णदन्तं पश्यति स एनं हन्ति ॥' इत्यादिना तेन तेनासत्येनैव स्वप्नदर्शनेन सत्यं मरणं सूच्यत इति ॥ शां. भा. II. 1. 6. 4.

[‡] तस्य हैतेऽपि वधस्य विदाञ्चक्रुः ।...ये अस्य वध्यस्यावेदिषुः । शत. ब्रा. I. 2. 3. 2-3.

[$] पारयिष्यामि त्वा...औघ इमाः सर्वाः प्रजा निर्वोढा तत त्वां पारयितास्मि...अथ इतिथीं समां तदौघ आगन्ता...स यतिथीं तत्समां परिदिदेश ततिथीं समां नावं उपकल्प्य...॥ शत. ब्रा. I. 8. 1. 1-6.

[‖] Śatapatha Br. IV. 5. 8. 11.

Several references also show the common belief in associating evil with the southern direction. Thus, if the alter happens to slope southwards, the sacrificer goes to the yonder world.† It is for similar reasons that sleeping with legs towards the south is prohibited even today. The present-day belief that ant-hills and mole–hills are supposed to hide treasures seems to have started in this period. The earth of a mole–hill is used while offering since it brings prosperity.‡ Similarly, Taita. Br. I. 1.33, ascribes to the earth of an ant–hill the power to bring wealth. Several references are found in the Brāhmaṇa literature where certain trees have the power to remove bad omens.$ A mention of cruel and fearful word is made in Śata. Br. III 4. 4. 23. Also cf. Vāj. S. V. 8.|| Probably this underlies the present–day belief which associates certain people with evil speech and evil eye. The kindling of sacrificial fire on certain prescribed constellations is ordained, as they are associated with certain good and bad portents. The idea that birds hover around in the guise of the Fathers foretelling evil by way of precaution is mentioned in Aitar. Br. II. 15. 4. Also cf. Baud. Dh. S. II. 8. 19; II. 9. 10.

Consequently, this belief in omens, portents and prognostications went on fast increasing in the hands of the authors of Śrauta & Gṛhya Sūtras and great advancement is clearly visible at the end of the Sūtra period. It also becomes clear that the original basic ideas underlying those beliefs were slowly forgotten and mechanical associations based on analogy came to exist, which influence our daily life even today.

Thr knowledge of prognostications is seen far developed in the Gṛhya Sūtras. Thus, the destiny of the new bride was determined from the lump of earth (taken from 8 different places) which she touched.¶ Again, in the Kau. G. S. foretelling the sex of the new child to be born, is done on the analogy of the

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* Śatapatha Br. XII. 5. 2. 10.

† एषा वै दिक् पितृणा सा यद्दक्षिणा प्रवणा स्यात् क्षिप्रे ह यजमानोऽमुं लोकमियात्तथो ह यजमानो ज्योग् जीवति । शत. ब्रा. I. 2. 5. 17.

‡ "...तस्मात् तेऽधोऽधऽइमां पृथिवीं चरन्त: पीविष्ठाऽअस्यै हि रसं विदुस्ते यत्र...श्रियं गच्छति समानं । शत. ब्रा. II. 1. 1. 7.

$ Śatapa. Br III. 4. 1. 16; III. 6. 4. 15.

|| " उग्रं वचो अपावधीत्त्वेषं वचो अपावधीत् स्वाहा " । वाजसनेयी सं. ५. ८.

¶ Ash. G. S. I. 5. 4–5.

gender of the limb of the pregnant woman's body touched by a Brahmin boy.* The traditional belief in the evil associated with the south is seen while predicting death for the young inmates of the house, if the same is built on a plot sloping south. It is also predicted that the inmates of such a house become bad-characters, gamblers and quarrelsome.† The Pāraskara G. S. prognasticates the qualities of the child from the flesh of different birds which is eaten.‡ The method of foretelling the direction of the prospective bridegroom from the first appearance of the crow is laid down in Kau. G. S.$ While the Gobhila G. S. mentions a prognostic clue for determining the degree of wealth and luck of the sacrificer from the brightness and smoke of the fire.|| Similarly the number of villages that can be acquired is predicted from the behaviour of the fire.¶

That birds, animals etc. can also indicate Omens is amply proved by several references to the same in the Sūtras. Thus, Kauśumbhaka bird is asked to announce luck to the sacrificer ♆ Also special offerings are prescribed if a dove flies across or an owl sits on his house.§ The evil attaching to disagreeable voices of birds and deer is oft indicated.@ Dogs are considered as evil and hence its kidneys are to be placed in the hands of the dead, so that the two hounds of Yama viz. Śaramā do not harm them. (Probably this was meant to serve as a whip to drive them away.) These two dogs are further ascribed parentage of some demons.** The cawing of the crow in the dead of night is considered as bad Omen.†† Also special śāntis are prescribed if bees make honey in the house.‡‡ Similarly, if an ant-hill arises in the house, the same should be given up as evil.$$ The flesh of certain birds is associated with prognostic effects such as : that of Bhāraddwāja gives good speech, a well-built body is acquired from that of partrige, that of fish gives swiftness, long life from that of Krīkaśa bird and Āti brings holy lustre.|||| The inauspicious cries of dogs, ass, owl, howling jackal etc. are constantly referred to in the Sūtras.¶¶ The sight of black birds

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* Kau. G. S. XXXIII. 19.

† Āsh. G. S. II. 7. 11

‡ Pāras. G. S. I. 19. 7. 12.

$ Kau. G. S. XXXIV. 24.

|| Gobhila. G. S. IV 8. 15.

¶ "प्राङ्ग वोदन् वा ग्रामान् निष्क्रम्य...पर्वते वारण्यैर गोमयै स्थापयित्वा जुहुयात्। द्वादश ग्रामे ज्वलिते। त्र्यवरा धूमे ॥"-खादिर. गृ. सू. ४. ३. ३-५.

♆ Āsh. G. S. III. 5. 7; Also Sāu. G. S. IV. 5. 8.

§ „ „ III. 7. 8.; Also „ „ V. 5. 1-2.

@ „ „ III. 10. 9-10.

** „ „ IV. 4. 9.; Also Paras. G. S. I. 16. 24.

†† Sāu. G. S. V. 5. 4.

‡‡ Sāu. G. S. V 10.

$$ „ „ V. 11. 10.

|||| Pāras. G. S. I. 1[illegible] 7-12.

¶¶ Pā. G. S. II. 2. 5. 6; III. 15. 8. 19; Hiran G. S. XXX. 183; K[illegible] G. S. XXXIV. 24; Āp. G. S. I. 10. 7; Sāu. VI. 1. 12.

and black dogs brings evil.* Blackness in any form is particularly associated with bad luck. Thus, a buffalo, a boar, vulture and owl are evil.† Similarly, the sight of a cow giving bloody milk and a cow drinking milk from another cow is inauspicious.‡ Special formulae are mentioned to avert evil forebodings of dreams.$ A spell is mentioned in order to remove some evil omens from a pregnant woman who brings about husband's death, or sonlessness or destruction of the cattle.‖ Similarly, certain rites are mentioned in the confinement room in order to remove evil Omens from the pregnant woman.¶ Elaborate schemes are laid down for Gṛha śāntis which are very necessary to bring auspiciousness and happiness.♆ Similarly certain constellations are mentioned with regard to the Puṃsavana Ceremony. The Gṛhya Sūtras are replete with constant references to Omens and Portents like the following. Sneezing, seeing disagreeable sights, smelling evil smells, the palpitation of the eye, evil noises,§ evil attaching to the nails and hair,@ inauspicious earthern pots,** the putting of knot to avoid evil omen,†† evil eye and evil speech,‡‡ sight of raw flesh, a Chāṇḍāla woman in periods, blood, persons with cut off hands, cemetries, corpse-like animals,$$ etc. Auspicious and evil Nakṣatras are oft-times mentioned as associated with good and bad Omens ‖‖

Similarly, every uncommon phenomenon was looked upon as foreboding evil. Thus, several references are found to the following : prodigies and miracles, appearance of fire-flames,¶¶ the fall of a meteor, the sight of fiery apparitions, the falling of hoar-frost,♆♆ appearance of lightning, thunder, sudden drizzling by clouds, earthquake, eclipse etc.§§ are all causes for not starting any auspicious or new work. References are also found in the Lātyāyana Sru. S. of some more abnormalities as the appearance of the sun like the moon, a topsyturvy

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* Pā, G. S. II. 8. 3. † Āp. Sru. G. S. IX 20. 10.

‡ Hiran. G. S. I. 16. 19; I. 17. 6; Kau. G. S. CXII.

$ Āsh. G. S. III. 6. 5-6. ‖ Sāu. G. S. I. 18. 3.

¶ Sāu: G. S. I. 2. 3.

♆ " " III. 8. 5; III. 6. 2. Pā G. S. III. 4. 3. Sāu. G. S. III. 3. 1.

§ Āsh. G. S. III. 6. 7.

@ " " IV. 1. 16; Sru. G. S. VI. 10. 2. ** Āsh. G. S. IV. 6. 1-4.

†† Sāu. G.S. I.15.II.2.2. "अक्षेमे पथि वस्त्रदशानां ग्रन्थीन् कुर्यात्..." खादिर गृ. सू.४.३.१४.

‡‡ " " I. 16. 5.; II. 2. 2.; Khā. G. S II. 4. 19;
"ब्रह्मचारी...वाचयेत् 'इयं दुरुक्ताद्' इति" गोभिल गृ. सू. १. १. २७.

$$ *S*āu. G. *S*. II. 12, 10.

‖‖ Āsh. G. *S*. II. 10. 3; *S*āu G. *S*. II. 2. 9; Pā. G. *S*. *I*. 13. 1.; Kau. s. XLV*I*. 25. Khā. G. *S*. *III*. 2. 16.

¶¶ *S*āu. G. *S*. V*I*. 1-12; Āps. *I*. 10. 7 ♆♆ Pā G. *S*. *II*. 11. 2. 5. 6.

§§ Khā. G. *S*. *III* 2. 32.— "उल्कापाते भूमिचले ज्योतिषोः चोपसर्ग एतेषु आकालिकं विद्यात् ।"

shadow in the water or mirror, madderlike sky, are all evil portents.*

Thus, we see that by the end of the Vedic period, the Science of Omens and Portents had been vastly developed in all its details. Moreover, even as far back as the Atharva Veda the existence of experts, skilled foretellers and specialised Astrologers in the Nimitta and Śakuna Śāstra is certainly implied. A vast development of this Science during the Epics, Purānas, Tantras etc. went on with top-speed and as Weber observes : " A prominent place is also accorded to it in the Saṃhitās of Varāhamihira, Nārada etc. and it has, besides produced as independent literature of its own. .... These afford us a deep insight into the condition of civilization. "†

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* Lātyā. Sru. S. III. 3. 6.

† Weber : History of Indian Literature (P. 264-67).

THREE WORKS BY RĀMA VĀJAPEYIN

Pertaining to KĀTYĀYANA'S ŚULBASŪTRA[*]

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Rāma Vājapeyin of Naimiṣa is well-known to scholars as a prolific author on diverse subjects like Śrauta, Jyautiṣa, Svaraśāstra, Tantra, Vaidyaka etc. Although hitherto only a few of his works have been put to print, MSS of most of them have been recorded in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* and in other Manuscripts Catalogues since published. A few of his works have also been commented upon by contemporary or posterior authors, and Rāma also appears to have enjoyed royal patronage from contemporary kings like Rāmchandra of Ratnapura or Gallapura.[†]

However, proper attention of scholars does not appear to have yet been devoted to Rāma's works on *Śulbasūtra*, which is the seventh pariśiṣṭa in Kātyāyana's *Śrautasūtra*, consists of six Kaṇḍikās and deals mainly with measurements etc. pertaining to the construction of sacrificial fire-places etc. The information hitherto recorded regarding these works does not appear to be perfect and accurate. While few subsequent Manuscripts Catalogues record MSS of these works. Aufrecht's entries of the same in the three volumes of his *Catalogus Catalogorum*[‡] collectively tend to give rise to the erroneous impression that Rāma wrote only one work dealing with the *Śulbasūtra* and that the same goes under slightly altered titles in different MSS. The fact is that Rāma actually wrote three distinct works pertaining to the *Śulbasūtra* as will be shown here on the basis of some MSS[§] recently stocked in the Manuscr-

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[*] Old Mss mostly appear to read 'śulba', but the word is spelt both as 'śulba' and as 'śulva' and is derived by adding the termination घञ् to the root 'sulb' ar 'sulv' meaning 'to measure'. Kātyāyana's authorship of the *śulbhasūtra*, as of other Pariśiṣṭas to *Kūtyāyana-Srautasūtra*, has been doubted since ages as will be evident from the words of Rāma Vājapeyin himself extracted in this paper, although his own view appears to be in favour of its ascription to Kātyāyana.

[†] As mentioned by Rāma at the close of his *Kuṇḍamaṇḍapalakṣaṇa* श्रीमद्रत्नपुराधिपेन महितः श्रीरामचन्द्रेण यो etc. Here the reading in some Mss has been deciphered as 'śrīmadgallapurādhipena etc.' in place of 'śrīmadratnapurādhipena etc.'

[‡] Vol. *I*, Pp. 513a, 659b; Vol. II, Pp. 157b, 230b; Vol. *III*, P. 137a.

[§] Mss Accession Nos. 6911, and 6884 contain both the *śulbavārttika* and the *Sulbavārttikaṭīkā*. The former consists of 85 folios of the size 11½×5 inches and was scribed in Saṁvat 1637=1580 A. C. by one Vidyādhara. The latter consists of 51 folios of the size 10½×4½ inches and was scribed in Śaka 1774=1852 A. C. by one Bhaṭambhaṭṭa Vāre. Ms Accession No. 6798 contains the *Sulbasūtravṛtti*. *It* consists of 23 folios of the size 9¾×4½ inches and was scribed in Śaka 1761=1839 A. C. by the same Bhaṭambhaṭṭa Vāre.

Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, Ujjain.

Rāma's three works on the *Śulbasūtra* are :

(1) The *Śulbavārttika :* This is Rāma's critical metrical gloss on the *Śulbasūtra* and on Karka's Bhāṣya thereon. Like the original, it is also divided into six kaṇḍikās and contains 178+67+38+33+118+81=515 verses of verious metres. The work begins :

रामो विद्याकरगुरून्नत्वा श्रीसूर्यदाक्षजः
कातीयशुल्बे कार्कोक्तौ कुरुते श्लोकवार्त्तिकम् ॥१॥
क्रतुना न विना श्रेयो न क्षेत्रेण विना क्रतुः ।
अनाकुलः क्षेत्रबोधे उपायोऽयं भविष्यति ॥२॥
उपपत्तिं विना शास्त्रं न हृदि स्थिरतां व्रजेत् ।
अतस्तामेव मे वक्तुमयं यत्नो विजृम्भताम् ॥३॥
क्व कर्कशाः **कर्क**गिरः क्व नु कोमलधीरहम् ।
क्षम्यतां तद्विभेत्स्यामि नारिकेलफलं नखैः ॥४॥
सूक्तिष्वादरिणः सन्तो नोचितेति तदर्थना ।
आदरेऽप्यसतां किं स्यान्नोचितेति तदर्थना ॥५॥
मानार्थाच्छुल्बधातोर्घञ्णिजन्तात्करणेऽथ वा ।
भावे भवेत्तेन शुल्ब इति मानमुदीर्यते ॥६॥ etc.

Each Kaṇḍika closes with the verse सूनोः श्रीधरमालवस्य etc. cited below from the last Kaṇḍikā.

The work ends :

... ...

न वेदियूपयोरङ्गाङ्गित्वं **भाष्ये** यथेरितम् ।
किं तु वेद्यर्धादिद्देशो यूपस्यार्थे विधीयते ॥६५॥
उभे त्वङ्गे प्रधानस्य वेदिवृद्धिरतो मता ।
विधानमात्रमालोच्य वेदिदेशस्य निश्चितम् ॥६६॥
मिथोऽङ्गानां ह्यसंबन्धो मुख्यसंबन्धशालिनाम् ।
अपेक्षया हि संबन्धः सा प्रधानाङ्गयोः स्थिता ॥६७॥
प्रथमान्त्यौ वेदिमध्यगतार्धौ ब्रुवतेऽपरे ।
*यूपावर्वाग्बहिर्वेदिः प्रोक्तं शाखान्तरादिदम् ॥ ६८ ॥
शिखण्डाकारयूपत्वाद्वेदिः सेयं शिखण्डिनी ।
याज्ञिकानां व्यवहृतौ प्रसिद्धा साधुदर्शिता ॥ ६९ ॥

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* This is according to Ms. Accession No 6911. Ms. Accession No. 6884 reads यूपावन्यान्बहिर् etc.

संख्याज्ञः प्रमितौ पटुर्लघुकरः सम्यग्गुणाकर्षको ।
भूयोभ्योऽधिगतागमो न तरलः शास्त्रेषु निष्ठां गतः ।
नो मुग्धः करणीषु शिल्पिनिपुणप्रष्ठो भुवः साम्यकृत्
साधूहः सततोद्यतः प्रियगुरुः शुल्बागमं भोक्ष्यते ॥७०॥

कात्यकर्ककृतगीः कुमुद्वती **रामचन्द्र** इति यां व्यकाशयत् ।
स्वादु तत्र सममन्दसौरभं स्वादयन्तु मखकृन्मधुव्रताः ॥७१॥

खिलीकृतं यत्कलिनार्यदेशे **रामेण** तद्वार्त्तिकलाङ्गलेन ।
कृष्टं क्रतुक्षेत्रमिहोप्तकर्मबीजा लभन्तां फलमिज्यमिद्धम् ॥७२॥

श्रीपर्वतान्तिकचरत्रिपुरारिभट्टैः
सूत्रेऽत्र लम्भितपथाः **पितृपूज्यपादाः** ।
यावन्तमर्थमवदन्विहितः प्रपञ्च-
स्तस्यैव **वार्त्तिक**पदैः स्वधिया मयायम् ॥७३॥

यद्दुरुक्तमपि किञ्चिदुद्भवेत्तद्विशोध्य सुधियात्र गृह्यताम् ।
पक्वचूतफलमुज्झ्यते किमु ग्रन्थिकर्कशितबीजदोषतः ॥७४॥

हीरस्वामिनमीडे **काश्मीराचार्य**माप्य गणितविधिम् ।
यस्माद्धीमत्प्रवरान्मयेदमुद्घाटितं शास्त्रम् ॥७५॥

चन्द्रनन्दमनुसंमितवर्षे १४९१
वैक्रमे व्यधित वार्तिकमेतत् ।
षट्शरत्रिशशिसंमितशाके १३५६
क्षेत्रसिद्धिविधये **कविरामः** ॥७६॥

आलम्ब्यैतां **वार्त्तिक**यष्टिं मखकृद्वृद्धाः क्रतुवसुधासु ।
प्रमुदितमनसः प्रचरत सम्यङ् मा भूद्भवतां श्रमकणिकापि ॥७७॥

अखिलं निरस्य मोहं क्षेत्रादिविभागकल्पनासु सुधीः ।
इति **वार्त्तिको**पनिषदा क्षेत्रज्ञोऽश्नातु परतत्त्वम् ॥७८॥

धर्मस्रोतो यायजूकविशुद्धक्षेत्रबोधनात् ।
*... ... ...
वृद्धिं यादर्पितं मेऽस्तु साधु नारायणार्णवे ॥७९-८० ॥

सूनोः **श्रीधरमालवस्य शिवदासाख्यादुरुख्यातितः**
सम्राडग्निचिदाप यस्य जनकः **श्रीसूर्यदासो** जनिम् ।
यन्मातुर्यशसा दिशो दश **विशालाक्ष्या** वलक्षा व्यधात्
षष्ठीं **शुल्बजक**ण्डिकां स विशदां **रामो** वसन्नैमिषे ॥८१॥

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* Ms Accession No. 6911 inserts the numeral 79 only for the half 'Dharmasroto yāyajūka etc.' and 80 only for the half 'Vṛddhiṃ yādarpitam etc.', thus rendering it probable that two other halves have been left out by the scribe. The extant two halves, however, can be very happily construed together.

(2) The *Śulbavārttikaṭīkā :* This is Rāma's own *svopajña* commentary on his first work. It is in prose and is bulky and exhaustive and is, of course, divided into six Kaṇḍikās. The commentary is furnished with a separate introductory verse, two concluding verses and section colophons.

The Ṭīkā begins :

श्रीशम्भुकरसम्राजः सूनुं **विद्याकरं** गुरुम् ।
प्रणम्य **रामो** व्याख्याति स्वकृतं **शुल्ववार्त्तिकम्** ॥१॥

तत्र विघ्नौघशान्तये शिष्टैर्विधीयमानं गुर्वाद्याराध्य प्रणामं शिष्यशिक्षायै ग्रन्थे निवेशयंश्चिकीर्षितं प्रतिजानीते । **रामो विद्याकरगुरू**नित्यादि ॥ **शुल्वसूत्राणां कात्यायन**कृतत्वनिश्चये **कात्यायनोक्तकल्पसूत्र**शेषभूत**शुल्वसूत्र** इत्यर्थः । **कर्कोक्तिः कर्कोपाध्यायकृतं भाष्यम्** । **कात्यायन**कृतत्वानिश्चये **कात्यायन**कृतकल्पशेषभूत आचार्यान्तरकृते **शुल्वसूत्र** इत्यर्थः । **वार्त्तिक**मिति—

उक्तानुक्तदुरुक्तादिचिन्ता यत्र विधीयते ।
वार्त्तिकं तत्समाचक्षुर्ग्रन्थभेदविचक्षणाः ॥

इत्युक्तलक्षणम् । तच्च प्रायो भाष्यविचाराय प्रवर्त्तते । **उद्द्योतकरकौमारिलसौरेश्वरादौ** तथा दर्शनात् । क्वचित्सूत्रविचारायापि स्यात् । **पाणिनीयसूत्र**विचाराय **कात्यायनवार्त्तिक**प्रवृत्तिदर्शनात् । तत्र **सूत्रभाष्य**स्वरूपम्—

अल्पाक्षरमसंदिग्धं सारवद्विश्वतोमुखम् ।
अस्तोभमनवद्यं च सूत्रं सूत्रोविदो विदुः ॥
केचित्तु— लघूनि सूचितार्थानि स्वल्पाक्षरपदानि च ।
सर्वतः सारभूतानि सूत्राण्याहुर्मनीषिणः ॥
इत्याहुः । सूत्राणि येन वर्ण्यन्ते पदैस्तदनुकारिभिः ।
स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः ॥

इति । श्रोतृबुद्धिमनुकूलयन्प्रयोजनमाह । क्रतुना न विनेत्यादि ॥ etc.

The section colophons generally read : इति **शुल्ववार्त्तिकविवरणे** (or **शुल्ववार्त्तिकटीकायां**)...कण्डिका समाप्ता ।

The *Śulbavārttikaṭīkā* ends :

''''''शुल्वाधिकारिप्रदर्शनच्छलेनार्थमाह । **संख्याज्ञः प्रमितौ पटु**रित्यादि । स्पष्टोऽर्थः ॥ **कात्यकर्ककृतगीरि**त्यादि । स्पष्टोऽर्थः । **खिलीकृतं यदि**त्यादि शास्त्रप्राप्तेराम्नायमाह— **श्रीपर्वतान्तिके**त्यादि । सद्विज्ञापनामाह-**यद्दुरुक्तमपी**त्यादि । **हीरस्वामिनमि**त्यादि । **चन्द्रनन्दमनुसंमितवर्ष** इत्यादि । **आलम्ब्यैतामि**त्यादि । वृद्धो हि यष्टिमालम्ब्य भूमौ संचरन् श्रमेण परिभूयते । **अखिलं निरस्य मोह**मित्यादि । क्षेत्रमात्रस्य देशादेश्च विभागकरणे मोहमज्ञानं त्यक्त्वा एतद्वार्त्तिकोपदेशेन क्षेत्रज्ञः सन् परतत्त्वमनारोपितस्वरूपं लभतां याज्ञिकः । तथा क्षेत्रधनादिविभजनकल्पनासु वस्तुतो निर्वचनाभावान्मोहमज्ञानं ममताख्यं हित्वा सुष्ठु ध्यायति यः स सुधीः क्षेत्रज्ञो जीव उपनिषदभ्यासात्परतत्त्वं ब्रह्मभावमाप्नोति तत्त्वमसीत्यादिश्रुतेरिति ध्वनिः । **धर्मस्रोत** इत्यादि । **सूनोः श्रीधरमालवस्ये**त्यादि ।

इति **निजकृतशुल्बवार्त्तिकस्य**
व्यधित निगूढपदार्थजातटीकाम् ।
गणितविशदनाय **रामचन्द्रो**
विमलधियोऽत्र विधीयतां प्रसादः ॥
युक्तिमात्रमिह क्वापि क्वापि न्यासि मया धिया ।
तदादाय मनोबालं लालयन्तु महाधियः ॥

इति **शुल्बवार्त्तिकटीकायां** षष्ठी कण्डिका समाप्ता ॥ समाप्ता चेयं **शुल्बवार्त्तिकटीका** कृती **रामचन्द्रस्य** ॥

(3) The *Śulbasūtravṛtti :* This is Rāma's regular commentary in prose on the original *Śulbasūtra* and is also divided into six Kaṇḍikās. Rāma has based it on his Work 1 and it is smaller in bulk than his Work 2.

The *Śulbasūtrāvṛtti* begins :

विष्णुं यज्ञभुजं नत्वा **रामो नैमिष**माश्रितः ।
सम्राजोऽग्निचितः सूनुः **सूर्यदासस्य** धीमतः ॥१॥
स्वयंकृतस्य सिद्धान्तं **वार्त्तिक**स्य समाश्रयन् ।
करोत्ति **शुल्बसूत्राणां** वृत्तिं बालावबुद्धये ॥२॥

रज्जुसमासं वक्ष्यामः ॥ कर्मणां फलवत्त्वं तत्र चाधिकारी तत्स्वरूपं भगवता **कात्यायनेन वाजसनेयिक**पञ्चदशशाखा विलोक्य स्वल्पसूत्रं निबध्नता प्रतिपादितम् । कर्मणः काल इव देशोऽपि तत्र तत्राङ्गत्वेन सूचितः । स वैशद्येन वक्तव्यस्तदर्थमिदं **शुल्बपरिशिष्टं** भगवतैवोपनिबद्धम् । यच्च **कर्काचार्येण** यद्यपि व्याख्यात**मस्माभिश्चोपपत्तिदर्शनेन वार्त्तिकैः प्रपञ्चितं** तथापि सूत्रमात्रार्थो यथा सर्वेषां हृदि निविशत एतदर्थं वृत्तिरियमारभ्यते ॥ शुल्बनं शुल्बः । शुल्ब मानेऽस्माद्धातोर्घञन्तः । मानकरणमित्यर्थः । इति ग्रन्थनामनिरुक्तिः ॥ etc.

The section colophons generally read : इति **नैमिषीयसोमसुतरामचन्द्र**कृतायां **शुल्बसूत्रवृत्तौ**...कण्डिका ॥

The Vṛtti concludes :

..............सप्तविधवेदिश्चतुर्दशगुणाष्टानवतिविधस्याग्नेः ॥ (इति **नैमिषीयसोमसुतरामचन्द्र**कृतायां **शुल्बसूत्रवृत्तौ** षष्ठी कण्डिका) ॥

No metrical conclusion to the Vṛtti is traceable in the MS Accession No. 6798 of the Scindia Oriental Institute, the only MS of this Vṛtti available to me.

Rāma's authorship of three works, and not one work, on the topic will be amply evident from the above extracts. The extracts also add further to the personal details concerning the author hitherto gathered from his other works. They confirm that Rāma was resident of Naimiṣa and son of Sūryadāsa (who was also highly conversant with the sacrificial ritual and was son of Śivadāsa and grandson of Śrīdhar Mālava) and Viśālākṣī and a disciple of Vidyākara and Hīrasvāmin. They also inform us that Vidyākara was son of Śambhukara, also a great sacrificer, and that Hīrasvāmin, from whom Rāma learnt Mathematics which is quite indispensable to scholars of Śulba, was a Kāśmīrin Paṇḍita, and that Rāma's father Sūryadāsa was a pupil, at least to the extent of the present *Śulbasūtra*, of Tripurāribhaṭṭa,* who, in his turn, was a disciple of Śrī–Parvata Rāma had learnt the *Śulbhasūtra* at the feet of Sūryadāsa himself as he says in Verse VI. 73 of his *Śulbavārttika*. Rāma's great learning and high proficiency in the subject are amply evidenced throughout in the three works, especially in Works 1 and 2. However, it seems to be Rāma's Work 3 viz. the *Śulbasūtravṛtti* on which Mahīdhara relied greatly while composing his *Śulbhasūtravivaraṇa* in Saṃvat 1646 = 1589 A. C. as he mentions in his metrical conclusion to the same† :—

रसवेदाङ्गभूवर्षे मास्यन्त्ये धवले दले ।
त्रयोदश्यां रविवारे वाराणस्यां **महीधरः** ॥१॥
श्रीरत्नेश्वरमिश्रस्य गुरोः केशवजन्मनः ।
आज्ञया विवृतिं शौल्बीं भाष्यवृत्त्यनुसारिणीम् ॥२॥
विदुषां सुखबोधाय व्यधाद् बुद्ध्यनुसारतः ।
भाष्यं **रामकृतां वृत्तिं** सूत्राण्यालोच्य तत्त्वतः ॥६॥

The chronology of the three works appears to be 1—2—3, as Work 2 is a commentary on Work 1 and as Rāma explicitly alludes to Work 1 in his introduction to Work 3 and nowhere to Work 3 in the body of Work 2. Rāma's wods ...अस्माभिश्चोपपत्तिदर्शनेन वार्त्तिकैः प्रपञ्चितम् in Work 3 also seem to signify that he had composed Work 2 almost synchronously with Work 1.

Verse VI. 76 of the *Śulbhavārttika* clearly states that Rāma composed it in Saṃvat 1491 or Śaka 1356, i. e. c. 1434 A. C. The dates hitherto recorded of the author's works are only Saṃvat 1506=1449 A.C. of the *Kuṇḍamaṇḍapalakṣaṇa*[*] and Saṃvat 1504 = 1447 A. C. of the *Nāḍīparīkṣā*.[†] The *Śulbavārttika* can therefore be regarded as the earliest of Rāma Vājapeyin's dated works as known to us from various available sources and the upper limit of the author's literary activities can now be easily pushed back by at least thirteen years. Curiously enough, Rāma does not appear to have received at the time of his composition of the three Śulba works royal patronage from king Rāmachandra mentioned above of which he certainly became recipient at the time of his composition of the later *Kuṇḍamaṇḍapalakṣaṇa*.

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* Vide my forthcoming paper '*Date of Tripurāri the commentator of the Mālatīmādhava*' wherein I have tried to identify the commentator with this Tripurāribhatta.

† Vide H. D. Velankar: *BBRAS Catalogue of Saṃskṛta and Prākṛta* Mss, Vol. II, Pp. 169-170, No. 516. Strangely enough, Velankar regards Mahīdhara's allusion to be probably to a portion of Rāma Vājapeyin's *Karmapradipikā*. Nowhere in the body of Rāma's three Śulba works can be found any hint to their being portions of his *Karmapradīpikā* or any other major work.

The Manuscripts Library of the Scindia Oriental Institute, too, possesses, some old Mss of Mahīdhara's *Śulbasūtravivaraṇa* which has also appeared in print more than once.

Rāma cites several previous works and authors in his three Śulba works, but I may have occasion to notice some of them in my future papers.

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[*] Vide Aufrecht : *CC*, I, P. 109, and others. The Scindia Oriental Institute, too, possesses several old Mss of this work.

[†] Vide H. D. Velankar : *BBRAS Catalogue*, Vol. I, P. 132, under No. 397.

INDRA IN THE EPIC

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A study of the character of Indra as presented to us in the Epic, contrasting it with the Indra in Vedas, gives us an impression that Indra in the Epic is much different from the Vedic one. From his position of being the most prominent deity in the RV, we find that in MBH his pre-eminence is dwindling, particularly as God Vishnu begins to get into ascendence. Historically it appears to be a proper change. In Vedic times, the Aryans were first settling and hence physical power was at premium and moral values and Brahmanical wisdom had a subordinate role to play. That is possibly why in RV in spite of a few moral weaknesses, Indra occupies a very important position. By the time however the Epic was being composed, the Āryans had already settled and hence had now the prosperity and leisure to look after riligious matters, relegating to physical power a subordinate place (cf. 4a). We find in the Epic that Indra, deity of physical power, trying his best to keep his position in tact, still all the same slowly, but surely, the sand is running away from his feet, and the devotion of Vishnu occupying a prominence. But it must be noted that the change here is very slow. And though there are references to the contrary, Indra in Epic is still often referred to, either in his capacity of being the most pre-eminent among gods or his heroism displayed in fighting demons, particularly Vṛtra.

The following are some of the characteristics we learn of Epic Indra.

1. Indra's *physical features* are not specifically mentioned as in RV but there are allusions to his shining quality and his pomp and splendour. cf. 'Always ruling the country, you shine the Indra in heaven;* Kauśika also is compared to Indra in point of lustre.†

1 (a). In the Epics also thunderbolt is still his favourite weapon, but it appears that here the lightening aspect of it is lost sight of. The introduction of thunderbolt is generaly to suggest the dreadful nature of the attack and the sureness of the victory.‡ Sometimes only thunderbolt, without the mention of Indra with it, is also referred to.$ The noise of the thunderbolt when hurled is alluded to, serving as an illustration for the loud noise of the twang of the bow.||

2. Indra, the mighty warrior of heaven is very often referred to in the Epic, by way of a standard of comparison for his *pre-eminence of amongst gods.*

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* Sabhā 50 60

† Virāt 70. 14;

‡ Udyoga 65. 6

$ Udyoga 184. 12

|| Virāt 23. 13

Due to his prominent position, he has to undertake many duties for his heavenly beings. He is their protector.* ("Being protected by Pārth like gods by Indra, you will not be troubled by anybody") and hence gods depend on him.† ("May kinsmen be dependent like gods on Indra"). He is respected by those who desire for prosperity.‡ He is the leader of gods and Maruts. All the gods eagerly wait expecting his arrival,‡ and follow him$ ("Seeing him, started all Kaurava Kings, following him like gods, the performer of 100 sacrifices"). They listen to his speech respectfully and devoutly. Not only the gods, but the sages also approach him respectfully and worship him.|| Hundreds of Apsarās and Gandharvas wait upon the King of Gods.¶ He is the protector not merely of heaven but of the entire world. He can even officiate for Sun and Moon, even for air, earth and water.₱

3. The heroism of Indra is very often referred to, either as shown in his fights with the demons or independently of the fights. The latter references usually are introduced to illustrate, in a simile, the power of the great warriors on earth. He serves as a standard of comparison for being unconquerable,§ haughty with pride,@ and for the skill in missiles.**

3 (a). Indra's name is associated with demons, for he fought many terrific battles with them. In this capacity the Epic poets very often make use of him to illustrate similar successful but terrific fights of earthly warriors.†† But particularly favourite is Indra's fight with demon Vṛtra. In Udyoga Parva we are told that Vṛtra was created from a sacrifice by Tvaṣtra because the latter's son was killed by Indra. When Indra could not defeat Vṛtra a treaty was made by gods with the demons, accepting his conditions. But later on finding a suitable moment, with the help of Vihṣnu, Indra killed Vṛtra. We are also told that Indra felt very nervous because he had killed Triśir, son of a Brahmin and remained concealed in waters.†† Cf. also‡‡ where similar story of Indra, killing that demon, is alluded to.

3 (b). Because of his strength and power, Indra is often spoken of as helping people, when pleased with them. At Ādi Parva 3. 131-132 we are told that Indra helped a Brahmin by name Utaṅka when the latter was recovering his earrings from Takṣaka. Indra at that time sent thunderbolt, his favourite weapon, to break open the hole in which the serpent had entered and also further helped him to drink nectar so that in his pursuit of the serpent, he can stay in the abode of serpents, without being dead.$$

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* Ādi 207. 25

† Sabhā 45. 66

‡ Śānti 64. 4

$ Udyoga 94. 41

|| Udyoga 131. 26

¶ Vana 26. 25

₱ Vana 229. 10-11

§ Ādi 123. 38

@ Virāt 49. 22

** Udyoga 48 33

†† Virāt 35. 19

‡‡ Vana 101

$$ Ādi 3. 131-132; 168-169

3 (c). Indra in the MBH is said to have helped Arjuna, his son, quite a number of times and in a number of ways. In one Upākhyāna in Vanaparva, when Arjuna was trying to secure various weapons and missiles from different gods, Indra promises him to teach and give his own missiles only when the latter pleases Śankara. After the fight of Arjuna and Kirāta (Śankara), Indra sent Arjuna his own chariot and brought him to heaven. He made him learn the arts of dancing and music from Citrasena. We are also told that it was on Indra's instructions that Urvaśi, the heavenly courtesan approached Arjuna, who however was not tempted by her.*

3 (d). There is another legend in which Indra is said to have gone out of his way to help Arjuna. We are told in Ādiparva that Indra took the form of Brahmin and approached Karṇa the sworn enemy of Arjuna, requesting him to hand over the 'Kuṇḍala' which would have brought the death of Arjuna.†

3 (e). There are two allusions in V where Indra tested Kings Śibi and Uśīnara and then conferred blessings on them.‡

3 (f). It should also be noted that in the Epic, we do not find Indra inviting kings from earth to help him in his difficulties as is seen in Classical poems like Raghuvaṃśa etc.

4. Though most of the references that allude to Indra, make a mention of his bravery, there are occasions when the unconquerable RV God is defeated by a more valiant hero. Indra is said to have suffered a defeat at the hands of Indrajit, the son of Rāvana.$ He similarly had a passage of arms with Kriṣṇa and Arjuna when also the same fate awaited him.|| Likewise Indra had tried his strength against Skanda but was defeated by the latter, who however gave him protection.¶ It appears that the Epic Indra had somehow lost confidence in the might of his arms, for when Devasenā whon he had delivered from the hands of Keśin, wanted a husband who could always protect her from Gods, Demons, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, etc. Indra did not think himself to be capable of it and hence took her to Brahman, who appointed Skanda to be her husband.ψ Compare also§ when Indra as protected by Dadhīca is alluded to.

4 (a). At Ādi. 56-14, there is a story in which Indra did not keep his promise given to Takṣaka, being helpless [At the Serpent-sacrifice of Janamejaya, Indra gave an assurance to the Serpent that he (Indra) would save him from the death but being helpless, he was forced to abandon the Serpent.]. This, I believe is an instance which suggests that contrary to Vedic times, in the times of Epic, Brahmanical prowess secured an ascendency over the physical power.

5. Though RV. mentions Indra as being born, still the Vedas do not give us an impression that the king of Gods has, so to speak, to keep an ever vigilant

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* Vana 37. 52-59; Vana 43-44; 45. 2.

† Vana 310. 38; Ādi 111. 27.

‡ Vana 197; 130-131.

$ Vana 288. 7.

|| Ādi 227.

¶ Vana 227.

ψ Vaua 223-224.

§ Vana 92; 6.

eye to see that nobody else robs him of his throne. The reading of the Epic, however, gives us an impression that Indra has secured his position by the performance of austere penances and many sacrifices and he, therefore, in the of his interes position must see to it that none excels him in that. Cf. His sending Menakā to seduce Viśvāmitra, Jānapayī for Śaradvata Gautama.* Cf.† where Indra cursed Yayāti for the latter's vanity that none excels him in austerities. We also learn that Indra formerly was the son of a Brahmin who became kṣatriya hy his actions and obtained the eminent position by dint of his hard panance.‡ The idea possibly has arisen out of the epithet Śatakratu (performer of hundred sacrifices) applied to him. We are told that the position was offered to Skanda by great sages, who however refused it.$ Ādi. 31 alludes to the incident where the Vālakhilyas being insulted by Indra were preparing for a sacrifice to have a new Indra, but then, through the intervention of Kaśyapa the New Indra was meant to be only the Chief of Birds. That was Garuda who fought with gods along with Indra and stole away Nectar.||

We are also told that Sovereignty was bestowed on Indra by Krishna.¶

6. Ṛg Vedic Indra had a great fondness for Soma which he used to drink in huge quantities. Mahābhārata, however rarely refers to this point of Indra. There is only a solitary allusion to it in Vanaparva,₱ where we learn that being pleased with the supernatural power of Viśvāmitra Indra drank Soma with him. But it is likely that Soma in the Vedas has now changed to Nectar in the Epic and hence it is natural that Indra should be the custodian of it (cf. Indra's fight with Garuḍa when the latter came to snatch it away).§

Since Vedic times it was Indra's duty to send down rains and thus make the world prosperous.@ At the time of the churning of the ocean also, Indra sent down rains to extinguish the fire born out of friction..** He similarly obliged Kadrū by rains.††

Vanaparva tells us an Upākhyāna where Indra figures as an advocate of Vedic studies. Yavakrīta wanted to know the Vedas without studies and only by austerities, and when he could not listen to Indra's advice, the latter took the form of an aged Brahmin and in front of Yavakrīta began to erect a bridge on Bhāgirathi by sands, thus showing Yavakrīta that just as his (i. e. Brahmin's) effort is futile and foolish, so is Yavakrīta's.‡‡ The Nalopākhyāna alludes to Indra as an aspirant of heavenly beauty.$$ At Vana. 9 there is a dialogue between Surabhi and Indra where it was made known to Indra that to a person, there can be nothing as great or dear as a son.||||

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* Ādi 71. 20; 130. 5.
† Ādi 88. 3.
‡ Shanti 22. 13; 33. 46;
$ Vana 229;
|| Ādi 34;
¶ Vana 12. 20.
₱ Vana 47. 17.
§ Ādi 32;
@ Ādi 61. 1;
** Ādi 18. 26;
†† Ādi 26. 1.
‡‡ Vana 185;
$$ Vana 55;
|||| Vana 3. 9

THE GOLDEN EAGLE AND THE GOLDEN ORIOLE IN THE VEDAS AND PURĀṆAS.

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The Eagle, a bird of grand appearance, has been considered all over the civilized world as the noblest and most courageous of all the birds of prey. "Ringed with the azure world" he soars to great heights " around, around, in ceaseless circles wheeling" and was justly regarded in the west as the messenger of Jove. The "wonder of the Eagle" struck the Indo-Aryans no less, and the Ṛgveda is full of references to him under the name of Suparṇa. He was held in such high respect that even the the great golden Sun has often been called by his name-- " दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ", the Golden Eagle of the Heavens (Rv. I. 164. 46).

He is a rich dark-brown with the elongated feathers of the neck, specially on the nape rufous tawny " in which imagination sees a golden hue". The Aryan Ṛiṣis too saw gold in his plumage and in similes with the Sun have described him as 'hiraṇya pakṣa-golden winged' (Rv. X. 136, 6). The तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण also gives the same description, "सुपर्णं हिरण्यपक्षं" " explained by Sāyaṇa as "सुवर्णमयपक्षोपेतम्" II. 5. 8. The विष्णुपादादिवर्णनस्तोत्र of शङ्कराचार्य has: "वन्दे छन्दोमयं तं खगपतिममलं स्वर्णवर्णं सुपर्णम्". Terms like हेमाङ्ग and स्वर्णकाय (cf. काञ्चन and चामीकर for the Golden oriole) are synonymous with Garuḍa i. e. Suparṇa in the Lexicons, and Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi explains as "शोभनानि स्वर्णमयत्वात्पर्णान्यस्य"—2. 145. The name, therefore, means not only 'beautiful winged' but also 'golden-winged'. In Atharvaveda V.5 Lākṣā or dried lac which is of a reddish-brown colour is addressed as goat-brown (Aja Babhru) and gold-coloured (hiraṇyavarṇa). Suparṇa in a general way also means any large Eagle, e. g. in "हंसाः सुपर्णाः शकुनाः वयांसि" अथर्व वेद, XI. 2, 24 where Sāyaṇa interprets Suparṇa as a Śyena i. e,. a Falcon or Eagle in general. This latter is the extended meaning of the term, as we find it used in the same Veda: 'सप्तसुपर्णाः कवयः ...सप्तगृध्रा इति शुश्रुमावयम्" VIII, 9. 17-18. Curiously enough, exactly seven kinds of true Eagle and seven kinds of Vulture are to be found in North India. The name सुपर्ण has also been applied to the common cock (" सुपर्णः गरुडे ताम्रचूडे " -विश्वप्रकाश) because of its golden-red neck-hackles, a feature which the Golden Eagle shares with it to some extent. No lexicon, however, gives Suparṇa for the Oriole, but it must be remembered that one and all cover only a small field of Sanskrit vocabulary and none is or claims to be exhaustive in any branch of knowledge. It is nevertheless hoped that what has already been said above and what follows would show that it is a name for the Golden Oriole as well. Hāridrava also probably means an Oriole.

"The male oriole", says Whistler, "is a glorious golden yellow, with black wings and tail,...orioles are strictly arboreal,...better known as disembodied voices than as birds; for the loud mellow whistle 'pee–ou–a' is one of the pleasantest and most familiar of Indian bird-sounds, being heard alike in garden and forest, greeting the dawn and saluting the parting day." It "is fond of orchards and groves of large trees such as bunyan, mango, tamarind, and 'toon'. The bird is usually met with in pairs which fly about from tree to tree, flashing through the foliage, with a peculiar strong dipping flight. Their food consists chiefly of fruits and berries, those of the bunyan, peepal, and Lantana being some of the commonest" (Salim Ali).

The Golden Eagle, often, and some other Eagles as a rule, place their nests n a tall tree which would naturally be avoided by the smaller predatory birds and would therefore invite small and timid birds like the Oriole to build in its foliage. Some Eagles are actually known to nest on the 'peepul' (Ficus religiosa) and the bunyan (F. bengalensis), and the Oriole on the bunyan. That the Common Oriole requires "police-protection" has been definitely stated by that close observer of bird life in India, Douglas Dewar, "A very curious thing that I have noticed about the Indian Oriole's nest is that it is always situated either in the same tree as the king-crow's nest or in an adjacent tree within ten yards of it"—Birds of the plains, Pp. 138-139. Salim Ali, another authority on the subject, adds, "That this (i. e. the habit of the bird just described) is by design rather than accident can scarcely be doubted ...by this means the birds must enjoy a degree of protection against marauders like crows and tree-pies" which are known to be great egg-stealers—Book of Indian Birds, 3rd Edn., p. 115. Cassell's Book of birds also testifies to Eagles permitting smaller birds to nest in close proximity to themselves, and Col. D. Radcliffe has been quoted in Hume's Nests and Eggs, 2nd edition, "It is always the case with the larger Falcons that their fellow tenants of a rock or a tree are safe from molestation and in the breeding season actually look to them for protection." It is thus highly probable that in the pristine forests of the Punjab and the sub-Himalayas the Orioles occasionally shared the 'peepul' or bunyan tree with a pair of Eagles on the assurance "Aquila non capit muscas"—Eagles do not catch flies.

The sages of the Ṛg Veda were certainly aware of these facts of nature and they seem not only to have incorporated their obervations in verses 20 and 21 but also based a great spiritual truth upon them in verse 22 of hymn 164 of the First Maṇḍala. It is suggested that the "Dvā Suparnā" in these famous verses are the Eagle and the Oriole. With the growth however, of the civilisation and culture of the city as against the earlier life of field and farm of the Goṣṭha and Grāma even the learned Brahmans ceased to "listen to the stars and the birds", and lost touch with nature and forgot many of the birds so beloved of their early ancestors. This divorce between the city, which now became the principal seat of learning, and the village seems to have been completed even long before the time of Yāska (c. 700 to 1000 B. C.), for he too does not say what exactly were the two particular birds that are mentioned in these verses. He and the later commentators including Sayaṇācārya undoubtedly knew that Suparṇa was the Garuḍa or the Eagle, but their difficulty was about the second Suparṇa and they interpreted the verses in the best way they could. The air was already thick at the time with Upanishadic speculation and philosophy of the Ātman and Paramātman; and the verses describing the ' Dvā Suparnā ' as resting on a single tree came in very handy to illustrate that philosophy (see Muṇḍakopaniṣad, III, 1. 1 and Śvetaśvatar, IV. 6). Accordingly Sāyaṇa begins their exposition with "अत्र पक्षिद्वयदृष्टान्तेन जीवपरमात्मनौ स्तूयेते" without pausing to explain the actual physical basis of the verses. V. K. Rajwade also wonders what bird it can be that refuses to eat fruit, and as there appeared to be no two Suparṇas with such divergent habits in nature, he suddenly concludes that the two birds are simply poetic imagery for Ātmā and Paramātmā only (see p. 1157 of his Marāthi translation of the Nirukta). In the absence of any guidance from Indian commentaries the Western interpreters of the Ṛgveda also had to content themselves with guesswork and tried, each in his own way, to extract some sort of a hazy but always unsatisfactory meaning from the verses. In these attempts Suparṇa in the singular, dual, and plural has been variously interpreted as the Soma; the priests; day and night; stars; metres; Sun and Moon; rays of light; and so on. Ludwig goes so far as to say that the verses have scarcely anything in common except the word 'Suparṇa' which alone is responsible for their being placed together; and Griffith remarks in sheer desperation, "A generally satisfactory explanation is scarcely to be hoped for " (see his foot-note to verse 21). Hymn 164 of which these verses form a Tṛc or triplet is full of riddles and it is quite likely that this triplet also constitutes a riddle, but looking to the fact that the second and the third verses based upon the picture presented in the first, expound a moral, it would appear that the first verse is, if at all, a very thinly veiled riddle while there is nothing mysterious whatever about the other two. However that may be, an attempt is made here to offer a purely naturalistic interpretation, leading of course to a spritual moral.

The " द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया " are (1) a pair of Golden or other Eagles one of which is said to survey the surrounding scene like a sentinel from the eyrie at the top of a fig tree, and (2) a pair of beautiful little orioles nesting, feeding, and confidently sporting in the foliage of the fig-tree lower down. It is hardly necessary to add that the Oriole is a fruit eater (i. e. lives on berries of wild figs-Pippala) and the Eagle is not. Incidenally, this solves the question posed by Rajwade. In the first verse:—

" द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते
तयोरन्यः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वत्त्यनश्नन्नन्यो अभिचाकशीति. "

The word 'sayujā' is the key word. It means ' in pairs ', or ' with their mates ', from " yuj " " to be in couples or pairs ", cf. ' yug ' a pair, a couple (M. Williams).

The words " समानं वृक्षं परिषस्वजाते " refer to the two pairs of birds having their nests on the same tree. The use of the verb 'suvate', (are born) in verse 22 supports this interpretation. The expression 'abhicākaśīti' (looks around) is best explained by the behaviour of the female Golden Eagle at the nest. "As she pproaches and alights on the eyrie, then looks around her fiercely and defiantlyl before assuring herself that all is well, she makes a magnifiicent picture "–Seton Gorden, quoted in the World Digest, July, 1946. Bonelli's Eagle also is described as 'proudly looking round' when on the nest. Verse 20 thus contains a beautifu statement of a natural fact observed by the sage.

The next verse is :

"यत्रा सुपर्णा अमृतस्य भागमनिमेषं विदथाभिस्वरन्ति
इनो विश्वस्य भुवनस्य गोपाः स मा धीरः पाकमत्राविवेश".

Here the poet introduces anthropomorphism into the picture and attributes a onsciousness to the Orioles of the benefits enjoyed by them under the protection of the larger bird, and makes them express their gratitude to him. That he had at the same time the idea of the universal protector (the Sun) at the back of his mind is evident from the use of the words 'विश्वस्य भुवनस्य गोपा' applied to the protecting Suparṇa. The second line is put into the mouths of the happy Orioles who are supposed to express their gratitude with their sweet notes. I would paraphrase the verse as follows : There in the fig tree each discerning (vidathā) Oriole ceaselessly sings his greateful acknowledgment of his share of good things (Amṛtasya bhāgam refers to svādu pippal and also hints at freedom from untimely death) in these words..."weak as I am, the wise Lord and strong (inah) Protector of the world (of birds) has (graciously) admitted me into this (safe) tree (atrāviveśa). 'The sage struck by the wonderful parallel to man's dependence for food and protection upon the heavenly Suparṇa, the Sun, converts the picture into a metaphor and proceeds to draw a moral, viz. that men, like the Orioles, should be grateful to the heavenly protector for benefits received from him :

"यस्मिन्वृक्षे मध्वदः सुपर्णा निविशन्ते सुवते चाधिविश्वे
तस्येदाहुः पिप्पलं स्वाद्वग्रे तन्नोन्नशद्यः पितरं न वेद "

The 'suparṇā' (plural) in this verse stands for the people, the fig–tree for the Tree of life or the mundane world, the heavenly Pitā or protector for the Sun. What the sage, therefore, means to say is that those who live, multiply, and prosper on the Tree of Life but do not know (i. e. gratefully acknowledge) the protector, cannot really enjoy the sweet fruit growing on the tree (i. e. the gifts of the pitā). By implication, they are worse than the Orioles who know the truth. The idea is that a gift is fully appreciated only when you know the giver and are duly grateful to him for it. There can be no feeling of gratefulness and no true enjoyment of an anonymous gift. We are told in a word, that gifts of life are enjoyed all the better for the grateful knowledge that they are a boon from the

Heavenly-father. The feelings of dependence and hope go together, and unless you are thankful for what you have received you can have no hope—in fact, have no right to hope, for further favours. If there is no hope for the future the heart of man would be full of apprehension and he cannot enjoy what he has which is as good as if he has it not (tannonnaśat).

These three verses therefore contain a beautiful parable from Nature. They not only inculcate a spiritual truth but are also glorious poetry. If the simple and straightforward interpretation attempted here commends itself to scholars controversy over the verses would be ended. One can of course have no quarrel over their use to illustrate any philosophical doctrine.

In the following verse sages to whom sacrifice is dear are said to pray to god Indra, during the dark hours preceding the dawn, to hasten the day, and they are figuratively the Suparṇa birds:-

" वयः सुपर्णा उपसेदुरिन्द्रं प्रियमेधा ऋषयो नाधमानाः
अपध्वान्तमूर्णुहि पूर्धि चक्षु सुमुग्ध्यस्मान्निधयेव बद्धान् " RV. X. 73, 11

Sāyaṇa's interpretation of this verse is unsatisfactory and Griffith has correctly translated 'vayah suparṇā' as "birds of beauteous wing" except that he could not name them as Orioles which the poet really intended. It has been stated above that these birds greet the dawn with their melodious notes, and the comparison with the sages chanting their prayers at dawn is particularly apt. Freely rendered, the verse means: "Like the Orioles the sacrifice-loving and prayerful sages approach Indra while it is still dark with the reguest-Dispel darkness, fill our visions with light and deliver us from the snares of inactivity (due to lack of light)". Similarly 'suparṇāh' in the verse:—

" यत्सुपर्णा विवक्षवो अनमीवा विवक्षवः
तत्र मे गच्छताद्धवं शल्य इव कुल्मलं यथा ". Av. 2. 30, 3.

have been taken by Sāyaṇa to be 'beautiful birds' like the Pigeons (pārāvatādi) and by Griffith and other western scholars as Eagles. The verse is from a hymn which was used as a charm by a love-sick young man eager to win the affection of his sweetheart and looking forward to a pastoral life of song and pleasure. The reference to screaming Eagles is thus quite out of place where the nobler sentiment of love is concerned and the cooing of Doves, as a guess, is certainly bitter even though the term 'suparṇa' for the plain looking Dove or Pigeon is a misfit. It would therefore be more correct to hold that the birds intended by the poet are the Orioles which are beautiful, have a melodious voice and move in pairs. The picture of a pair of lively Orioles singing their way through life would seem to present a happier association with the girl's residence than the dreadful Eagles. The verse may be translated thus :

'Go quickly my invocation : like an arrow to its mark, where the sprightly and musical (lit. wishing to sing) Orioles sing (i. e. where my beloved is).

" Kulmal", rendered as 'the shaft of an arrow' by others, appears to have been more appropriately done as 'the the mark of an arrow' by S. D. Satavalekar in the Aundha edition of the Atharvaveda.

Again, the expert hunting of a Suparṇa has been used with masterly effect in another lovercharm :

" यथा सुपर्णः प्रपतन्पक्षौ निहन्ति भूम्याम्
एवा नि हन्मि ते मनो यथा मां कामिन्यसो, यथा मन्नापगा असः " Av. VI. 8. 2.

Here the reference is to an Eagle striking its prey from high up in the air and holding fast to it on the ground until it is subdued. In this position the bird's expanded wings strike the ground as pictured opposite page 823, Vol. VII, Ency. Brit., 14th edition. It is a wonderful simile. The verse means—I hereby strike and grip firmly thy heart, as does the Eagle its prey on the ground, so that thou can'st not go from me." The word 'Prapatan' has here the same sense as 'śyenapāta' of a Falcon or Eagle shooting down from above to strike its quarry. The verb 'prapad' according to M. Williams means 'to fall upon, attack or assail' and this appears to be the sense of the word 'prapatan' here. Once on the ground, the Eagle must frequently move its expanded pinions downwards to hold on and subdue the struggling prey. Others take the simile from the upward flight of an Eagle from the ground when its wings seem to strike downwards during flight, but this misses altogether the main idea of striking and holding fast to one's objective which underlies the verse, used as a charm against a hesitating damsel. The art of Falconry has been practised in India from time immemorial and there are clear indications of it in some of the vedic similes. The present verse, however, may well be founded upon the natural phenomena of Eagles hunting for food.

The identification of 'hāridrava' either as the Golden Oriole or the Yellow Wagtail in the following would seem to turn upon the correct meaning to be given to the word' 'vana' occurring in the second verse below: -

" शुकेषु मे हरिमाणं रोपणाकासु दध्मसि, अथो हारिद्रवेषु मे हरिमाणं निदध्मसि. " Rv. I. 50, 12
" हारिद्रवेव पतथोवनेदुप सोमं सुतं महिषेवावगच्छथ. " Rv. VIII. 35, 7.

The second verse refers to the habit of 'hāridrava' and 'mahiṣa' the wild buffalo, of eagerly taking to 'vana' which they apparently love. Now, according to M. Williams and the Vedic Index of Macdonell and Keith the word has been used in the Vedas in the sense of 'forest', wood or tree, and if this is correct 'hāridrava' should be the Golden Oriole (of the colour of haridrā), for it is a bird of arboreal habits, delighting and sporting among trees of the forest or the grove. Clad in brilliant yellow it would be the bird par excellence to which (along with the green-yellow parrot and the Hill Myna or sārikā with its yellow wattles, eyes and legs) the yellowness due to jaundice may best be transferred. The wild buffalo also lives in deep forest and if surprised in any open glade immediately runs back to it.

On the other hand Sāyaṇa on Atharvaveda I. 22, 4 and Dārila on Kouśika Sūtra 26, 18 render 'hāridrava' as 'gopitanakah' and 'pītāścitakā' (i. e. pītacataka) respectively which is possible only if 'vana' is taken to mean 'water', for the Yellow Wagtail (gopītanaka or gopīta of Bṛhatsaṃhitā) is a water-side bird and not often found at any distance from water. As, however, the weight of authority is in favour of 'vana' meaning forest 'hāridrava' must mean the Oriole.

Suparṇa, in a general way, includes all Eagles as stated earlier but the Vaj. Samhitā makes a distinction between Suparṇa and Mahāsuparṇa : "ऋश्यो मयूरः सुपर्णस्ते गन्धर्वाणाम्" — XXIV. 37; "संवत्सराय महतः सुपर्णान्" — ibid., 25 and it would be pertinent to bring out the difference here. Mahāsuparṇa is the great Golden Eagle, a most courageous bird with a light and majestic flight who kills his own prey and *never stoops to carrion*. The term 'Suparṇa' in the context is one of the smaller and carrion-eating Eagles including the Imperial Eagle, the 'kravyāda suparṇa's' of the Atharva Veda and Mahābhārata :

> "मर्माविधं रोरुवतं सुपर्णैरदन्तु दुश्चितं मृदितं शयानम्" — AV., 11. 10, 25
> "तान्सुपर्णाश्च गृध्राश्च कर्षयन्त्यसृगुक्षिताः" — M. Bh., 11. 16, 27.

Until not long ago the dirty ways of the Imperial were attributed to the Golden Eagle because of their similarity of plumage when adult, but H. C. Donald F. Z. S., after a very careful study of both in the Punjab and the Himalayas has fully vindicated the honour of the truly noble Golden Eagle. We thus have an inferior Eagle named for the minor Gandharvās, and Mahāsuparṇa for the personified Year in recognition of his size and strength, and particularly his habit of soaring very high in circles, so typical of the recurring Year and the Wheel of Time or Kālacakra. The epithet 'mahā' is thus seen to be fully significant.

Coming to Purāṇa literature the Oriole occurs under the names of Kāñcana and Cāmīkara (cf. Hindi sonacidī and pīlaka) for the common Oriole, and Sugrīva kāñcana' for the Black-headed Orioles including the Maroon Oriole which too has a black head and neck. All the three names are in reference to the golden colour of the birds. The maroon colour resembles to a fair degree the colour of lākṣā or lac, which has been described as hiraṇyavarṇā in Atharvaveda V. 5, so that the name sugrīva kāñcana would seem to apply to the yellow as well as the maroon coloured black-headed Orioles. Thus kāñcana is one of the birds at a hermitage in the Padmapurāṇa :

> "पक्षिणः काञ्चनप्रख्यान् नानाशब्दसमाकुलान्" — उत्तर खंड, 16. 23.

It is mentioned as a sweet-voiced golden bird in the Matsyapurāṇa where also the effects of poison on a pet camīkara as on other pet birds are described :—

"खगैर्मधुररावैश्च चारु चामीकरप्रभैः" — 136, 15.
"चामीकरोऽन्यतो याति मृत्युं कारण्डवस्तथा" — 220, 20.

and finally the Black-headed Oriole (maroon or yellow) is mentioned in the Vāyupurāṇa :

"सुग्रीवकाञ्चनरवैः कलविङ्करुतैस्तथा" — 36. 4.

The epithet 'sugrīva' refers to the bird's black head and neck; cf. sugrīva as a name of god Śiva who has a black throat.

Our classical poets have been more than partial to birds like the sārikā, kokila, cātaka and mayūra, and it is a pity that the beautiful Oriole should have been overlooked altogether.

In conclusion, I must offer my humble apologies for trespassing upon a field which is the rightful preserve of true and profound scholarship, for I confess I am in no sense even a student of Sanskrit and it is merely in the course of my hobby of identifying Sanskrit bird-names with their owners in the field that I have been led to look for them in the Vedas and Purāṇas, and that is how I have chosen to interpret a few Vedic verses here and there a little differently. It is quite possible that I have erred; but if by any chance I am right and have been able to throw a little light on what has hitherto been considered obscure, I shall feel happy indeed

PERIODS IN VEDIC LITERATURE

Dr. **H. C. Seth**, Ranchi

In my paper, "*The Age of Zoroaster and the Ṛgveda*,"[*] I have suggested that certain hymns of the Ṛgveda belong to the 6th century B. C. to which Zoroaster and his Gāthās, so closely related to the Vedic lore, also belong. We have further suggested that these hymns and the Avesta alike seem to refer to certain persons and events of this time, reference to which can also be traced in the traditions transmitted by the early Greek historians. If certain Ṛgvedic hymns are assigned to the 6th century B. C., others will have to be assigned to the centuries preceding the sixth and some others to the subsequent centuries, as the hymns themselves not unfrequently avow a difference of date, some are ascribed to the earlier Ṛṣis in the same family, while others admit of their being new compositions.

Conclusions set forth in the paper referred to above that part of the Ṛgveda belongs to the sixth century B. C. may lead us to modify the postulate regarding distinct periods of Vedic literature. Max Muller divided this into four categories, that of Sūtra literature 600–200 B. C., the Brāhmaṇas 800–600 B. C., the Mantra period, including the later portions of the Ṛgveda, 1000–800 B. C., and the Chandas, covering the older and more primitive Vedic hymns, 1200–1000 B. C.[†] This stratification persists as an article of faith amongst the modern scholars. According to Berriedale Keith, the older Upaniṣads can be dated as on the whole not later than 550 B. C. It is not likely that the Brāhmaṇa period began later than 800 B. C., and the oldest hymns of the Ṛgveda, such as those to Uṣas, may have been composed as early as 1200 B. C. To carry the date further back is impossible on the evidence at present available, and a lower date would be necessary if we are to accept the view that the Avestā is really a product of the sixth century B. C., as has been argued on grounds of some though not decisive weight, for the coincidence in language between Avestā and the Ṛgveda is so striking as to indicate that the two languages cannot have been long separated before they arrived at their present condition.[‡]

Undoubtedly the growth of the Vedic literature must have been spread over several centuries, but the assumption of long intervals between the different strata is not based on solid grounds. Keith himself suggests a certain degree of contemporaneity of the different strata of the Vedic litarature. He remarks "that we cannot adopt the rigid separation of periods suggested by Max Muller's categories...There are Sūtras such as that of Baudhāyana with passages of Brāhmaṇa type, the Brāhmaṇas and the later parts of the Ṛgveda may easily be contemporaneous with Brāhmaṇas. It is misleading to postulate series of distinct periods in this way. Of the earlier parts of the Ṛgveda we can feel full assurance, but the roots of the Brāhmaṇas must go back to the same period, though their composition fell later. These considerations diminish the value of calculations based on allowing periods of time for distinct strata. In special, we must certainly not think of a period of Upaniṣads following on the close of the Brāhmaṇas. The Upaniṣads sprang up in the Brāhmaṇa period though no doubt in its later part only were they developed.

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[*] Nagpur University Journal No. 7, 1941.

[†] Cambridge History of India Vol. I, P. 112.

[‡] Cambridge History of India Vol. I, P. 112

"It is necessary to stress these points, because such plausibility, as Prof. Winternitz's views on the age of the Veda possess, is due to his treatment of the stages as distinct. We are told that the hymns of the Ṛgveda are older than all the rest of the Indian literature; that the origin and growth of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā is considerably older than the Atharvaveda Saṃhitā and the Yajurveda Saṃhitā; that all the Saṃhitās are older then the Brāhmaṇas, and that both the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads need a long time for their development. These doctrines are both unproved and very improbable. The Yajurveda shows so close a relation to Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa that assuredly they grew up together, while the Atharvaveda Saṃhitā as a whole is of patently later origin. The Brāhmaṇas. doubtless continued to be produced side by side with the older Upaniṣads. The Ṛgveda itself patently contains hymns which are of the type of later Saṃhitās, including Atharvaveda."*

One must remember that political regroupings and geographical distances tend to create an illusion of time gap. This has to be borne in mind, particularly when dealing with the literature of a people like the ancient Āryans rapidly expanding, and settling down in new and distant territories. It seems that like the Avestan Gāthās, part of the Ṛgveda, part of the Brāhmaṇas and the early Upaniṣads may belong to the sixth century B. C. As a whole, the different strata of the Vedic literature may reflect not so much the long intervals of time as the changing geographical environments and the concurrent changes in political, religious and social life under which they may have been composed and compiled.

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* Woolner Commemoration Volume, p. 154

Section : Classical Sanskrit

Presidential Address

Mr. **K. A. Subramania Iyer**, Lucknow

It is usual for Presidents of sections to begin their addresses by thanking the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for conferring on them the honour of asking them to preside over their particular sections. I do the same and with no less sincerity. But my feelings are rather mixed, because the authorities have coupled their invitation with the injunction that the presidential address should review the work done in the section since the last Conference, that is, during the last three years. The field covered by this section is extremely vast as it includes everything not openly included in the other sections. It represents the literary activity of more than two thousand years. It includes, not only pure literature, but a good deal of technical literature as well, such as, alaṇkāraśāstra, chandahśāstra, kośa, kāmaśāstra and so on, and, as there is no seperate section in this conference for the epics and the purāṇas or for dharmaśāstra, they must also be deemed to come within this section. In the previous conferences, papers dealing with these subjects were actually included in this section. If the vastness of the literature included in this section engenders a little doubt in one's capacity to keep in touch with the latest developments, the continuance, to a certain extent, of war-time conditions still throws a veil over what is going on in some countries outside India which were known, before the war, for the vigour with which they conducted Indological Studies. In these circumstances, what I am about to say will necessarily be incomplete and, what is worse, may give you no new item of information. I apologize beforehand.

In spite of all the handicaps created by war-time conditions in India, the various activities usually pursued by students of Ancient Indian Literature, continued during the last three years. The very important work of publishing accurate and reliable catalogues of the different manuscript collections in the country made good progress during the period. We have to thank Dr. Kunhan Raja and Mr. Madhava Krishna Sharma for a first instalment of the promised complete catalogue of the manuscripts of the Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. Though not a descriptive catalogue, it gives all the necessary information about each manuscript in eight columns and will prove to be very useful pending the publication of the Descriptive catalogue for which a scheme has been prepared.

Equally welcome is the Alphabetical index of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Adyar Library by Pt. V. Krishnamacharya, done under the supervision of Dr. Kunhan Raja. It is uptodate and will be extremely useful, while we await the publication, one by one, of other volumes of the descriptive catalogue (Vol. I appeared in 1942). Of course, descriptive catalogues are particularly welcomed by research workers who will therefore be very thankful to Prof. Devasthali, for his two volumes dealing with the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts in the Bombay University Library and to Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti for the descriptive catalogue of the Mss. in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad. This is the occasion also to mention a work of a unique kind, an Alphabetical Register of Jain works and authors by Prof. H. D. Velankar published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The work is a monument of patience and industry. The first volume which has been published, is an alphabletical register of all Jain works published and unpublished which are so far known to exist in public and private libraries in the world. It gives the title of the work, its subject matter, its place of publication, its commentaries and translations, and reference to it in histories of literature and in catalogues. The work is indispensible, not only to students of Jainism proper, but to Sanskrit students in general. In connection with manuscripts, one must hail the appearance of the "Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library." The Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is known throughout the world, wherever the Sanskrit language is studied. This new Journal has been started for the publication of "some of the minor works of well-known authors, and the production of less celebrated men, which are often of high quality and originality." Works written by Kerala writers are to receive special attention. The first issue of the journal contains, among other works, the "Mukunda Śataka" of Rāmapāṇivāda, identified by some with the famous Malayalam poet, Kuñjan Nambyār, and the "Matsyāvatāra-prabandha" by famous Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa, the author of Nārāyaṇīyam Prakriyāsarvasva Mānameyodaya etc.

One of the chief purposes of publishing accurate catalogues of manuscripts is to promote the work of the publication of manuscripts which are worthy of publication. The period under review has witnessed some important publications. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, is making good progress. The Sabhā-parvan was completed by Prof. Edgerten and the Bhīṣmaparvan Pt. I., edited by Dr. Belvalkar, has also come out. The same high standard of work which we have become accustomed to see, and which has been arrived at as a result of mutual consultation and collaboration between so many distinguished scholars led by the late Dr. Sukthankar, has been maintained in these two new volumes also. The Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, which has already done so much in such a short time, has published the Jñānadīpikā of Devabodha on the Udyogaparvan, edited by Dr. De. Dr. Dandekar had already published the portion relating to the Ādiparvan. The interest of the commentary is that it is older than any of the manuscripts used for the critical edition of the Mahābhārata. It is, therefore, of great value in the task of critically editing the text of the Mahābhārata. Dr. De gives on P. XV of the introduction a list of the textual emendations made possible by the textual jñānadīpikā.

While the great classic is being edited by a band of veteran scholars, minor works and authors are not being neglected. Thanks to the encouragement given by an enlightened Indian Ruler, the Maharaja of Bikaner, the wise policy of the Prime Minister, Major. K. M. Panikkar and the expert advice and guidance of Dr. Kunhan Rājā, another series of Sānskrit publications the Gaṅgā Oriental Series, has been started under the General Editorship of Mr. Madhava Krishna Sharma, Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library, Fort, Bikaner. The first work published in the series is the Akbara-sāhi-śṛṅgāradarpaṇa of Padmasundara, a poet who lived at the court of Emperor Akbar who is the hero of many of the verses. It is a work on Śṛṅgāra based on the Śṛṅgāratilaka of Rudraṭa and it is interesting as it reveals another Sanskrit poet whose patron was a Muslim king. In the same volume is published the Śṛṅgārasañjīvanī of Haridevamiśra, a neat little poem which plays delightfully with the sounds of the Sanskrit language. Two more volumes followed quickly, the Jagadvijayachandas of Kavīndrācārya, edited by Dr. Kunhan Raja, and the Mudrārākṣasa-purvasaṃkathānaka of Anantaśarman, edited by Dr. Daśaratha Sarma, both interesting in their own way. Among other minor works published must be mentioned the Āryāśataka of Appayyā Dīkṣita, edited by Mr. Gore with a Sanskrit commentary by Dr. Raghavan. It is a poem on Śiva written in a lighter vein and not without a good deal of sense of humour. A metrical version of the story of the Mālatīmādhava, entitled Ṛjulaghvī by the famous Kerala poet Pūrṇasarasvatī has also been critically edited by Mr. Gore and published in the Poona Oriental Series. Dr. J. B. Chaudhury, whose energy and enterprise have led him to undertake a many-sided literary career and whose publications in different series known as the Sanskrit Kośa Kāvya Saṅgraha, the Sanskrit Dūta Kāvya Saṅgraha, the Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature. the Contribution of Bengal to Smṛti Literature etc. must be well known to you, has some publications to his credit during this period. Two of them the Padyaveṇī, an anthology made up by Veṇīdatta and the Viddhaśālabhañjikā, of Rājaśekhara with two commentaries, the Prāṇapratiṣṭhā of Ghanaśyāma and the Camatkārataraṅgiṇī of Sundarī and Kamalā show, on every page, the marks of Dr. Chaudhury's industry, patience and accuracy. Prof. Sitaram Sehgal of Lahore has brought out a critical edition of the Ṛtusaṃhāra and the already published commentary of Maṇirāma, together with the fragment of another commentary by one Amarakīrti, probably of the 16th century according to Mr. Gode. There are also two useful indices at the end, one of pādas, and the other of padas. Dr. Raja has added to his many publications, the Mayūrasandeśa of Udaya, with a commentary, introduction and notes. Of historical interest is the Acyutarāyābhyudaya of Rājanātha Ḍiṇḍima, (Can. 7-12.). edited by Mr. Krishna Aiyangar. The first 6 cantos had already been published by the Vānī Vilās Press. It is a work of the 16th century, and is of importance for the history of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Mention must also be made of some works which have been brought to the notice of scholars though they have not yet been published. Mr. M. K. Sharma has drawn attention to (1) a work dealing with various kinds of machines for lifting weights, called the Bhārotthāpana-yayantra-nirmāṇa-vidhi by one Devasimha (2) the Sārasvatādvaitasudha, a philosophical and grammatical work on the Raghuvaṃśa by one Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita (3) the Toḍarānanda, an encyclopaedic work on Hindu Law written under the patronage of Todarmalla the Finance minister of Emperor Akbar. Mr. Gode has thrown light on the works of Godāvari Misra the Rajaguru of Prataparudra, of Orissa, of the 15th century. Mr. Khare of Poona has discussed the identity and the works of Haridīksita, an 18th century writer.

If accurate catalogues of manuscripts are meant to lead to the publication of ancient works of merit, their publication in its turn, must result in the study of the literature thus published and in the drawing of appropriate conclusions regarding the development of Ancient Indian Culture. While critical edtions of ancient works require a scientific spirit, common sense, and infinite patience, their study calls for all these qualities plus a certain insight into the past which is so indefinable and yet so essential. At the very beginning of the period under review, appeared the first volume of the Sukthankar Memorial Edition, edited by the indefatigable Mr. Gode, with the help of an editorial committee, and published by the Karnatik Publishing House. It is a new memorial edition of the late Dr. Sukthankar's critical studies in the Mahābhārata. Though all the papers published in the volume had already been published elsewhere, one at least, "*Epic Studies VI*" has had the benefit of a revision by the late Dr. Sukthankar himself. The edition is a tribute to the memory of the great editor of the Mahābhārata. It is, indeed, very convenient to have collected in one volume papers scattered in different journals giving the mature views of Dr. Sukthankar on the principles according to which the critical edition of the Mahābhārata has been prepared, his answers to the criticisms made, and the emendations proposed to his critical edition by such scholars as, Winternitz, Edgerton, and Ruben, his views on the relation between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and other topics connected with the great epic.

Another work giving expression to ideas matured after years of deep study is the "*Highways and Byways of Literary Criticism*" by the late MM. Prof. Kuppuswami Śastri published by the newly founded Kuppuswami Research Institute, Madras, which has also published his edition of the first Vdyota of the 'Dhvanyāloka' with 'Locana', 'Kaumudi' and his own 'upalocana'. The "*Highways and Byways*" represent lectures delivered in the Annamalai University, now made available to a wider public. Much that is excellent had already been written about Rasa and Dhvani and Vyanjanā, and yet one gets a rare insight by a perusal of these lectures by a master of different branches of Sanskrit learning, into what he regards as the "synthesis of the artist and the art–critic, the synthesis of the poet and the responsive critic, the synthesis of criticism and genius, the synthesis that may be regarded as the highways in Indian Literary Criticism ".

Mr. Sivaramamurti, whose artistic talents coupled with deep Sanskrit scholarship led him to study ancient Indian arts like painting as revealed in Sanskrit works, and to publish a series of articles on the subject in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, and who has shown the clear influence of Kālidāsa on Indian Sculpture, has now come forward with another interesting work. Following the example of Kielhorn and Buhler, to whom his booklet " *Epigraphic Echoes from Kālidāsa* " is dedicated, he has shown by means of quotations the influence of poets like Vālmīki, Bāṇa, Bhāravi, and, above all, Kālidāsa on the poets of the inscriptions. The book is enlivened throughout by actual reproductions of small fragments of the epigraphic passages in the different original scripts used in the inscriptions. The booklet can be used as an introduction to Indian Paleography. Considering that the inscriptions are all dated, one can imagine what light such work can throw, if carried out on a big scale, on all questions of date and mutual relations of texts.

Prof. Jhala, of St. Xaviers College, has published a study of Kālidāsa of another kind. In his booklet on 'Kālidāsa' included in the Padma publications, the author discusses the date of Kālidāsa, considers him prior to Aśvaghoṣa and finally votes for the traditional date, that is, the 1st century B. C., accepts the authenticity of Ṛtusaṃhāra, holds only the first eight sargas of Kumārasambhava to be genuine and considers the 19th to be the last sarga of Raghuvaṃśa. An attempt is made throughout the work to give an estimate of the merits of the works of Kālidāsa. The book will be useful to college students, for whom it is meant.

Historical questions of various kinds have been engaging the attention of scholars during the period. Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agarwal has been studying Pāṇini for many years and his article on Pāṇini, his life and work, is based on Indian, Chinese and Greek data. Dr. Agarwal has collected together a very large number of references from the Mahābhāṣya throwing light on the personality, methods, aims and work of the great grammarian Pāṇini. He analyses Hiuen Tsang's testimony recorded on the spot, in Sālātura, the birthplace of Pāṇini when he travelled in India, and comes to the conclusion that the main outline of the life and career of Pāṇini incorporated in it represents a substantial element of historical truth. Dr. Agarwal is inclined to believe that the gaṇapāṭha was made by Pāṇini himself, who travelled far and wide to make it as complete as possible. As to the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the Bhāṣya of Patanjali, he comes to the conclusion that both have based their works on and have preserved in them all that was valuable in the writings of their predecessors.

Mr. P. S. Sastri who read papers on the "Ṛgvedic theory of poetry" and the 'Theory of Metre' in the Vedic Section of the last conference, is pursuing his researches into the early history of poetry and criticism and has published a paper on "Rasa and Dhvani in the Ṛgveda." He concludes : "Consistent with their theories of Poetry and Art, the Ṛgvedic poets had a systematic theory of Rasa and Dhvani. These may not be entirely similar to those of the later day rhetoricians. But in essence they are identical." Quotations are given to show that all the rasas are depicted in the Vedas. As all poetry is essentially the language of emotion, it is natural that Ṛgvedic poetry should contain expression of the various emotions. But when the writer goes on to maintain that they had a theory of Rasa and Dhvani and quoted the well known mantra :

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाच—
मुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् !
उतो त्वस्मै तन्व विसस्ते
जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ।

as evidence for the Ṛgvedic theory of Dhvani, one cannot but be reminded of the fact that this very mantra has been explained by Yāska and the later grammarians like Kaiyyaṭa in a quite different way. Patañjali gives it as one of the reasons why grammar should be studied and Kaiyyaṭa sees no reference to Rasa or Dhvani in it.

Attempts to fix dates, to identify authors and to determine mutual relations of texts engage the attention of a good many scholars. In this task the study of works containing numerous allusions and references to contemporary or earlier literature will naturally be very useful. That is why one must welcome the work of Dr. Raghavan who has published his study-notes of the Yaśastilaka of Somadevasūri.* He has drawn attention to a bewildering variety of things mentioned by Somadeva. Among these miscellaneous items of information are some names of authors on various branches of Learning, पारिरक्षक, पूज्यपाद, अकलङ्कदेव, पणिपुत्र, कवि, रोमपाद, रैवल, शुकनास, काशिराज, काव्य, दत्तक, चन्द्रामणीश, इभचारी, वाद्धलि, नर and राजपुत्र, explanation of the word 'ṣaṭpraśna' which occurs in Dhvanyāloka and Locana, names of some poets Tridāsa, Kohala, Gaṇapati, Śaṅkara, Kumuda, Kekati, Akālajalada, a list of authorities on Arthaśāstra and others too numerous to mention. These items of information are bound to become starting points for further research. Dr. Chaudhury who has also given us so many new names of authors and works has expressed the opinion that Laksmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, son of Viśveśvara and Bhavānī, of Kaśī, the author of Padyaracanā, was the same as the Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa who commented on the Naiṣadha and the Gītagovinda and has given an appreciation of Lakṣmaṇa as a poet. Dr. Kunhan Raja tries to fix the date of Pūrṇasaraswati, the author of Vidyullatā, on the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa and comes to the conclusion that one can't be sure if the author knew the commentary of Mallinātha or any of the known commentaries on the Meghadūta. " All that we know is that he had many previous commentaries, many readings, and many diverse interpretations before him. " Prof. Jahagirdar takes up the old questions of the relation between the Mṛcchakaṭika and the Cārudatta and concludes that there is a possibility of Cārudatta itself being a revised or a stage version of the Mṛcchakaṭika, a view which has already been expressed by others. Prof. Devadhar is inclined to think that the ' Pratijñā ' represents an abridgement of some older play which gives the story in a version slightly different from that of the Vīṇāvāsavadatta, in view of the divergences in the earlier portions of the Vīṇā (acts 1–4) from the corresponding portions (1–2) of the Pratijñā.

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* Journal of Ganganath Jha Research Institute Vol. I, Part 2, p. 249.

What I have said above is enough to give an idea of the kind of historical questions engaging the attention of scholars. But studies of a different kind which seek to understand the nature of a thing rather than its history are also proceeding. Thus Mr. Krishna Moorthy in his aricle on "Observations of Sanskrit Literary Critics on poetic imagination" studies the remarks made by some writers on 'Pratibhā' and points out parallels in English Literary Criticism. Mr. Rama Pisharoti in his article on Kālidāsa's treatment of love has made an intelligent study of the subject and has pointed out the great variety of types of love and love-characters in the different works of Kālidāsa.

In this brief survey of the work which has been going on during the last three years, I do not claim, as I said at the beginning, to have reached completeness. It is quite possible that I may have omitted the names of some workers, or the works of some whose names have been mentioned. I feel however that I have probably mentioned the different types of work, without omitting anything important. Publication of catalogues of manuscripts, critical editions of texts, bringing to light authors and works not known, fixing dates and mutual relations of texts, and other work of a historical nature, explanatory and interpretative studies, this, in the main, is the work which is now going on. All this is very essential work. This kind of work in India is the result of our contact with the West, where interest in history has always been an important element of culture. That is why the old type of Pandit does not figure very much in this kind of work. All of you must have heard, sometime or other, expressions of a sense of futility, if not of comtempt, from Pandits for this kind of work. They look upon this as leaving the substance to run after the shadow. While I do not agree, in the least, with this judgement of our interest in questions of history and chronology and mutual relations of texts, we have to ask ourselves whether we have not neglected, to a certain extent, the kind of studies in which the Pandit is interested. All of us must remember the thrilling way in which some good Pandit of our acquaintance explained some passage from the old masters and created in us an interest for Sanskrit studies which may have marked a turning point in our life. Now this could not have happened, if the Pandit had not caught hold of something vital in the passage which he was explaining. I think this vital thing was the aesthetic quality of the work, the quality which is responsible for its having survived the test of centuries, and for its having found a place among the classics. A reliable chronology has to be made the basis for the study of the distinctive aesthetic qualities of the great masters, those qualities which make the work of a particular writer his and nobody else's. Questions of authenticity which crop up so often in the course of our studies and which frequently remain unsolved would parhaps not arise if we had a scientific knowledge of the distinctive aesthetic qualities of the works of the great masters. Ordinarily, we try to solve such questions with the help, either of external evidence, or of internal evidence of a nonaesthetic character. If any aesthetic argument is advanced, it rarely carries conviction, because our present knowledge of the distinctive aesthetic characters of a Sanskrit work is very meagre and the little that there is consists mostly of subjective impressions which have not been objectively tested. It seems to me that there is a good deal of scope for more work of a scientific kind. Imagery plays a very great part in Sanskrit Kāvya Literature and there must be something distinctive in the imagery of each writer. The old verse:—

उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।
नैषधे पदलालित्यं माघे सन्ति त्रयो गुणाः ॥

is an attempt to sum up the distinctive features of the writers in question, but it does not go far enough. The word 'उपमा' stands principally for a particular form which differs from the form of 'rūpaka' or 'utprekṣā' or 'apahnuti' etc. But, for the pleasure which we derive from good poetry, it is not merely the form which is responsible but also the contents. It is the contents which are the especial products of the Pratibhā of the poet. From the contents of a poet's imagery, one can get an idea of the world in which he was living, a world which may have much in common with the world of another poet, belonging to the same culture and perhaps also to the same period, but yet must have something which he and he alone possesses. If we could isolate this, I believe our knowledge of the poet may be said to have become more definite and this definite knowledge will be valuable, not only for its own sake, but may even be made use of for solving various questions of history and mutual relationships of texts. All this means an analysis of the contents of the poet's imagery, its classification and study In the beginning, the work will be naturally descriptive in nature, but when such descriptive work will have made sufficient progress, one may be able to draw conclusions of an aesthetic and historical nature. I published some time ago an analysis of the contents of the imagery of the Rāmāyaṇa. I pointed out the occasions when imagery occurs in abundance in the Rāmāyaṇa, the sources of Vālmiki's imagery, what Vālmiki had inherited and what he himself created. Recently Mr. Gurner has published a paper on the " Psychological imagery of

Kālidāsa" where also the contents of the imagery of Kālidāsa are studied from a particular point of view. Mr. Gurner had already published some years ago a similar study of the imagery of Aśvaghoṣa. In both these studies, he points out that in imagery and in simile, parallels between psychological experience and the physical world are very common in Indian Literature, but rare in Western Literature. For him, it is a manifestation of intense introspection, which underlies the philosophy of the 'upaniṣads' and it implies the comprehensive conception of reality as a quality, attaching alike and in equal measure, whatever its ultimate value, to the concrete and to the abstract in human experience. This is a statement of the general characteristic of imagery in Sanskrit Literature, and not of the distinctive features of the imagery of any particular poet. But Mr. Gurner has something to say on that point also. After having stated that Kālidāsa shows the influence of Aśvaghoṣa, he proceeds to point out the difference between Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa in the use of psychological imagery. To put it all in his own words: (1) Aśvaghoṣa is predominantly interested in the psychological simile based on ethical values rather than on phases of consciousness; (2) That he uses it for a didactic purpose rather than for its value as a poetic embellishment.

Aśvaghoṣa will never let us forget that he is the Teacher before he is the poet. In the works of Kālidāsa, ethical values fall into their place with all other phases of human experience, as the raw material for literary creativeness.

It is, natural, therefore, that in his use of this type of imagery Kālidāsa should draw on the whole range of psychological experience, the simple consciousness of existence intellectual powers, volitional impulse, emotional feelings, moral values and religious ideas. The analogy between the mental state and the physical world or between two mental states is designed, partly to increase the charge of actuality and vividness in description, partly to add to that peculiar sense of poetical beauty derived from the presentation of an unexpected resemblance in detached and often remote aspects of reality.

Now this seems to be an interesting conclusion which gives an intimate knowledge of the imagery of these two writers. Similar work has to be done for the other great writers. It is only then that we will be able to draw conclusions of a comprehensive nature, regarding the development of Kāvya literature. It is only then that it will be possible to write a History of Sanskrit Literature, in which not only questions of date will be discussed, but more intimate questions of mutual influence of writers and their distinctive qualities will be explained.

KĀLIDĀSA AND KAUṬILYA

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In the preface, p. vi, to his first edition of the Artha Śāstra of Kauṭilya, (1908), while citing a number of references to the Artha Śāstra in Sanskrit works, Mm. Shama Sastri drew attention to Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa XVII, 49 and 76 and XVIII, 50 as containing references to Kauṭilya's work as explained by Mallinātha, the commentator. He also pointed out in a foot-note in the body of the text in his edition that the passage describing the merits of Hunting in Kauṭilya, VIII, 3 has its echo in Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, II. 25. On p. 9 of the Introduction to his Lahore edition of the Arthaśāstra, Jolly also mentioned Kālidāsa's indebtedness to Kauṭilya "for some expressions both in his two epics and to the drama Śākuntala." Earlier in 1919, H. A. Shah of Bombay read a long paper entitled 'Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa' before the First All-India Oriental Conference at Poona, four instalments of which were published in the quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore, Vol.X, 1919-20, pp. 303-317 and Vol.XI, 1920-21, pp.42-61, 138-145, and 238-248. In this the first elaborate study of Kālidāsa-Kautilya parallels, Mr. Shah noted a large number of parallel passages, some of which like that on hunting he discussed in great detail. But Mr. Shah not only referred Kālidāsa to the same age as Kauṭilya but even suggested the identity of the two. Subsequently, Sri. K. Balasubrahmanya Ayyar read a paper entitled "A Study of Kālidāsa in Relation to Political Science" before the Third All-India Oriental Conference, Madras, 1923 (Proceedings 1924, pp. 1-16) and in this paper, this writer drew attention again to this subject and cited about thirteen instances of parallels between Kālidāsa and Kauṭilya. In this paper I continue the study of this interesting subject and some more passages in Kālidāsa which bear the influence of and contain refernces to the Artha Śāstra of Kauṭilya.

The works of Kālidāsa, and the Raghuvaṃśa in particular, contain a large number of expressions which are technical terms of the Artha Śāstra, Daṇḍa, Daṇḍanīti, Saptāṅga, Daiva and Mānuṣa, Āpad, Maṇḍala, Maṇḍala-nābhi, Prakṛti, Mūla, Pratyanta Pārṣni, Aya, Ṣaḍaṅgabala, Vyavahārāsana, śakti, Prabhuśakti the Ṣaḍguṇas, Paṇabandha etc., Randhra, Dharmastha, Praṇidhi, Mantra, Apasarapa, Durga, Yātrā, Yātavya, Śakya, Kośa, Ṣaḍbhāga, four-fold Rāja-nīti, Tīrtha, Kūṭayuddha, Mantripariṣad, Ātmasampanna, Dharmavijaya etc. All these pre-suppose that Kālidāsa had before him some texts on Polity in which there was a large mass of technical terms whose meanings were well defined and which had therefore come to be well understood. That Kālidāsa had before him such texts and that the most important of these is the same Artha Śāstra of Kauṭilya that we have now can be seen from two or three pointed passages.

In Act I of the Mālavikāgnimitra, the minister discusses with the king the attitude of the Vidarbha king and the king orders a campaign against him :

राजा—···········यातव्यपक्षे स्थितस्य पूर्वसंकल्पितसमुन्मूलनाय वीरसेनप्रमुखं दण्डचक्रमाज्ञापय।
अमात्यः—यदाज्ञापयति देवः ।
राजा--अथवा किं भवान् मन्यते ।
अमात्यः--**शास्त्र**-दृष्टमाह देवः कुतः--

अचिराधिष्ठितराज्यः शत्रुः प्रकृतिष्वरूढमूलत्वात् ।
नवसंरोपणशिथिलः तरुरिव सुकरः समुद्धर्तुम् ॥

राजा--तेन हि अवितथं **तन्त्रकारवचनम्** । इदमेव निमित्तमादाय समुद्योज्यतां सेनापतिः ।

This passage expressly mentions the *Śāstra* and the *Taṅtrakāra's observation*, and speaks of the king's action as being in accordance with them. The minister makes the reference more explicit by saying that according to the Śāstra, an enemy king just come to power is easy to be uprooted as he is like a newly planted tree, not yet deeply taken root amongst his subjects or ministers. We find here Kālidāsa echoing a dictum of Kauṭilya, Artha Śāstra, VIII. 2

नवस्तु राजा ... ... प्रकृतिष्वरूढः सुखमुच्छेत्तुं भवति ।

While a number of parallel passages are certainly of value, a specific mention of the *Śāstra* and the *Taṅtrkāravacana* shows beyond all doubt that Kālidāsa had before him a text on polity, which as the above passage shows, is Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra.

In the same Drama, in Act V, we find King Agnimitra settling the affairs of Vidarbha by establishing Dvairājya or dual kingship, the two brothers Yajñasena and Mādhavasena being made to rule two halves of the territory with the Varadā as the demarcating boundary between the two; the Mantripariṣad applauds the King's decision and points out the advantage of this policy of the two acting as check on each other, and behaving themselves towards the paramount power.

कञ्चुकी— ... ... अमात्यो विज्ञापयति । अहो कल्याणी देवस्य बुद्धिः । मन्त्रिपरिषदोऽप्येतदेव दर्शनम् । कुतः—

द्विधा विभक्तां श्रियमुद्वहन्तौ । धुरं रथाश्वाविव सङ्ग्रहीतुः ।
तौ स्थास्यतस्ते नृपतेर्निदेशे । परस्परावग्रहनिर्विकारौ ॥१४॥

This is an echo of a passage in Kauṭilya's VIII. 2, where there is a discussion about the defects and merits of Vairājya and Dvairājya. Kauṭilya answers here the defects pointed out in both by the Ācaryas and shows the grounds for the approval of both. Though the identity of context and opinion in Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa is plain, the corruptness of the text in the former hampers understanding.

"... ... ... नेति कौटिल्यः । पितापुत्रयोः भ्रात्रोर्वा द्वैराज्यं तुल्ययोगक्षेमं **मत्यावग्रहम्** or **अमत्यावग्रहम्** or अमात्या**वग्रहम्** वर्तयतेति (वर्तयेतेति) ।"

In the Mysore edition of 1924, this passage, relegated to the foot-note, reads अमत्यावग्रहम्; the Lahore edition of 1923 of Jolly reads मत्यावग्रहम् which Jolly understands in his Note (p. 2. p. 59) as " captivate the public mind". The Nayacandrikā's comments on this passage run thus :

" द्वैराज्यं हि पित्रा पुत्रेणापि वा द्वाभ्यां भ्रातृभ्यां वा स्यात्, तदुभयमपि मिथो विरोधसंभवात्, संभवत्यपि अमात्यैरेव निषेद्धुं शक्यत्वाच्च न व्यसनाय स्यादित्यर्थः " Lahore edn. pt. 2. p. 80

It is suggested in a footnote here that 'मिथोविरोधसंभवात्' in the commentary must be 'मिथोविरोधासंभवात्.' It is some such understanding of the text that led Gaṇapati Sastri to adopt the reading अमात्यवग्रहम् and give a meaning on the lines of Mādhava Yajvan's interpretation in the Nayacandrikā. A close examination of the context shows that Amātyas have no place here, and we should have a text here which means that the two members of the dual kingship will act as mutual checks. In the Pūrvapakṣa of the Ācāryas, Dvairājya is said to have two defects leading to failure; द्वैराज्यम् (१) अन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुरागाभ्याम् (२) परस्परसंघर्षेण वा विनश्यति—and in Kauṭilya's reply, we have two conditions mentioned as contributing to the stability of this divided rule; these two conditions must answer to the two in the Pūrvapakṣa objection : thus, 'अन्योन्यपक्षद्वेषानुराग' is answered by 'तुल्ययोगक्षेम' and 'परस्परसंघर्ष' by a word of which 'Matyāvagraha' is a corruption; 'Paraspara Saṃgharṣa' or Mutual rivalry of the Pūrvapakṣa would call for the reply 'mutual check'; and in view of the expression Paraspara Saṃgharṣa' in Kauṭilya and Kālidāsa's reference to "Paraspara avagraha" meaning 'mutual check', we may not be wrong in reconstructing the text of Kauṭilya as " मिथोऽवग्रहं वर्तयेतेति । ".

When the Parivrājikā feels over her brother's loss while discharging the kings mission, Agnimitra consoles her that one who gave up his life for 'Bhartṛpiṇḍa' ought not to be mourned for like that. ' न शोच्यस्तत्रभवान् सफलीकृतभर्तृपिण्डः ' Act. V. This puts in brief the message of the two verses on 'Bhartṛpiṇḍa' in Kauṭilya X. 3, यान् यज्ञसंघैः etc. and नवं शरावं ...... यो भर्तृपिण्डस्य कृते न युध्येत् ।

A couple of instances in the Vikramorvaśīya too recall to our mind the Artha Śāstra. In II. 16 here, Kalidasa says

तप्तेन तप्तमयसा घटनाय योग्यम्

Kauṭilya has a similar line in VII. 2.

तेजो हि सन्धानकारणम् ; नातप्तं लोहं लोहेन संधत्त इति ।

'प्रभालेपी' in the description of Saṅgamanīya maṇi in Vikramorvaśīya IV. 61 occurs as one of the excellences of a gem enumerated by Kauṭilya in his section on precious stones in II. 11 : प्रभानुलेपी चेति मणिगुणाः । Vik II. 1 षष्ठे भागे त्वमपि दिवसस्यात्मनश्छन्दवर्ती and the text of Kauṭilya forming its basis have already been pointed out by the previous writers.

In the Śākuntala, opening part of Act II, there is a description of inconveniences of Hunt and its merits (śl. 5), and Mr. Shah has written at very great length on the closeness of the views and expressions here to the passage on Hunt in Kauṭilya, VIII. 3. The merits of the Hunt set forth by Kauṭilya are mentioned by Kālidāsa in Raghuvaṃśa. IX. 49.

In Acts I and VII of the Śākuntala, the defect and merit of the ground with respect to the movement of a chariot are mentioned as Utkhāta and Anutkhāta and Samadeśa उत्खातिनी भूमिरिति etc. and समदेशवर्तिनः Act I. रथेनानुत्खातस्तिमितगतिना Act. VII. Kauṭilya says in X. 4. समा ⋯⋯ निरुत्खातिनी ⋯⋯ रथभूमि and निरुत्खतिनी ⋯⋯ रथानामतिशयः ।

In Act V, on hearing of the arrival of hermits from the forest, King Duṣyanta repairs to the chamber where Fire is worshipped, Agnyagāra, as that is the place where such guests have to be received; the King leaves his seat and receives them standing and in the company of his priest and preceptor.

राजा—मद्वचनादुच्यतामुपाध्यायः सोमरातः ⋯⋯⋯ अहमप्येतान् तपस्विजनदर्शनोचिते देशे प्रतिपालयामि ⋯⋯ वेत्रवति ! अग्निशरणमार्गमादेशय ।

पुरोहितः—भोस्तपस्विनः ! असावत्रभवान् वर्णाश्रमाणां रक्षिता प्रागेव मुक्तासनः वः प्रतिपालयति ।

This is in accordance with what Kauṭilya says in I. 19

अग्न्यगारगतः कार्यं पश्येद्वैद्यतपस्विनाम् ।
पुरोहिताचार्यसखः प्रत्युत्थायाभिवाद्य च ॥

The reference in Raghu. V. 25 to Kautsa being requested to stay in the Agnyagāra– वसंश्चतुर्थोऽग्निरिवाग्न्यगारे is also in accordance with this practice mentioned by Kauṭilya.

It is well known that Kauṭilya's maxims comprehend several methods to deceive (Ati– or Abhi–sandhāna) the enemies as part of its scheme of success, thanks to which some have called him a 'Machiavelli' and indigenous writers too like Bāṇa have voiced forth their criticisms of the unscrupulous aspects of Kauṭilya's Śāstra. Kālidāsa makes two pointed references to this aspect of Kauṭilya's Śāstra as Vidyā or lore specialising in deceiving others, Para–atisandhāna. In Śākuntala, V. 25, the hermit Śārṅgarava calls the kings as men studying the cheating of others as a Vidyā—

परातिसन्धानमधीयते ये विद्येति— ।

In Raghu XVII, 76 Kālidāsa notes this reproachful aspect of polity but offers the explanation that King Atithi's adoption of such a conduct was meritorious in so far as he sought victory only as a means to his performing an Aśvamedha–

पराभिसन्धानपरं यद्यप्यस्य विचेष्टितम् ।
जिगीषोरश्वमेधाय धर्म्यमेव बभूव तत् ॥ *

For the quotation from Kauṭilya given by Mallinātha here, see **Kauṭilya** VII. 15, para 3, and IX. 1, para 6, Mysore edn., 1924.

In Kumārasambhava, VI.37, we find Oṣadhiprastha described as an overflow-creation of Svarga–

स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशितम् ।

In Raghu XV. 29 too, Mathurā created by Śatrughna on the banks of the Jumna is described in the same way :

स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनं कृत्वेवोपनिवेशिता ।

in both these places, as Mallinātha has also pointed out, Kālidāsa is having in mind the practice of laying out new cities out of the overflow of one's city.

Kauṭilya says in I. 19–भूतपूर्वमभूतपूर्वं वा जनपदं''स्वदेशाभिष्यन्दवमनेन वा निवेशयेत् । The use of the same word 'Niveśa' may also be noted.

Above all, the Raghuvaṃśa as a poem describing a long line of kings, contains numerous verses having their basis in Kautilya's work. To those already pointed out, I may add the following:—

Raghu III. 12	Kauṭilya I. 16
कुमारभृत्याकुशलैरनुष्ठिते भिषग्भिराप्तैरथ गर्भभर्मणि ।	आपन्नसत्त्वायां कौमारभृत्यो गर्भभर्मणि प्रजनने च वियतेत ।
R. IV. 14	K. XIII. 5 : this chapter itself is named Labdha-praśamana.
लब्धप्रशमनस्वस्थम्	
R. IV. 35	K. XII. 1
वृत्तिमाश्रित्य वतसीम्	बलीयसा अभियुक्तः दुर्बलः सपुत्रा- नुप्रणतो वेतसधर्मा तिष्ठेत् ।
R. VIII 2	K. V. 6
दुरितैरपि कर्तुमात्मसात् प्रयतन्ते नृपसूनवो हि यत् ।	राज्यकारणाद्धि पिता पुत्रान् पुत्राश्च पितरमभिद्रुह्यन्ति ।
	Also I. 16
	कर्कटकसधर्माणो हि जनकभक्षा राजपुत्राः ।

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* If Kālidāsa really lived in the time of Agnimitra, this verse on Atithi would be a pointed reference to Puṣyamitra, the Maurya-saciva, who proved treacherous to his master, gained sovereignty and performed an Aśvamedha.

R. VIII. 4 पवनाग्निसमागमो ह्ययं सहितं ब्रह्म यदस्त्रतेजसा।	K. I. 9 ब्राह्मणेनैधितं शस्त्रं ··· ··· जयति ···
R. VIII. 22 न नवः प्रभुराफलोदयात् स्थिरकर्मा विरराम कर्मणः।	K. VII. 8 स्थिरकर्मा नासमाप्य कर्म उपरमते।
R. IX. 53 श्वगणिवागुरिकैः प्रथमास्थितं व्यपगतानलदस्यु विवेश सः। (वनम्)	K. I. 21 लुब्धकैः श्वगणिभिः अपास्तस्तेन- व्यालपराबाधमयं······मृगारण्यं गच्छेत्।
R. XII. 11 द्विषामामिषतां ययौ।	K. IX. 7 सामन्तानामामिषभूतः।
R. XVI. 55 ··· ···आनायिभिस्तामपकृष्टनक्राम्। बिगाहितुं प्रचक्रमे।	K. I. 2 मत्स्यग्राहविशुद्धमवगाहेत।

Raghu VII, describing in detail the rule of Atithi contains many echoes of Kauṭilya some of which have already been noted..

R. XVII. 57 न धर्ममर्थकामाभ्यां बबाधे न च तेन तौ। नार्थं कामेन कामं वा सोऽर्थेन सदृशस्त्रिषु॥	K. I. 7 समं वा त्रिवर्गमन्योन्यानुबन्धम्। एको ह्यासेवितः धर्मार्थकामानामात्मान- मितरौ च पीडयति।
R. XVII. 59 परात्मनोः परिच्छिद्य शक्त्यादीनां बलाबलम्। ययावेभिर्बलिष्ठश्चेत् परस्मादास्त सोऽन्यथा॥	K. IX. 1 विजिगीषुरात्मनः परस्य च बलाबलं शक्तिदेशकाल-यात्राकाल-बलसमुत्थान ······ज्ञात्वा विशिष्टबलो यायात्। अन्यथा आसीत।

That Kālidāsa had before him Kauṭilya's work while writing this canto is clinched by the summimg up in verse 77 which says—

एवमुद्यन् प्रभवेण शास्त्रनिर्दिष्टवर्त्मना।

Canto XIX of the Raghuvaṃśa describing the career of Agnivarṇa appears in a new light after a study of Kauṭilya. It looks as if Kālidāsa has illustrated by the life of Agnivarṇa the very basic and fundamental maxim of Kauṭilya that the entire science of polity is, so to say, founded on the conquest and control of the senses.

कृत्स्नं हि शास्त्रमिन्द्रियजयः । I. 3.

Kauṭilya emphasises this in Vinaya or education of the king and prince, in Indriya-jaya, in the Vyasanas of Kāma, Kopa etc. Kālidāsa too lays repeated emphasis on the control of senses while describing his kings. After illustrating the subject of Indriya-jaya by the positive cases (Anvaya) of these Kings, Kālidāsa illustrates in the career of Agnivarṇa in Conto XIX the same by the negative or Vyatireka instance, bearing in mind always the remarks of Kauṭilya.

In VIII. 3 Kauṭilya says that those in the grip of lust soon succumb to consumption. कामवशाः क्षयव्ययनिमित्तमरिव्याधिभिः । (क्षयनिमित्तं व्याधिभिः । व्ययनिमित्तमरिभिः ।)

Agnivarṇa soon falls a prey to this Kṣaya as a result of his inordinate lust

आमयस्तु रतिरागसंभवो दक्षशाप इव चन्द्रमक्षिणोत् ।

The excuse which the ministers gave out to the subjects in explanation of the King's inability to come out, namely that the King was performing some rite for the sake of an issue, XIX. 52 बाढमेषु दिवसेषु पार्थिवः कर्म साधयति पुत्रजन्मने is, as has been pointed out more than once by previous writers, based on Kauṭilya, V. 6 पुत्रीयं वा कर्म राजा साधयतीति अपदेशेन ... ... प्रकृतीनां दर्शयेत् ।

In XIX, 55-57. Kālidāsa says that after cremating Agnivarṇa in the royal park itself, the ministers installed on the throne the queen who was pregnant; after calling a council of the ministers for consultation, they adopted this decision.

तैः कृतप्रकृतिमुख्यसंग्रहैराशु तस्य सहधर्मचारिणी
साधु दृष्टशुभगर्भलक्षणा प्रत्यपद्यत नराधिपश्रियम् ॥

This is in accordance with Kauṭilya, V 6—

... ... गर्भिणीं देवीं वा पुरस्कृत्य महामात्रान् सन्निपात्य ब्रूयात् ... ...तथेत्यमात्यः कुमारं राजकन्यां गर्भिणीं देवीं वा अधिकुर्वीत ।

The idea of the king being watchful and attached as a father in his attitude towards his subjects is one which is constant in Kālidāsa's mind; स पिता पितरस्तासाम् etc. Raghu. I. 24; प्रजाः प्रजाः स्वा इव Śāk. V.25. येन येन वियुज्यन्ते Śāk VI. 23. Kauṭilya's imagination, which is so complete, has certainly overlooked such aspects of the king's character as would endear him to the subjects or subordinates and make his work of ruling or conquest both easy and completely successful; for, more than once Kauṭilya says :

निवृत्तपरिहारान् पितेव अनुगृह्णीयात् । II. 1.
सर्वत्र उपहतान् पितेव अनुगृह्णीयात् । IV. 3.
दत्त्वा चाभयं पितेव अनुगृह्णीयात् । VII. 16.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE TECHNIQUE OF THE ANUVṚTTI PROCEDURE IN THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ

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Among many devices adopted by Pāṇini (P.) in the Aṣṭādhyāyī (Aṣṭ), the device of the Anuvṛtti procedure is of great importance. In fact, it was due to the use of this device that P. has been able to secure the brevity unparallelled elsewhere. The Anuvṛtti procedure aims at avoiding the repetition of the same word in one or more successive Sūtras. The technique in its employment is not so easy as it may appear. To enter into P.'s mind and discover the principles underlying the Anuvṛtti procedure s a complicated problem which is made still more complex by the interpretations of the later commentators and the changes in the order* of some sūtras. It s also likely that some sūtras are later interpolations† and consequently they disturb the original scheme of P.

For serving his aimed brevity, P. employs two means, Adhikāra and Anuvṛtti. The former refers to a key-word, which is used only once in the beginning and is taken to the successive sūtras. It covers a large number of sūtras and goes often to more than one Pāda or even Adhyāya.‡ In fact the cope of an Adhikāra covers a whole topic. The Anuvṛtti is, on the other hand, concerned with a small group of sūtras, sometimes of even two sūtras. In Anuvṛtti, the aim is not division of topics and subjects, but economy of words and avoidance of repetition. Different words in a sūtra have, if so necessary, different spheres of their Anuvṛtti. The word, Idūdet' in I. 1. 2. goes up to I. 1. 12. only, while the word 'Pragṛhyam' in the same sūtra goes up to I. 1. 19. Thus, in short, the Adhikāra, based on the consideration of homogeneity and similarity of grammatical treatment, stands for a real subject-wise division or classification of sūtras; the Anuvṛtti is an artificial device to effect an economy of words.

The part of a compound word in a sūtra is not separated for Anuvṛtti. The word 'sthāne' in I. 1. 49, being a part of the compound 'sthāneyogā', is not available to the sūtra following it. Hence the word 'sthāne' is used again in

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* Cf. Mahābhāṣya, Kāśikā and Laghuśabdenduśekhara about I. 2. 29/40 and VIII. 4. 53/57.

† Cf. I. 2. 53/5.

‡ The Adhikāra of III. 1. 1 and 2 goes up to the end of the fifth Adhyāya.

I. 1. 50. Similarly the word 'sic', a part of the compound 'liṅsicau' in I. 1. 12/13 is not available in I. 1. 14. Exceptions to this rule (e. g. the Anuvṛtti of the word 'strī' in I. 2. 49 from the previous sūtra, where the compound 'gostriyoh' is used) have to be explained by recourse to Vyākhyāna (See below).

In the same way, a word syntactically connected, though not actually compounded, with another word, is not treated as an independent word for Anuvṛtti. The word 'bahuvrīhau' in I. 1. 28 is not available in I. 1. 29, as in the former it is connected in meaning with the word 'diksamāsa' and, in the latter, it refers to the general type of 'bahuvrīhi'. The word 'Karma' in I. 4. 46/8 has got the sense of Ādhārakarma. Hence the need for repeating the word same Karma in I. IV. 49.

In the sphere of their Anuvṛtti, words go to all the sūtras in sequel and do not skip over. Frog-jumping (Maṇḍūka-Pluti acc. to commentators) is a far-fetched procedure and does not commend to the P.'s scheme. It may be that in some sūtras the Anuvṛtta word is not necessary, as it serves no practical purpose. But this does not mean that the sūtra is skipped over or it must be avoided (cf. प्रयोजनाभावेऽपि अनुवृत्तिरुत्तरार्था.). The word 'Ātmanepadeṣu' in I. ii. 11 goes up to the sūtra I. ii. 17, though its presence in I. ii. 14 is not necessary, for even without it, the result would be the same.* Some apparant exceptions to this rule (e. g. the word 'ekaśruti' skipping over I. 2. 38) can be very well explained by Vyākhyāna (that is, joining I. ii. 37 and 38 in one sūtra, which is more natural† and understandable). In the Aṣṭā. there are Sūtras which might be termed as 'associated digressions' or 'sūtras in parenthesis'. The above apparent exception is one of many such exceptions in the Aṣṭā.

A word in the course of Anuvṛtti may undergo change in number, if it suits the context. The word 'anudāttānām' in I. 2. 39 becomes 'anudāttasya' in I. 2. 40. The word 'it' in I. 3. 2 becomes 'itah' in I. 3. 5 and 'itau' in I. 3. 7. Sometimes a change in case-ending also is suggested by commentators. 'Nah', a Pañcamyanta word in 8. 3. 30 is assumed to be a sasṭhyanta word in 8. 3. 31. but this is not necessary. In reality, in all these sūtras, the word 'Nah' should be taken as ṣasṭhyanta. The commentators' anxiety on this point is due to their misinterpretation of the sūtra I. 1. 46.‡

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* cf. काशिका on I. 1. 14 "आत्मनेपदग्रहणमुत्तरार्थमिहानुवर्तते । इह तु परस्मैपदे हन्तेर्वधभावस्य नित्यत्वात्कित्वस्य प्रयोजनं नास्ति ।"

† The sūtra I. ii. 37/8 should read as "न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्यतूदात्तः देवब्राह्मणयोरनुदात्तः ।"

‡ The sūtra, "आद्यन्तौ टकितौ" simply means that a टित् आगम will be आद्यवयव of the पर letter and a कित् आगम, अन्त्यावयव of the पूर्व letter. The आगम necessarily implies the presence of पर and पूर्व letters.

The use of the conjunctive particle 'ca' and its Anuvṛtti are also complicated. Even without 'ca', the required word can be brought by Anuvṛtti from previous sūtras. Then what is the propriety in using 'ca' for the same purpose ? The difference lies in the relationship of the sūtras concerned. By the word 'ca' in a sūtra that part of a previous sūtra which is needed to complete the sense of the subsequent sūtra is made available. Thus the sūtras brought together by 'ca' form part of a composite whole. They belong, as if, to one family. They refer either to a common affix, or common stem or common function etc.* The sūtras with 'ca' are, therefore, of a supplementary nature. But sūtras brought together by Anuvṛtti are not so. Their functions may be divergent, they may have nothing intrinsically in common. Their unity is artificial. The only aim in Anuvṛtti is avoidance of repeating a word or words and *not* supplementing a sūtra. The point of difference can be made clear by referring to the sūtras I. 1. 3/4 and I. 1. 4/5.† The particle 'ca' has been used in a variety of ways in the Aṣṭā. In a group of sūtras joined by 'ca', the particle is sometimes in the second sūtra (e. g. in I. 1. 4/6 and I. 1. 32/6) and sometimes in the closing sūtra (e. g. I. 32/36). In some cases, where we should have expected it, it is not used at all (e. g. I. 1. 42/43). In other cases, its use is superfluous (Mukhasukhārtha) and the sūtra containing it has nothing in common with the previous sūtra (1. 3. 21). In view of the above various uses of 'ca', there is not much force in the undue emphasis laid by Pawate,‡ that the bringing of a word by using 'ca' should be expected to end with the sūtra containing 'ca' (cf. चानुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र in the परिभाषेन्दुशेखर No. 79). That this Paribhāṣā is *not* universal and admits of exceptions is recognised by Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa himself and he quotes (II. 3. 2/4) wherein this Paribhāṣā is violated. In fact, much of the incongruity in the use of 'ca' can be removed by transposing the order of sūtras of a group governed by the sphere of 'ca' (e. g. if in the group [I. 73/5], the sūtras 74 and 75 are transposed, चानुकृष्टं नोत्तरत्र is not violated). We reserve the consideration of this aspect of 'ca' for another occasion.

There are two kinds of sūtras. Some are obligatory (Nitya); others are optional (Vaikalpika.). The words 'Vā, Vibhāṣā or Anyatarasyām are used in a sūtra to indicate its optional nature. Even these words indicating option have Anuvṛtti and go to the subsequent sūtras. The result is that there is confusion between those subsequent sūtras, which are to be taken as optional by virtue of the Anuvṛtti of 'Vā' etc. and the other sūtras, which are to be taken as obligatory as they are not expected to have its Anuvṛtti. To avoid this confusion and to indicate the end-limit of such Vā–Anuvṛttis and the commencement of obligatory sūtras, various devices have been used in the Aṣṭā. The clearest device is the use of the word 'Nityam' in the sūtra wherein 'Vā' etc. (option–indicating words) stop coming by Anuvṛtti (e. g. I. 1. 2. 72; I. 2. 63). Change of topic is another device (e. g. I. 1. 32/36 are optional; but I. 1. 37 is obligatory as it begins a new topic). In many cases, we have to take recourse to inference (e. g. in I. 2. 14/15 the word 'Vā' does not come from I. 2. 13, because the word indicating option [Vibhāṣā] is used in the subsequent sūtra I. 2. 16.) Sometimes the option–indicating words have no Anuvṛtti in the subsequent sūtra. Consequently these subsequent sūtras are obligatory (e. g. I. 2. 3 is optional, but the subsequent sūtra. I. 2. 4 is obligatory). In all such cases, inference or interpretation to suit the purpose (Lakṣyānusāri Vyākhyāna) is the only help and we cannot do without it. There is no hard and fast rule to allow us to have a smooth sailing in understanding the P. sūtras. Paninī's technique is dictated by the commonsense view. He is not slave to the rigidity of his technique; he is not logical at the cost of clarity and reasonableness.

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* cf. 4. 1. 136; 4. 2. 28; 1. 1. 5 respectively.

† इको गुणवृद्धी । न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके and न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके । क्ङिति च । In the former group there is no common function. In the latter, both the sūtras have the same function of negating गुणवृद्धी.

‡ In the "Structure of the Astādhyayī" p. 78.

If some of the sūtras do not conform to the hypothetical principles, we should not rush to the conclusions unfavourable to P.'s genius. The reason for the apparent inconsistancies should be investigated. In many cases such a close examination (Vyākhyāna) leads us to know the real implication such as "associated digression" or "sub-ideas in parenthesis". How truly has Patañjali said :

"व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणम् "

—महाभाष्य on महेश्वरसूत्र No. 6.

THE DATE OF SUBANDHU'S VĀSAVADATTĀ

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Though the tale of Vāsavadattā is as old as Patañjali and a heroine of this name often appears in Indian literature, it is Subandhu's romantic novel, the *Vāsavadattā*, that has immortalised this heroine primarily on account of its exceptional literary merits. Subandhu's date* is not exactly fixed : so any fresh evidence, which would shed some light on this problem, is quite welcome. All that can be definitely said about Subandhu's age is that he flourished earlier than Vākpati (C. 700–725 A. D.); and possibly it is Subandhu's Vāsavadattā that Bāṇa alludes to in his *Harṣacarita*. As to the other terminus, Subandhu knows Uddyotakara and perhaps refers to Dharmakīrti. These limits have led cautious scholars to place Subandhu in the second quarter of the seventh century A. D.

Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa has the following remark in his Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya : †

जह वा निद्दिट्ठवसा वासवदत्ता-तरंगवइयाइं ।
तह निद्देसग-वसओ लोए मणुरक्खवाओ त्ति ॥

Apart from the technical back-ground of the discussion, the verse states that the specification of a work may be according to the subject discussed, for instance, *Vāsavadattā*, *Taraṅgavatī* etc.; or according to the author or teacher, for instance, Manu, Akṣapāda etc. It appears sufficiently clear that Jinabhadra is referring to the works, *Vāsavadattā* and *Taraṅgavatī*. As long as it is not shown that the tale of Taraṅgavatī was known even prior to Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī*, there is no point in insisting that Jinabhadra is referring merely to the tale of Vāsavadattā and not to any composition of that name. Just as it is no more doubted that Bāṇa's reference to Vāsavadattā has Subandhu's work in view, I think that it is highly probable that Jinabhadra has in view, two literary compositions, Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā* and Pādalipta's *Taraṅgavatī*. ‡

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* For the earlier discussions about the date of *Vāsavadattā*, the following important sources may be noted : *Vāsavadattā* ed. by R. V. Krishnamachariar with Intro. and comm. Shrirangam 1906; Ibidem, ed. by Louis H. Gray, Columbia University Press New York 1913; Keith : *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford 1908, pp. 307–8; M. Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sankrit Literature*, Madras 1937; S. K. De: *The Prose Kāvyas of Dandin*, Subandhu and Bāṇa, Kane Volume, Poona 1941, pp. 112 etc.

† Āgamodaya Samiti ed., with Gujarāti translation, Bombay 1924, p. 534, gāthā No. 1508.

As long as the dates of both Subandhu and Jinabhadra were equally uncertain, the latter's allusion to *Vāsavadattā* could not assume any special significance. But lately through the efforts of Āchārya Jinavijayaji,|| the colophon of an old Ms. from Jaisalmer has come to light; and the verses run thus :—

पंच सता इगतीसा सगणिवकालस्य वट्टमाणस्स ।
तो चेत्तपुण्णिमाए बुधदिण सातिंमि णक्खत्ते ॥
रज्जे णु पालणपरे सी[लाइ]च्चम्मि णरवरिंदम्मि ।
वलभीणगरीए इमं महवि...मि जिणभवणे ॥

Thus, Jinabhabra finished his *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* in Śaka 531 (= A. D 608-9) on the Caitra Paurṇimā, Wednesday, Svāti, at Valabhi, when king Śilāditya was reigning. In the light of this definite date of the *V.-bhāṣya*, we should put *Vāsavadattā* earlier then A. D. 608-9, say in the last quarter of the sixth century. It is quite likely that Uddyotakara and Subandhu were almost contemporaries and flourished sometime in the latter half of the sixth century A. D.

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‡ About the *Taraṅgavatī*, see E. Leumann's Die Nonne etc., in the **Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus III, Munchen 1921, pp. 193 ff, 272 ff. Leumaun has assigned Pādalipta to as early as the 2nd or 3rd century** A. D.

|| Bhāratīya Vidyā (Hindi—Gujarati) III, pp. 191—196.

KĀLIDĀSA'S KNOWLEDGE OF THE PURĀṆAS

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In dealing with the two dramas of Kālidāsa bearing on the Purāṇic stories, namely, the *Śākuntala* and *Vikramorvaśīya*, it is usual to consider the deviations which Kālidāsa has made in the treatment of the theme when he dramatised the stories as taken from the *Mahābhārata*. The question whether he took the theme from the *Mahābhārata* at all, as we have that grand epic at present, has not been even raised by anyone; the point has been taken as a matter of course. That Kālidāsa lived after Vālmīki and that his main purpose in writing the *Raghuvaṃśa* was to glorify the achieiements of Śrī Rāma has also been a more or less commonly accepted theory.

Recently the late Dr. Hara Datta Sarma examined a few manuscripts of the *Padmapurāṇa* in Calcutta on the suggestion of Winternitz and he propounded the theory that the version of the *Raghuvaṃśa* story and of the story of *Śākuntala* as found in those manuscripts must have been the original for Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa (earlier portion) and for the *Śākuntala.*

When the general tendency had been to bring in the date of Kālidāsa as near to our own times as is possible, such a hypothesis could attract some attention. The Gupta theory for the date of Kālidāsa has been, without an exception, accepted in Europe and has been very prominetly accepted by scholars in India. But in the case of those who accept a much earlier date for Kālidāsa (and I am an unrepentent and impenitent adherent of such a position), the very question whether Kālidāsa knew any of the Purāṇas, including the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, becomes a living issue.

For this purpose it is necessary to make a close examination of the contents of the works of Kālidāsa in order to find out how much of the contents of the Purāṇas were known to him. I realise that the result of such an investigation leads us only to the minimum knowledge of Kālidāsa in respect of the contents of the Purāṇas and not the maximum. When we find that he mentions Śrī Rāma and certain incidents in his life, we know that Kālidāsa was acquainted with the main outline of the story of Rāma; but that does not mean that he knew only such a bare outline; it may well be that he knew all the details of the story as is current at present. Similarly when we do not find any reference in the work of Kālidāsa to many of the *Avatāras*, it does not mean that he had no idea of the various *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu. I fully keep this caution in my mind when I deal with the subject.

I have made a complete list of all references to the Purāṇas found in the works of Kālidāsa and analysed them and sorted them. It is not possible, and it is not proper also, that the entire matter should be included in this paper. All the gods mentioned in Kālidāsa, all the synonyms and epithets used for them, *Svarga* and *Naraka*, the various *Lokas*, the surface of the earth and its divisions, the seven continents and the oceans, the *Kulaparvatas*, the *Dikpālas* and the *Diggajas*, the semi-celestial beings and a host of other details for which parallels could be found in the Purāṇas, have been examined and studied.

In this paper I propose to consider certain general matters. First of all let me take up the question of the *Trimūrtis*. The prominence given by Kālidāsa to Brahmā as a deity worshipped at that time, is rather surprising. The Purāṇas have become *Dvimūrti* in their religion; there is a prominence given to Viṣṇu and Śiva. There are in the Purāṇas various references to Brahmā giving boons to the Demons. But there is no reference to Brahmā being an object of worship like Śiva and Viṣṇu. In the *Kumārasambhava*, Brahmā is given a role in the second Canto, which is not usual in the Purāṇas. Perhaps in the time of Kālidāsa, Brahmā was worshipped even in temples, as is suggested by the passage :—

अथाभ्यर्च्य विधातारं प्रयतौ पुत्रकाम्यया (रघु०, १.३५.)

in the *Raghuvaṃśa*. It is true that even now there are a few temples dedicated to Brahmā; but they are rather survivals of a former state of affairs than representatives of current tendencies.

Regarding Śiva, his *Ardhanārīśvara* form was very familiar to Kālidāsa. But there is no hint of the Tantric doctrine of Pārvatī being the Śakti, the Śiva-Śakti equation.

In the case of Viṣṇu, there is no direct mention of his various *Avatāras*. There is reference to the churning of the ocean, presumably to bring out the nectar in it. The passage is :—

अवाकिरन्वयोवृद्धास्तं लाजैः पौरयोषितः ।
पृषतैर्मन्दरोद्धूतैः क्षीरोर्मय इवाच्युतम् ॥ (रघु. ४. २७)

This may lead us to accept that Kālidāsa knew about the churning of the ocean and that as such he knew also about the *Kūrmāvatāra* which was closely connected with it. Apart from this hint I have not been able to find any mention in the works of Kālidāsa about the first five of now well-known ten *Avatāras*, namely, *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Varāha*, *Narasimha* and *Vāmana*.

About the next *Avatāra*, namely, that of Paraśurāma, Kālidāsa knew that he recovered the land from the ocean. There is the verse :—

अवकाशं किलोदन्वान् रामायाभ्यर्थितो ददौ । (रघु०, ४.५८)

But there is nothing in it to show that Paraśurāma was an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu. That Paraśurāma destroyed the *Kṣatriyas* is also known to him as is mentioned in—

आयोधने कृष्णगतिं सहायमवाप्य यः क्षत्रियकालरात्रिम् ।
धारां शितां रामपरश्वधस्य संभावयत्युत्पलपत्रसाराम् ॥ (रघु०, ६.४२)

If Kālidāsa had the notion of his being an *Avatāra* of Viṣṇu, this is a context where we could expect a reference to it, as that would enhance the greatness of Kārtavīrya.

Kālidāsa knew the main outline of the story of Rāma as it is now known. The verse :—

···जनकतनयास्नानपुण्योदकेषु ।
स्निग्धच्छायातरुषु वसतिं रामगिर्याश्रमेषु ॥ (मेघ०, १.१)

shows that he knew of Rāma and Sītā living in the Deccan mountains. The verse :—

इत्याख्याते पवनतनयं मैथिलीवोन्मुखी सा ॥ (मेघ०, २.३७)

shows that he knew of Sītā having lived away from her husband and of Hanūmān having taken a message to her from him. These two strokes so far separated from each other give a very good outline of the story.

There is a passage on which there is room for doubt. It is—

रामास्त्रोत्सरितोऽप्यासीत्सह्यलग्न इवार्णवः । (रघु०, ४.५३)

This must be a reference to Śrī Rāma having compelled the ocean to recede so that he might construct the bridge across to Laṅkā. It is true that for the sake of Paraśurāma too, the ocean had receded, But there is nothing in the Purāṇas to show that the ocean was so compelled by the power of Paraśurāma's weapons. Immediately after this, there is the reference to the ocean having conceded a part of the land to Paraśurāma as a result of his request :—

अवकाशं किलोदन्वान् रामायाभ्यर्थितो ददौ । (रघु०, ४.५८)

For this reason I take it that the reference here is to Śrī Rāma and not to Paraśurāma.

There is another reference to Śrī Rāma in the Meghaduta which I shoud have taken note of earlier. But I put it off deliberately. The passage is :—

वंद्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितां मेघलासु । (मेघदूत, १.१२)

This also shows that Kālidāsa knew of Śrī Rāma having lived in the Deccan mountains. Here there is reference to the divine nature of Śrī Rāma. There is a theory that Śrī Rāma was at first a national hero and that his deification was a later affair; it is also assumed that the portions in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki where there is a clear indication of this divine nature of Śrī Rāma, are later nterpolations and an inconsistency in the story of the national hero. I feel that the facts are the other way. What has taken place in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki is that a divine hero was glorified as a national hero. The point that I wish to emphasise is this. If Kālidāsa knew of Śrī Rāma as a national hero, which he is in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, it is a little surprising that there is not a single instance where he is noticed as an *Upamāna*; this may be contrasted with Kumāra and also with a large number of divinities who shine as *Upamāna* in various contexts. My own impression is that Kālidāsa knew of the story of Śrī Rāma from the sources that formed the original for Vālimīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and not from *Vālmīki* himself. If at the time of Kālidāsa, Śrī Rāma had occupied the same position in public estimation which he occupies after the time of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, this silence about Śrī Rāma in the works of Kālidāsa is rather an enigma to me.

There is another very important omission in the works of Kālidāsa which too needs scrutiny.: Kālidāsa is very fond of rivers and mountains and other aspects of Nature. How is it that there is no refernce to Godāvarī in the *Meghasandeśa* or in the *Raghuvaṃśa ?* The entire route in the *Meghasandeśa* in the earlier part lies along the scenes of the latter half in the *Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa*, of the *Araṇya Kāṇḍa* and the earlier parts of the *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa*. Apart from the Godāvarī river there are Pañcavaṭi, Daṇḍakāraṇya, Citrakūṭa, the hermitages of the various *Ṛṣis* and many other important scenes in the *Rāmāyaṇa* that could easily have found a place in the *Meghasandeśa.* If Kālidāsa was so much inspired by the "First Sanskrit Poem" of Vālimīki as to speak of it in the *Raghuvaṃśa* in the verse :—

अथवा कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन्पूर्वसूरिभिः । (रघु०, १.४)

and to imitate, even to the extent of similar expression, the poetry of Vālmīki in parallels like :—

मेघोदरविनिर्मुक्तः कल्हारस्पर्शशीतलाः ।
शक्यं अञ्जलिभिः पातुं वाताः केतकगंधिनः ॥ (रामायण)

and

शक्यं अरविन्दसुरभिः कणवाही मालिनीतरङ्गाणाम् ।
अङ्गैरनङ्गतप्तैरविरलमालिङ्गितुं पवनः ॥ (sak.)

to take only one axamaple, how is it that we do not find any sort of prominent reflection of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the *Meghasandeśa*, where there is scope for such reflection ? When Raghu marched along the East coast, he must have passed the Godāvarī; yet there is only a mention of the Kāverī and the Tāmraparṇī. Godāvarī is completely ignored by Kālidāsa. How can Kālidāsa omit Godāvarī if he was inspired by the poetry in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmīki*, and where is Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* without Godāvarī ? (in this paper I presume that Kālidāsa did not know Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa and that as such the second half of the *Raghuvaṃśa* from the nineth Canto onwards is a later superpolation by another poet. It is in support of such a presumption that I am trying to argue a case).

Now, we come to Śrī Kṛṣṇa. The identity of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa is absolutely clear in Kālidāsa. The expression :—

बर्हेणेव स्फुरितरुचिना गोपवेषस्य विष्णोः । (मेघदूत, १.१५)

may be construed as meaning that Kṛṣṇa, the cow-herd boy with his peacock feather was an *Avatāra* (of course a *Pūrṇāvatāra*) of Viṣṇu. Kālidāsa uses the words Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu as synonyms. Take for example the passage :—

अवैमि ते सारमतः खलु त्वं कार्ये गुरुण्यात्मसमं नियोक्ष्ये ।
व्यादिश्यते भूधरतामवेक्ष्य कृष्णेन देहोद्धरणाय शेषः ॥ (कुमारसंभव, ३.१३)

Kālidāsa must have known of Kṛṣṇa as the son of Vāsudeva. He must have known about Kṛṣṇa having killed Kaṃsa. There are references to these in Patañjali. And what was current in the time of Patañjali must have been known to Kālidāsa.

But the reference to Kāliya in *Raghuvaṃśa* puzzles me a little. The passage is :—

त्रस्तेन तार्क्ष्यात्किल कालियेन मणिं विसृष्टं यमुनौकसा यः ।
वक्षःस्थलव्यापि रुचं दधानः सकौस्तुभं ह्रेपयतीव कृष्णम् ॥ (रघु०, ६.४९)

Here we find a mention of Kāliya being the victim of some unjust persecution and as having found refuge in the waters of the Yamunā in the kingdom of Suṣeṇa of Śūrasenas. Kṛṣṇa is spoken of as having the *Kaustubha* as his ornament, an identification of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu. Did Kālidāsa knew of the incident of *Kāliyamardana* in the *Bhāgavata?* If he knew, is this the way in which we can expect the reference to Kāliya ? And look at the next verses :—

संभाव्य भर्तारममुं युवानं मृदुप्रवालोत्तरपुष्पशय्ये ।
वृंदावने चैत्ररथादनूने निर्विश्यतां सुन्दरि यौवनश्रीः ॥
अध्यास्य चाम्भः पृषतोक्षितानि शैलेयगन्धीनि शिलातलानि ।
कलापिनं प्रावृषि पश्य नृत्यं कान्तासु गोवर्धनकन्दरासु ॥ (रघु०, ७.५०, ५१)

Is not the complete absence of any hint of the place having been the scene of the sports of Kṛṣṇa and of the Gopīs rather puzzling? There is no doubt about Kālidāsa's acquaintance with the story of Kṛṣṇa as a Gopa. Still at a certain context where we expect a reference to him and to the Gopīs, we find complete silence.

Can it be said that Kālidāsa's silence must be explained as his effort to avoid anachronism? Kṛṣṇa came long after the events narrated in the context. When Kālidāsa described the *Digvijaya* of Raghu, the route is along the east coast and Raghu left of the coast only further to the south of the Setu. Yet there is no mention of Setu and Rama. This too may be due to his efiort to avoid anachronism, in so far as Raghu was the great-grand-father of Śrī Rāma. But if the interpretation of the word *Rāmāstrotsārito* as refering to Śrī Rāma is accepted, this avoidance of anachronism also is frustated.

There is another reference in the words of Sunandā in the sixth Canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* which goes against this avoidence of anachronism. There is the passage :—

यस्यावरोधस्तनचदनानां प्रक्षालनाद्वारिविहारकाले ।
कलिंदकन्या मथुरां गतापि गङ्गोर्मिसंसक्तजलेव भाति ॥ (रघु०, ६.४८)

Mathurā is supposed to have been founded by Śatrughna and it is so mentioned in a later part of the *Raghuvaṃśa* itself :

उपकूलं स कालिंद्याः पुरीं पौरुषभूषणः ।
निर्ममे निर्ममोऽर्थेषु मधुरां मधुराकृतिः ॥ (रघु०, १५, २८)

How could Sunandā, during the time of Aja, the grand-father of Śatrughna, speak of Mathurā which was founded by Śatrughna?

My own feeling is that some explanation must be sought for, different from the explanation of anachronism. I fully appreciate the position that non-mention does not imply non-acquaintance. But there is the law of *yogyādarśana.* When we expect a mention, there is a strong case for the presumption that the non-mention is due to non-acquaintance.

There is a particular reference in the *Raghuvaṃśa* which I could not trace to any Purāṇa. There is the passage :—

अस्त्रं हरादाप्तवता दुरापं येनेन्द्रलोकावजयाय दृप्तः ।
पुरा जनस्थानविमर्दशंकी संधाय लंकाधिपतिः प्रतस्थे ॥ (रघु०, ६. ६२)

I have not been able to find a reference to this in the *Hālāsya-Māhātmya* where I could expect to see it, if anywhere. This is about the Paṇḍya king.

For the events described in the first eight Cantos of the *Raghuvaṃśa* there is no trace in any of the Purāṇas now available where the *Vamśāvali* of the Solar Race is given. Are they all his imagination? Raghu's fight with Indra, Raghu and the Varatantuśiṣya, Aja and the elephant, the curse of Indumati: is it possible that Kālidāsa had no sort of even a hint in any of the sources from which he had taken the incidents, that it was all his imagination?

Kālidāsa completely ignores, in his description, well-known Purāṇic stories like the story of Kakutstha and of Ikṣvāku, except for bare, incidental references on certain occasions and he explains certain events in detail for which there are no parallels in the Purāṇas.

Is there not a case for the presumption that the sources he had were different from the Purāṇic versions of the stories which we now have?

In research there is no final conclusion. The conclusions of one worker only form the hypothesis for another worker.

When we come to the story of the *Mahābhārata*, there can be no doubt that Kālidāsa had a good acquaintance with the contents of that great epic. Patañjali mentions the five Pāṇḍavas. That takes us a long way. There is a mention of an important event in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Meghasandeśa*:

ब्रह्मावर्तं जनपदमथ च्छायया गाहमानः
क्षेत्रं क्षत्रप्रथनपिशुनं कौरवं तद्भजेथाः ।
राजन्यानां शितशरशतैर्यत्र गाण्डीवधन्वा
धारापातैस्त्वमिव कमलान्यभ्यवर्षन्मुखानि ॥

हित्वा हालामभिमतरसां रेवतीलोचनाङ्काम्
बन्धुप्रीत्या समरविमुखो लाङ्गली याः सिषेवे ।
कृत्वा तासामभिगममपां सौम्यसारस्वतीनाम्
अंतःशुद्धस्त्वमपि भविता वर्णमात्रेण कृष्णः ॥ (मेघदूत, १. ४८, ४९)

These verses show that Kālidāsa knew the story of the Pāṇḍavas exactly as it is now known to us.

Thus there is no doubt about Kālidāsa's knowledge of the story in its main outlines, of Śrī Rāma and of the Pāṇḍavas as we have them in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the *Mahābhārata*. But the question that I desire to raise is this: when we read Kālidāsa's works, do we find ourselves in the atmosphere of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of the *Mahābhārata*? Are the works of Kālidāsa remeniscent of these two great epics? In the case of *Kirātārjunīya*, of *Śiśupālavadha* and of the *Naiṣadha*, there is no doubt on the point. We are in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* atmosphere when we read these works. Do the heroes of the Rāmāyaṇa and of the *Mahābhārata* play any prominent role in the works of Kālidāsa? Is it not possible that Kālidāsa lived at a time when these heroes had not been brought to the forefront of Indian thought so prominently as at a later time after the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata?* This is the doubt that I am raising.

I know that attempts have been made to show parallels between Kālidāsa and the Rāmāyaṇa. But in the case of two parallel lines, there is no way of deciding which line was the original and which was drawn later parallel to it from the parallalism itself. The matter has to be investigated on the basis of other points.

The complete neglect of the national heroes of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* in the works of Kālidāsa needs scrutiny. This is not due to the attempt at avoiding anachronism. This point I have tried to show.

ĀDIKAVI VĀLMĪKI AND HIS INFLUENCE ON KĀLIDĀSA

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Indian tradition has consistently regarded Vālmīki as the Ādikavi, the ūpajīvya of future poets in the language of Vyāsa[1] and his Kāvya as the one inexhaustible inventory of all later literature. His influence is admitted on all hands by different writers in different lines e. g. by Aśvaghosa,[2] Bhāsa,[3] *Śū*draka,[4] Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Bhavabhūti,[5] and Murāri.[6] A still later poet,[7] regards him as the originator of the race of poets as Brahman is of the world. It is, however, in the Mahākāvya (court epic) that his influence is best felt in everyway for it is he who has set the standard and furnished us with model for that form of literature. In its external or formal content, the division of the plot according to subject matter into self-contained sargas and in versification all later poets imitate Vālmiki, of course, with elaborate modification because of time and theme. These epics begin with one metre leading and a different one or some different ones indicating the close[8] of the sarga. It became customary with poets in the line following Vālmiki to devote a considerable portion of their contributions to certain formal accessories such as description of seasons, seas and rivers, hills and dales, panorama of sunset and moonrise and landscape imagery. The influence over Kālidāsa of Valmiki's thorough, realistic and touching description of the seasons[1] sometimes compressed into four[2] but more often into five[3] is overwhelmingly realised. The seasons are welcome as much in their charm and felicity[4] as in their vigour and severity[5] and in one of the oft-quoted verses in the *Meghadūta* in their floral equipage. Spring in Kālidāsa's literature[6] is exquisite and its influence on the moods and mentality of man is no less patent. Here also the impress of the geuius of the earlier poets is marked. It has got to be noted that Kālidāsa is more human and less formal than Vālmīki or the generality of later poets even in matter-of-fact introduction of the seasons in works other than in the *Rs*. The description of the summer[7] in Kālidāsa's work with its enjoyability and offerings of flowers and foliage has its counterpart in the Rām. though not to the same extent, as summer and spring in Vālmīki merge into each other. There appears Varṣā or the rains with all its productivity and sublimity in both the poets.[1] In both the poets it is a season poignantly affecting the virahin; the rolling clouds and the heavy torrents of rain cannot but impart a tint of sadness and melancholy. The Yakṣa is reminded of his beloved wife as Rāma of Sītā.[2] The period of this season is the same in both.[3] Then comes autumn with her sunny skies and exquisite presents of lotuses and kāśas.[4] It is as in the Nītiśāstra the best time for kings leading their victorious expeditions against opponents.[5] Hemanta and Śīta, which again overlap in both the poets are finely delineated[6] but certainly not so powerfully as the other seasons. There is however, one gem of a verse in the Rām. which has attracted high praise and has touched the mind of the later poet, as we shall note hereafter.

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[1] *Mahā.* i. 1 (Poona edition) सर्वेषां कविमुख्यानामुपजीव्यो भविष्यति । पर्जन्य इव भूतानामक्षयो भारतद्रुमः ॥...Rām i. 4, 27. परं कवीनामाधारं......॥

[2] e. g. *Buddhacarita* i. 1-8 Chap. V. 45-63,-Rām. ii. 6, 11-14; v. 3. 2-12; 4, 10-13; 9, 45-64.

[3] For the subject matter of his Rāma-dramas, as well as for individual verses Bhāsa owes not a little to V. e. g. Āvi. iv. 11, 12-Rām. iv. 61, 7, 8. Prati ii. 12-*Rām.* vi. 5, 6; *Svap.* V. 9-*Rām* v. 34, 21-24

[4] e. g. *Mrch.* i. 48 = Rām. ii. i, 13-15; *Rām* iv. 15. 19-20.

[5] *U. R. C.* vii. 21-ab; i. 1 ab, pp. 54, 55 *Kāvyamāla* edition.

[6] *Anār.* i. सकलकविसार्थसाधारणी खल्वियं वाल्मीकीया सुभाषितनीवी ।

[7] *Udayasundari* i. वंशः कवीनामुदियाय तस्मात् (वाल्मीकिः)

[8] अनुष्टुभ for the body often and उपजाति to a lesser extent in the *Rāmāyana.* The later poets have many variations, the Anustubh being more sparingly used. शास्त्रकाव्येऽतिदीर्घानां वृत्तानां म प्रयोजनम् । The dictum of Ālamkarikas.

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[1] The sections in the *Rām.* dealing with the respective seasons are:—Vasanta iv. 1, 4-34; Varṣā ii. 63, 14-19; iv. 28, 2-54; Śarat iv. 30, 22-59; Hemanta iii. 60, 4-26. All the six are treated by K. in the *R. S.*, *R. V.* xix. 37-45 and in *M. D.* ii. 2. Vasanta in *K. S.* iii. 25-39. *R. V.* ix. 24-47. *M. A.* iii. 45, 9, 12. *Sak.* vi. 2, 4 *Vik.* ii. 19. Grīsma in *Śak.* i. 3, 4. *R. V.* xvi. 43-53. *Varsā. M. D.* i. 2-4 then 8, 9, 11, 15, 16, 18, 20 etc. *Vik.* iv. 7, 8, 10, 30 etc. *R. V.* xiii. 26-29; *Śarat.* R. V. 14-24.

[2] Vasanta and Grīsma may be thought of as merging into one. So also Hemanta and śiśira e. g. *Rām.* iv. 1, 35 'दृश्यमानो वसन्तश्च स्वेदसंसर्गदूषकः and in the *Kāvyamīmānsā* हेमन्तधर्मः शिशिरः. Traditional way of regarding the seasons as five is as old as the Upanisadic period c. f.

[3] *Ch.* ii. ऋतुषु पञ्चविधं…वसन्तो…ग्रीष्मः…वर्षा…शरत्…हेमन्तः ।

[4] *R.* S. i. 1, *Sak.* i. 3. contr. *Rām.* iii. 16, 11, 120; *M. D.* i.* 9=*Rām* iv. 28.† 23. *R. S.* iii. 3*Rām* iv 30, 58 & v. 9, 51.

* Md. I. 9. मन्दं मन्दं नुदति पवनश्चानुकूलो यथा त्वां
वामश्चायं नदति मधुरं चातकस्ते सगन्धः ।
गर्भाधानक्षणपरिचयान्नूनमाबद्धमालाः
सेविष्यन्ते नयनसुभगं खे भवन्तं बलाकाः ॥

† Rām. मेघाभिकामा परिसंपतन्ती संमोदिता भाति बलाकपङ्क्तिः ।
वातावधूता वरपौण्डरीकी लम्बेव माला रुचिराम्बरस्य ॥

[5] *K. S.* v. 23=*Rām.* iv. 28, 7; *K. S.* v. 26=Rām. iii. 16, 13.

रविसंक्रान्तलक्ष्मीकस्तुषाराविलमण्डलः ।
निश्वासान्ध इवादर्श चन्द्रमा न प्रकाशते ॥

[6] *K. S.* iii. 75=Rām. iv. 1. 27-28; R. S. vi. 2=Rām. iv. 1. 10; R. V. ix. 28=Rām. iv. 1. 29; *M. A.* iii. 5, *K. S.* iii. 30=Rām. iv. 1. 58=60.

M. A iii. 5 रक्ताशोकरुचा विशेषितगुणो बिम्बाधरालक्तकः
प्रत्याख्यातविशेषकं कुरबकं श्यामावदातारुणम् ।
आक्रान्ता तिलकक्रिया च तिलकैर्लग्नद्विरेफाञ्जनैः
सावज्ञेव मुखप्रसाधनविधौ श्रीर्माधवी योषिताम् ॥

K. S. iii. 30 लग्नद्विरेफाञ्जनभक्तिचित्रं मुखे मधुश्रीस्तिलकं प्रकाश्य ।
रागेण बालारुणकोमलेन चूतप्रवालोष्ठमलंचकार ॥

[7] R. S. i. 13 a, b. vi. 7d=Rām. ii. 63. 15.

For his description of rivers and streams, Kālidāsa is similarly indebted to Vālmīki.[7] In both we have a mention of hills and mountains as high as the sky and of mounts with clouds touching their peaks and plants and trees decorating in verdour and fruits their slopes and streams flowing by them.[1] Even cities, other than capitals, are artistically touched on in both.[2] Poetic contention (kavisamaya) is the code for strict observance in relation to things and phenomena which form the unwritten law for poets. It is nothing strange when we see that they date back to the days of the Ādikavi. Peacocks dance when clouds rumble,[3] swans disperse for the Mānasa lake with the advent of the rains, lotuses bloom in all reservoirs of water—in the Svargangā we have them of the golden variety. Aśoka creepers bloom with the mild touch of the gentle feet of the fair sex; the ruddy-gandertribe experience pangs of separation during nightfall. Pathetic fallacy,[4] a convenient and artistic device which poets all the world over employ is a part of this convention and is very judiciously used. It is almost an obsession with both the poets indulging in characterisation of a royal family[5] (solar dynasty) and to a lesser degree of the Pauravas as in the *Abh. Śak.*

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[1] R. V. xiii. 29=Rām. iv. 28. 7; R. S. ii. 3=Rām. ii. 63. 16; R. S. ii. 1=Rām. iv. 28. 20.

विद्युत्पताकाः सबलाकमालाः शैलेन्द्रकूटाकृतिसन्निकाशाः ।
गर्जन्ति मेघाः समुदीर्णनादाः मत्ता गजेन्द्रा इव संयुगस्थाः ॥
सशीकराम्भोधरमत्तकुञ्जरस्तडित्पताकोऽशनिशब्दमर्दलः ।
समागतो राजवदुद्धतद्युतिर्घनागमः कामिजनप्रियः प्रिये ॥

[2] *Md.* ii. 20=Rām. v. 16. 30; R. V. xiii. 26=Rām. iii. 52. 37.

[3] शापान्तो मे भुजगशयानादुत्थिते शाङ्र्गपाणौ
शेषान्मासान्गमय चतुरो लोचने मीलयित्वा । (M. D. ii. 47 ab)
Rām. iv. 27, 48 नियम्य कोपं परिपाल्यतां शरत्क्षमस्व मासांश्चतुरो मया सह ।
वसाचलेऽस्मिन्मृगराजसेविते संवर्तयञ्शत्रुवधे समर्थः ॥

[4] R. S. iii. 22=Rām. iv. 36. 37.

तारागणप्रवरभूषणमुद्वहन्ती मेघावरोधपरिमुक्तशशाङ्कवक्त्रा ।
ज्योत्स्नादुकूलममलं रजनी दधाना वृद्धिं प्रयात्यनुदिनं प्रमदेव बाला ॥ (R. S. iii. 7)
रात्रिः शशाङ्कोदितसौम्यवक्त्रा तारागणोन्मीलितचारुनेत्रा ।
ज्योत्स्नांशुकप्रावरणा विभाति नारीव शुक्लांशुकसंवृताङ्गी ॥ (Ram iv. 30, 46);

[5] R. V. iv. 24=Rām. iv. 30. 37, 60.

[6] R. S. iv. 1. 18=Rām. iii. 16. 17. R. S. v. 2=Rām. iii. 16. 19.

[7] R. V. xiii. 48=Rām. ii. 92. 11 & iv. 61. 8; K. S. x. 28-34 & 44-51=Rām. ii. 50. 12-25.

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[1] R. V. xiii. 26, M. D. i. 12=Rām. iv. 28. 22; M. D. i. 18 & 20=Rām. iv. 28. 19; *M. D.* i. 19 & *Rām.* iv. 61. 7, 8.

[2] *M. D.* ii. 1=*Rām.* v. 2 16-18*

M. D. ii. 1— विद्युत्वन्तं ललितवनिताः सेन्द्रचापं सचित्राः
संगीताय प्रहतमुरजाः स्निग्धगंभीरघोषम् ।
अन्तस्तोयं मणिमयभुवस्तुंगमभ्रंलिहाग्राः
प्रासादास्त्वां तुलयितुमलं यत्र तैस्तैर्विशेषैः ॥

Ram V. 2.— काञ्चनेनावृतां रम्यां प्राकारेण महापुरीम् ।
गृहैश्च गिरिसङ्काशैः शारदाम्बुदसन्निभैः ॥१६॥
पाण्डुराभिः प्रतोलीभिः श्लिष्टाभिरभिसंवृताम् ।
अट्टालकशताकीर्णां पताकध्वजशोभिताम् ॥१७॥
तोरणैः काञ्चनैर्दिव्यैर्लतापङ्क्तिविराजितैः ।
ददर्श हनुमांल्लङ्कां देवो देवपुरीमिव ॥१८॥

[3] eg. *R. S.* ii. 6; *M. D.* i. 22 44 & *R. V.* xix. 37=*Rām.* iv. 28. 21, 26, 27; *R.* V. xiii. 55 & *M. D.* i. 23=*Rām.* iv. 28. 16 a *M. D.* i. 21.

नीपं दृष्ट्वा हरितकपिशं कैशरैरर्धरूढैराविर्भूतप्रथममुकुलाः कन्दलीश्चानुकच्छम् ।
जग्ध्वारण्येष्वधिकसुरभिं गन्धमाघ्राय चोर्व्याः सारङ्गास्ते जललवमुचः सूचयिष्यन्ति मार्गम् ॥

& *R. S.* iii. 8=*Rām.* ii. 50. 19; *K. S.* v. 26 & *R.* V. xiii. 31, *K. S.* i. 16, *R. V.* xiii. 51=*Rām.* ii. 50, 18, 20, 21; *K. S* iii 26; *M. A.* iii. 17, *R. V.* ix. 28=*Rām.* iv. 28. 16 b.

[4] eg. *R. V.* xi. 58-61=*Rām.* i. 74. 9-17 *K. S.* xv. 13-24.

नृत्यं मयूराः कुसुमानि वृक्षा दर्भानुपात्तान्विजहुर्हरिण्यः ।
तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासीद्रुदितं वनेऽपि ॥ (R. V. XIV. 69)
उग्गलिअदब्भकवला मिआ परिच्चत्तणच्चणा मोरा ।
ओसरिअपण्डुपत्ता मुअन्ति अस्सू विअ लदाओ ॥ (Sak. IV. 11)

R. V. iii. 14=*K.* S. i. 23=*Rām.* vi. 11, 27, 32.

[5] eg. *R. V.* i. 5-7=*Rām.* i. 70. 44; *R. V.* i. 13-15=*Rām.* i. 8-10 & *Rām.* ii. i. 9-34.

Every work of art has to take stock of the ethical aspect of life and this means our assessment not merely of poetry in its subtle ways, but also of the three vargas (groups), if not of the four[1] all of which properly fit in the śāstra-kāvya *Rām.* Dharma in its code of conduct and behaviour, and in its gentle and lowly devotedness as much in the form of rituals and daily practices[2] have been closely knitted. The science of polity (rājaniti) is cleverly adjusted[3] though Kālidāsa is prudent enough not to work out details thereof. The practical aspect of kāma-śāstra in its daily application as also in its ideal side[4] is noted though not at considerable length in the *Rām.* The signs of passion in man during separation and enjoyment are feelingly and pointedly described.[5] In all these matters, as in the all-embracing cycle of life, the later poet has the earlier one as his example and insists on the right line of deportment.[6] In his treatment of the epic matter on the pattern of the *Rām.* Kālidāsa is convinced of the preponderance of the feeling element[7] (rasa) in contradiction to the vastu or plot. Rasa–tātparya is definitely noted by Ānandavardhana as the primary characterisation of the *Rām.* in its origin and elaboration.[8] Though the Rām. appears to be scattered and diffuse, yet it is to be noted that the rasa texture is nowhere disturbed and confused.

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[1] शास्त्रकाव्यं चतुर्वर्गप्रायं सर्वोपदेशकृत् ।

[2] *R. V.* xiv 21, 23; v. 14, 15; xv. 47 & *Rām.* ii. 27-34. *R. V.* x. 5. 15, *K. S.* ii 4-15 = *Rām.* vii. 6. 1-21. *R. V.* xiii. 61 & xvi. 21 & *Rām.* ii. 71. 20, 38, 40.

[3] *R. V.* i. 17-28; iv. 8-13; xvii. 44-67.& *Rām.* iii. 41. 6. 11 *R. V.* viii. 9 = *Rām.* iii. 41. 11. *Rām.* iv. 54. 11-21; vi. 9. 8-22; vi. 35. 7-17;

[4] (*Sak.* iv. 17 & Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra in the section एकचारिणीवृत्तम्).

[5] *Sak.* i. ii. iii vi. vii. *M. A.*; *Vik.* i.-iv. Ks. S. iii. vii. viii. *R. V.* xiii. 16 & 20. = *Rām.* ii. 95, 10-19.

शक्यमोषधिपतेर्नवोदयाः कर्णपूररचनाकृते तव ।
अप्रगल्भयवसूचिकोमलाश्छेत्तुमग्रनखसंपुटैः कराः ॥ Ks. viii. 62.
असौ महेन्द्रद्विपदानगन्धिस्त्रिमार्गगावीचिविमर्दशीतः ।
आकाशवायुर्दिनयौवनोत्थानाचामति स्वेदलवान्मुखे ते ॥ Rv. ii. 20
अङ्गलीभिरिव केशसंचयं संनिगृह्य तिमिरं मरीचिभिः ।
कुड्मलीकृतसरोजलोचनं चुम्बतीव रजनीमुखं शशी ॥ K. s. viii. 63
सखीवच्च विगाहस्व सीते मन्दाकिनीं नदीम् ।
कमलान्यवमज्जन्ती पुष्कराणि च भामिनी ॥ Ram, ii, 95, 14.
उपस्पृशंस्तृषवणं मधुमूलफलाशनः ।
नायोध्यायै न राज्याय स्पृहेयं त्वया सह ॥ Ram. ii, 95, 17.

[6] रामादिवत् वर्तितव्यं न रावणादिवत्.

[7] Cf. *Kāvyādi.* i. 14-19 (specialy रसभावनिरन्तरम्).

[8] *Rām.* i. 2. 40 = R. V. xiv. 70 = *Dhy.* i. 5.

It is an open secret that while Kālidāsa follows Vālmīki in his plot arrangement he adapts his plot so as to suit the exigencies of rasa and bhāva. Kālidāsa openly acknowledges his debt to Vālmīki,[1] of whom he speaks in the highest terms. His assertion in the verse (R. V. I. 9) brings out the case for the urge for his poetry to be based on a proper and intensive study of the Rām. A pertinent question arises here. When he speaks of 'pūrvasūri' does he mean any poet or poets over and above Vālmiki ?[2] This does not seem to be impossible as we shall see later. This debt of Kālidāsa is conveniently analysable under three distinct heads, the first and the most formal of which is choice of words and expressions (शब्दहरणम्). We have a frequent use in Kālidāsa of words like, वंशकर्ता[3], प्रीतिदान,[4] भावितात्मन्,[5] श्यामा,[6] वस्वौकसारा,[7] रागवती सन्ध्या,[8] पौरोभाग्य,[9] युगान्त,[10] काकपक्षधर,[11] अङ्गराग,[12] धर्मकञ्चुक,[13] पुरुहूतध्वज,[14] लोककान्त,[15] रामगिर्याश्रम,[16] शैलेयगन्धिशिलातल,[17] स्वर्गाभिष्यन्दवमनम्,[18] which the poet utilises from the Rām. The titles which he chooses for two of his Mahākāvyas are words known to the Rām.[19] Expressions like these विपद्मामिव पद्मिनीम् (Rām V. 51. 21) क्रोशन्तीं कुररीं यथा (VI 32. 3), भुजाविन्द्रध्वजोपमौ (V. 10. 15), उपरक्त इवादित्यः सद्मो

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[1] *R. V.* i. 4ab, 9cd.

अथवा-कृतवाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन्पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
तद्गुणैः कर्णमागत्य चापलाय प्रचोदितः ॥

R. V. xv. 64
वृत्तं रामस्य वाल्मीकेः कृतिस्तौ किंनरस्वनौ ।
किं तद्येन मनो हर्तुमलं स्थातां न शृण्वताम् ॥

[2] Unlike Bhavabhūti in the *U. R.* C. (i. 1):—कविभ्यः पूर्वभ्यः where Vālmīki is distinctly meant.

[3] *R. V.* ii. 64 = *Rām.* ii. 110. 22.

[4] e. g. *R. V.* xv. 68 = *Rām.* ii. 118. 21; 119. 13. 14.

[5] e. g. *R.* V. i. 74 = *Rām.* i. 23. 6.

[6] e. g. *M. D.* ii. 19 = *Rām.* iv. 1. 110, 105, 111.

[7] e. g. *R.* V. xvi. 10 = *Rām.* ii. 94. 26; *K.* S. vi. 37 = *Rām.* i. 45. 10.

[8] e. g. *K.* S. i. 4. = *Rām.* iv. 28 45.

[9] e. g. Sa*k.* (p. 178) = *Rām.* iv. 24.

[10] e. g. *K.* S. xiii. 12; *R.* V. xiii. 6. & *Rām.* v. 47. 8, 9 & *K.* S. xv. 9.

[11] e, g. *R.* V. xi. 1. 31 = *Rām.* i. 19. 9 & 22. 6.

[12] e. g. *R.* V. xiii. 27 = *Rām.* ii. 118. 18, 20 & 21.

[13] e. g. Sa*k.* v. (p. 175) = *Rām.* iv. 17. 22.

[14] e. g. *R.* V. iv. 3 = *Rām.* iv. 16. 37, 39.

[15] e. g. *R.* V. xviii. 49 = *Rām.* ii. 1. 33.

[16] e. g. *M. D.* i. 1 = *Rām.* ii. 98. 16 & 18.

[17] e. g. *R.* V. vi. 51 & *K.* S. i. 55 = *Rām.*

[18] e. g. *R.* V. xv. 29 & *M. D.* i. 30; *K.* S. vi. 37 = *Rām.* i. 45. 10.

[19] *Rām.* i. 3. 9. (रघुवंश) *Rām.* i. 37, 31 (कुमारसम्भव)

निष्प्रभतां गतः (IV. 15. 3). वेणुभिर्मारुतोद्धूतैः कूजन्तमिव कीचकैः (V. 56. 31) are judiciously imported by Kālidāsa in his works. Vālmīki had a fancy for jingling epithets to proper names such as, वालिनं हेममालिनं (Rām. IV. 17. 11) तारां ताराधिपनिभाननाम् (Rām IV. 16. 1). रामो लोकाभिरामः, रावणो लोकरावणः; रावणः शक्ररावणः, लक्ष्मणो लक्ष्मिवर्धनः which are as good as constant epithets. Kālidāsa has developed this to a degree of nicety e. g. कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रम् (Rv. II. 35). It is noteworthy that all the kings that are described in Canto xviii and the one treated in canto xix of the R. V. have adjectives of this kind. e. g. नभस्तलश्यामतनुं तनूजम् । ख्यातं नभः शब्दमयेन नाम्ना (Rv. XVIII. 6.) अहीनगुर्नाम˙˙अहीनबाहुद्रविणः (Rv. XVIII. 14.). तस्या भवत्सूनुरुदारशीलः शिलः शिलापट्टविशालवक्षाः (Rv. XVIII. 17.) ध्रुवोपमेयो ध्रुवसंधिः˙˙ संधिर्ध्रुवः (XVIII. 34). अग्निवर्णम्˙˙अग्नितेजसम् (Rv. XIX. 1). Kālidāsa makes a profuse use of endearing epithets[1] more commonly as cases of address such as:– चण्डी, मानिनी, करभोरु, रम्भोरु, कलभाषिणी, भीरु, भामिनी, कल्याणी, in the manner of the Rām. Roots[2] like पा, उत्+शाम, चम्, वम्, भुज्, उत्+जॄ, उत् + मिष्, जृम्भ् and their derivatives have been abundantly used in their secondary senses[3] in a charming way as in the Rām. The words अन्ध as in the Rām. iii. 16. 13, वत्सलं in the R. V. viii. 49, प्रणयवान् in the *Śak.* vi. 16, जन्तु Śak. v. 2, बन्धु, Śak. iv. 9 are cognate instances of this type where maximum effect has been achieved by minimum expression. In his phrases and expressions, even in apparently incompatible forms Kālidāsa carries the practice of Vālmīki to a fruitful termination. The प्रतिपच्चन्द्रदर्शनम्[4] in the *Rām.* with its suggestive background has been utilised by Kālidāsa as well as by Bhāravi. The forms भीमकान्तैर्नृपगुणैः[5], कूलङ्कषा

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[1] K. S. viii. 51-52, 58, 71, 73, 76; *R. V.* xiii. 16. 18, 21, 24. *Vik.* iv. 25, 52 55, 66, 69; *M. A.* x, 18, 19, 20 = *Rām.* iii. 47. 27, 30; 62. 3-10.

[2] पा *R. V.* ii. 74, xiii. 30 *K. S.* vii. 64 = *Rām.* iv. 28. 8. चम् *R. V.* xiii. 20 = K. S. viii. 25 = भुज् Rv. viii. 7, xv. 1; चम्. K. S. vi. 37 = *R. V.* xv. 29 = *Rām.* v. i. 19.

[3] Cf. This is use of wordism the गौणवृत्तिव्यपाश्रय (*Kāvy* d. i. 95) उपचरितशब्दवृत्ति types (*Dhv.* A. i. 19) involving उपचारवक्रता (*Vakroktijivita* p. 100-102)

[4] समदुःखसुखः सखीजनः प्रतिपच्चन्द्रविभोऽयमात्मजः ।
अहमेकरसस्तथापि ते व्यवसायः प्रतिपत्ति निष्ठुरः ॥ *R. V.* viii. 65.
तमाहितौत्सुक्यमदर्शनेन प्रजाः प्रजार्थव्रतकर्शिताङ्गम् ।
नेत्रैः पपुस्तृप्तिमनाप्नुवद्भिर्नवोदयं नाथमिवौषधीनाम् ॥ *R. V.* ii. 73
एवं ब्रुवाणं भरतः कौसल्यासुतमब्रवीत् ।
तेजसाऽदित्यसङ्काशं प्रतिपच्चन्द्रदर्शनम् ॥ *Rām.* ii. 112-20

[5] e. g. R. V. i. 16 = Rām. ii. 1. 133.

सिन्धु[1] are all traceable to Kālidāsa's fondness for happy turns as in the *Rām.* His pithy sentences like अपि तपो वर्धते, नदीवेगस्तत्रकारणम्[2] are but a reminder of the immense obligation he owes to his master. Nay in his anomalies (वैदेहिबन्धु, दूति, भेरि)[3] and in his archaisms आस, कामयान, त्रियम्बक[4] Kālidāsa copies the *Rām.*

A mahākāvya should employ figures of language (सदलङ्कृति,) figures both of śabda and artha. Amongst the former Kālidāsa has utilised the अनुप्रास not uncommon in the *Rām.*[5] and the rhyme in the folding parts of a verse, (as also yamaka which are more artificial and popularly utilised). Of the latter a fashionable liking for upamā is as old as poetry. Kālidāsa as much as Vālmīki are famous for their upamās and in some of them Kālīdasa owes not a little in matter and manner to Vālmīki.[6] Other figures of similitude are conveniently

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[1] *Sāk.* v. 21 = Rām. ii. 20, 49; v. 25. 15.

[2] *Sāk.* (p. 37)! अपि क्रियार्थं सुलभं समित्कुशं जलान्यपि स्नानविधिक्षमाणि ते ।
अपि स्वशक्तया तपसि प्रवर्तसे शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्मसाधनम् ॥ *K. S.* v. 33.
कच्चित्ते निर्जिता विघ्नाः कच्चित्ते वर्धते तपः ।
कच्चित्ते नियतः क्रोप आहारश्च तपोधने ॥ *Rām.* iii. 74. 8.

[3] वैदेहिबन्धुः R. V. xiv. 33; दूति in R. V. xviii 53. xix 83, 23, 33; K. S. iv. 16; Vik. iv. 25; भेरि in K. S. xiv. 32, are based on the analogy of Rām.; लक्ष्मिवर्धन i. 18. 28 & लक्ष्मिसम्पन्न i. 18, 30; अग्रहस्तः K. S. v. 63 Sak. (p. 119); अग्रपाद Sak. (p. 191); अग्रविटप K. S. ix. 62; अग्रशाख K. S. iii. 6 = Rām. iv. 30, 29; गुरुलाघवम् Sak. (p. 179) = Rām. ii. 63, 7;
शक्यमरविन्द सुरभिः कणवाही मालिनीतरङ्गाणाम् ।
अङ्गैरनङ्गतप्तैरविरलमालिङ्गितुं पवनः ॥ *Śak.* iii. 4
शक्यमम्बरमारुह्य मेघसोपानपङ्क्तिभिः ।
कुटजार्जुनमालाभिरलङ्कर्तुं दिवाकरम् ॥ *Rām.* iv. 28. 4
मेघोदरविनिर्मुक्ताः कर्पूरदलशीतलाः ।
शक्यमञ्जलिभिः पातुं वाताः केतकिगन्धिनः ॥ *Rām.* iv. 28. 8
शक्यमङ्गुलिभिरुद्धृतैरधः शाखिनां पतितपुष्पपेशलैः ।
पत्रजर्जरशशिप्रभालवैरेभिरुत्कचयितुं तवालकान् ॥ *K. S.* viii. 72
(K. S. viii. 62, 72, Sak. iii. 4. p. 87) = Rām. iv. 28. 4 & 8.

[4] कमयान R. V. xix. 50 & Sak. Rām. vi. 5. 10. (p. 85) in the manner of चिन्तयान & शोभयान (Rām i. 22. 7) त्रियम्बक with Svarabhakti K. S. iii. 44 = Rām. vii. 46. 21. आस K. S. i. 35, R. V. xiv. 23.

[5] As in *Rām.* iv. 28, 21ab, 25, 27ab, 81. v. 47. 4a. b. d. iv. 30. 55 & 57ab, R. S. vi. 28 (f. n.) K. S. xiii. 51. xiii. 16ab.

[6] e. g. Some very fine specimens may be noted. R. V. vii. 68 = *Rām.* iii. 16. 13. R. V. xiv. 1 & K. S. iv. 31cd = *Rām.* ii. 20. 32. iv. 22. 31.
अवृष्टिसंरम्भमिवाम्बुवाहमपामिवाधारमनुत्तरंगम् ।
अन्तश्चराणां मरुतां निरोधान्निवातनिष्कम्पमिव प्रदीपम् ॥ (*K. S.* iii. 48)

(*Continued on next page*)

used such as rūpaka not very common in both, प्रतिवस्तूपमा,[1] दृष्टान्त,[2] निदर्शना[3] —apt illustrations of every one of which are not absent in the *Rām*. The last mentioned figure reaches a high degree of excellence in the *R. V.* and *Śak.*

The second item of indebtedness is with respect to the matter or plot. Regarding कथाशरीर Kālidās has followed the lead of Vālmīki strictly and closely

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(*Continued from the previons page*)

पर्याप्तपुष्पस्तबकावनम्रा संचारिणी पल्लविनी लतेव । (*K. S.* iii. 54cd)
नेत्रैः पपुस्तृप्तिमनाप्नुवद्भिर्नवोदयं नाथमिवौषधीनाम् । (*R. V.* ii. 73cd)
पाण्ड्योऽयमंसार्पितलम्बहारः क्लृप्ताङ्गरागो हरिचन्दनेन ।
आभाति बालातपरक्तसानुः सनिर्झरोद्गार इवाद्रिराजः ॥ (*R. V.* vi. 60)
रेवां द्रक्ष्यस्युपलविषमे विन्ध्यपादे विशीर्णां
भक्तिच्छेदैरिव विरचितां भूतिमङ्गे गजस्य ॥ (*M. D.* i. 19cd)
तां जनीथाः परिमितकथां जीवितं मे द्वितीयं
दूरीभूते मयि सहचरे चक्रवाकीमिवैकाम् ।
गाढोत्कण्ठां गुरुषु दिवसेष्वेषु गच्छत्सु बालां
जातां मन्ये शिशिरमथितां पद्मिनीं वान्यरूपाम् ॥ (*M. D.* ii. 20)
छायापथेनेव शरत्प्रसन्नमाकाशमाविष्कृचारुतारम् ॥ (*R. V.* xiii. 2cd)

Vik. i. 6d, iv. 52; Sak. i. 30; iii. 9.

[1] e. g. In Sak i. 17. 22:—

मानुषीषु कथं वा स्यादस्य रूपस्य सम्भवः ।
न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिरुदेति वसुधातलाद् ॥

& *Rām.* iii. 47. 45-47.

[2] e. g. *R. V.* ix. 80; *Śak.* vii. 22; iii. 14; *M. A.* i. 9.

किमित्यपास्याभरणानि यौवने धृतं त्वया वार्धकशोभि वल्कलम् ।
वद प्रदोषे स्फुटचन्द्रतारका विभावरी यद्यरुणाय कल्पते ॥ (*K. S.* v. 44)

Rām. iv. 28. 45.

[3] e. g. *R. V.* i. 2. *Śak.* i. 15. & 16.

शुद्धान्तदुर्लभमिदं वपुराश्रमवासिनो यदि जनस्य ।
दुरीकृताः खलु गुणैरुद्यानलता वनलताभिः ॥ *Śak.* i. 15
इदं किलाव्याजमनोहरं वपुस्तपःक्षमं साधयितुं य इच्छति ।
ध्रुवं स नीलोत्पलपत्रधारया समीलतां च्छेत्तुमृषिर्व्यवस्यति ॥ *Śak.* i. 16

Sak. vi. 16; *Rām.* iii. 47. 39. 44;

गतः सेतुः सुनीतानां गतो धर्मस्य विग्रहः ।
गतः तत्त्वस्य संक्षेपः सुहृस्तानां गतिर्गता ॥
आदित्यः पतितो भूमौ मग्नस्तमसि चन्द्रमाः ।
चित्रभानुः प्रशान्तार्चिर्व्यवसायो निरुद्यमः ॥
अस्मिन्निपतिते वीरे भूमौ शस्त्रभृतां वरे ॥

as in the *R. V.* x–xv, Mallinātha's rather misleading remark[1] notwithstanding the innovation referred to being a rather trivial one. The central motive in the *M. D.* and its plot even up to the cloud's proposed meeting with the Yakṣa-patnī, the description of her and the reference to the अभिज्ञान and आभरण[2] are all based on the *Rām.* Even the torture on the gods as described in *R. V.* x and *K. S.* ii. as also the Lord's assurance to them are exactly as we find them in the *Rām.*[3] In the *Śak.* the heroine volunteers to produce signs of identity on her part which are practically what we find in another form and context in the *Rām.* when Sītā asks for the same from Hanumant.[4] The inspiration for the framework of Vik. came directly from Vālmīki as appears from the corresponding *Rām.* passage.[5]

A poetical work cannot stand and should not stand only on the foothold of matter. Description should be its main prop and forte,[6] and this is preeminently true of Vālmīki as of Kālidāsa and other later poets and this refers as much to descriptions of personal charms, intellectual attainments as of cities,[7] palaces, āśramas,[8] and pleasure-gardens.

There are great many similarities between Vālmīki and Kālidāsa in their reference to the accomplishments of the Ikṣvāku kings,[9] and chief heroines, like Sītā, Umā, Yakṣa-patnī, Śakuntalā and in the description of the capital cities of Lankā, Ayodhyā and Alakā[10] from the standpoint of beauty, wealth, luxury and fortification, architectural designs; or from that of their pitiful plight under disagreeable circumstances. Again, one cannot but be struck at the almost point-by-point coincidence in the manner of introduction, presentation and manipulation of the episodes, situations and devices in the accessory matter (prāsangika vastu) e. g. in the descripion of a deserted city,[1] the ravings of a love-lorn hero,[2] the lamentations of a bereaved lover or lady-love,[3] (The idea of Nandinī which is based on that of Śabalā,[4]) the complaints of unjust treatment and repudiation[5] of an aggrieved party, the surprise visit of one in guise of an ascetic,[6] the artistic utilisation of untimely Spring[7] in the act of breach of penance and of the attendant demise of Kāma or the intensely realistic touch in the descriptions of landscapes as seen from a distance or from a height.[8]

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[1] सञ्जीवनी on *R. V.* x. 56. अयं च विभागो न रामायणसंवादी । तत्र चरोरर्धं कौशल्यायाः अवशिष्टार्धं कैकेय्यै 'शिष्टं पुनः सुमित्रायाः' इत्यभिधानात् । किं तु पुराणान्तरसंवादो द्रष्टव्यः । उक्तं च नारसिंहे ' ते पिण्डप्राशने काले सुमित्रायै महीपतेः । पिण्डाभ्यामल्पमल्पं तु स्वभगिन्यै प्रयच्छतः ॥ ' इति । एवमन्यत्रापि विरोधे पुराणान्तरात्समाधातव्यम् ।

[2] *M. D.* i. 1.=*Rām.* ii. 98. 16; *M.* D. ii. 19. 21, 23, 25, 26, 28.=*Rām.* V. 15. 18-37; *M. D.* ii. 48, 50=*Rām.* v. 38 & 40. 17; *M. D.* ii. 37=*R. V.* xii. 65=*Rām.* v. 36. 4.

[3] *Rām.* i. 15. 6-19 & *Rām.* vii. 6. 1-21.

[4] *Śak.* v. between 21-22. *Rām.* v. 38, 40.

[5] *Rām.* iii. 48. 18.

प्रत्याख्याय मां भीरु पश्चात्तापं गमिष्यसि ।
चरणेनाभिहत्येव पुरूरवसमुर्वशी ॥

[6] तथाहि दर्शने स्वच्छे नित्येऽप्यादिकवेर्मुनेः । नोदिता कवितालोके यावद् जाता न वर्णना ॥

[7] *Md.* ii. 1=*Rām.* v. 2. 16-18. 6.7; *Md.* ii. 13=*Rām.* v. 14, 22, 24, 33.

[8] *Rv.* i. 49=53=*Rām.* i. 51. 23-28; *Rv.* xiii. 38, 41, 45=*Rām* iii. 5. 25, 29, 38 & 11. 28.

[9] *Rv.* i. 5-8=*Rām.* i. 1-4 & 70. 44.

[10] *R. V.* xiv. 30 & *K. S.* vi. 37-46 & *Rām.* i. 45. 10; v. 2. 3. 5. 6 sargas vi. 3. 24 sargas

Next we turn to the third point of our investigation, the thought–content of the poetry. There is a palpable parallelism (संवाद) of sentiment and thought which baffles all evasion. Lines and verses of the Rām. influenced the thoughts of Kālidās in three distinct ways as indicated by Ānandavardhana in his D. A. (iv. 12). The first may be called the photographic way[9] (Bimba pratibimba) in which Kālidāsa has followed closely Vālmīki in every manner possible, the second in which the poet broadly follows the idea but touches and retouches it in his own way as in painting[10] (ālekhya-prakhya) and the third, the form and spirit manner (deha-dehi-tulya)[1] where on a mere suggestion an idea is brought into being, and exalted to the plane of a novel inspiration.

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[1] *Rv.* xvi. 10-22 & *K. S.* xiii. 33-42. *Rām.* ii. 71. 36-45.

[2] *Vik.* iv. 24-37, 49-73. *Sak.* vi. between 12 and 13, *Rām.* iii. 62. 3-19, 64 sarga particularly the verse 29cd, 30ab.

कच्चिन्क्षितिभृतां नाथ दृष्ट्वा सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी ॥ रामा रम्ये वनोद्देशे मया विरहिता त्वया ।

which is practically the same as *Vik.* iv. 51

[3] *K. S.* iv. 5-24 & *R. V.* viii. 44-69=*Rām.* iv. sargas 19—23. vi. sargas 32 & 33.

[4] *R. V.* i. 82 & *Rām.* i. 52. 53 sargas.

[5] *R. V.* xiv. 61. 62; *Sak.* v. between 22 and 23=*Rām.* iv. 17 sarga.

[6] *K. S.* v. 30 and *R. V.* xv. 92=*Rām.* iii. 46. 33. 35. *Rām* vii. 103. 1.

[7] *K. S.* iii. 34, 67—70 and *Rām.* i. 64. 5, 6.

[8] *Sak.* i. 9 and vii. 8=*Rām.* iv. 61. 7, 8. *M. D.* i. 18.

[9] *Rv.* 1. 46. 7 *Rām.* iii. 17. 4. *Rv.* xiii. 2 *Rām.* vi. 22. 70; 76. *Rv.* xiii. 48=*Rām.* v. 61. 8. ii. 92. 11. *K. S.* i. 49.

चित्रे निवेश्य परिकल्पितसत्त्वयोगा रूपोच्चयेन मनसा विधिना कृता नु ।
स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभाति सा मे धातुर्विभुत्वमनुचिन्त्य वपुश्च तस्याः ॥ Śak. ii. 9.

तपःसमाधानपराक्रमार्जितं मनःसमाधानविचारचारिणाम् ।
अनेकसंस्थानविशेषनिर्मितं ततस्ततस्तुल्यविशेषनिर्मितम् ॥ Rām v. 8. 4.

[10] *Rv.* v. 37=*Rām.* i. 4. 11. *Md.* i. 9.=*Rām.* iv. 28. 23. *Rv.* x. 58.=*Rv.* xiii. 4 a.=*Rām.* iv. 28. 3. *Rv.* xiv. 84.=*Rām.* iv. 16. 13.

There are also such single verses in the *Rām.* which have been developed in two of these three ways[2] and fewer again where from one all three[3] forms of elaboration have resulted in fine poetry. Thus in *M. D.* ii. 20

तां जानीथाः परिमितकथां जीवितं मे द्वितीयं
दूरीभूते मयि सहचरे चक्रवाकीमिवैकाम् ।
गाढोत्कण्ठां गुरुषु दिवसेष्वेषु गच्छत्सु बाला,
जातां मन्ये शिशिरमथितां पद्मिनीं वान्यरूपाम् ॥

we have an exact photographic reproduction of the *Rām.* v. 16. 30

हिमहतनलिनीव नष्टशोभा व्यसनपरम्परया निपीड्यमाना ।
सहचररहितेव चक्रवाकी जनकसुता कृपणां दशां प्रपन्ना ॥

The verse

मा निषाद प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगमः शाश्वतीः समाः ।
यत्क्रौंचमिथुनादेकमवधीः काममोहितम् ॥

which tradition regards as the very germ of the composition of the epic has been transformed into the word-painting of the later poet in the following verse of *R. V.* ix. 57:—

लक्ष्यीकृतस्य हरिणस्य हरिप्रभावः प्रेक्ष्य स्थितां सहचरीं व्यवधाय देहम् ।
आकर्णकृष्टमपि कामितया सधन्वी बाणं कृपामृदुमनाः प्रतिसंजहार ॥

The verse

रविसंक्रान्तलक्ष्मीकस्तुषाराविलमण्डलः ।
निःश्वासान्ध इवादर्शश्चन्द्रमा न प्रकाशते ॥ (Rām. iii. 16. 13)

which has been regarded as full of suggestion by Ānanda has been imitated in the photographic way in the *R. V.* xiv. 84

बभूव रामः सहसा सबाष्पस्तुषारवर्षीव सहस्यचन्द्रः ।
कौलीनभीतेन गृहान्निरस्ता न तेन वैदेहसुता मनस्तः ॥

and in *R. V.* vii. 68. in the second way.

तस्याः प्रतिद्वन्द्विभवाद्विषादात्सद्यो विमुक्तं मुखमावभासे ।
निःश्वासबाष्पापगमात्प्रपन्नः प्रसादमात्मीयमिवात्मदर्शः ॥

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[1] *Rv.* ix. 80.=*Rv.* xi. 90.=*Rām.* vii. 34. 22. *Rv.* xī. 20.=i. 26. 19. *Rv.* xvi. 9.=*K. S.* xiii. 36.=*Rām.* ii. 59. 16. and ii. 71. verses 23d and 24a. *Rv.* xiv. 63.=*Rām.* v. 30. 13—15.

[2] e. g. *K.* S. v. 26. *Rv.* xiv. 84.=*Rām.* iii. 16. 13. (Bimba) *Rv.* vii. 68. (Ālekhya) ***Md.*** ii. 44. (Bimba)=*Rām.* vi. 5. 66. S*ak.* iii. between 24 and 25, (Ālekhya).

[3] e g. *Rām.* v. 31. 21.=*Md.* ii. 42. (Bimba). *K. S.* v. 57. (Dehadehi) ***Sak.*** vi, 22. (Ālekhya).

The enjoyable supremely felicitous *Rām.* verse:

वाहि वातः यतः कान्ता तां स्पृष्ट्वा मामपि स्पृश ।
त्वयि मे गात्रसंस्पर्शश्चन्द्रे दृष्टिसमागमः ॥ (vi. 5. 6)

captured the imagination of Kālidāsa and set him in his endeavour to express it in as many parallel ways as possible. The expression in the verse in the *M. D.* ii.44

आलिङ्ग्यन्ते गुणवति मया ते तुषाराद्रिवाताः ।
पूर्वं स्पृष्टं यदि किल भवेदङ्गमेभिस्तवेति ॥

is just a photographic reproduction, the prose connective in *Śak.* p. 112 :—

इहैव प्रियापरिभुक्तमुक्ते लतावलये मुहूर्तं स्थास्यामि ।

is in the second vein of elaboration and the verse—

शक्यमरविन्दसुरभिः कणवाही मालिनीतरङ्गाणाम् ।
अङ्गैरनङ्गतप्तैरविरलमालिङ्गितुं पवनः ॥ (*Śak* III. 4.)

is the third, of the form and spirit, manner of artistic execution. The dull prosaic statement in the *Rām.* vii. 34. 22d क्रोधोऽपि देवस्य वरेण तुल्यः.........or in its East-Indian form शापोऽपि देवस्य which has been treated in the first manner by Kālidāsa in *R. V.* xi. 90 has supplied us with one of the finest verses of Kālidāsa in *R. V.* ix. 80.

शापोऽप्यदृष्टतनयाननपद्मशोभे सानुग्रहो भगवता मयि पातितोऽयम् ।
कृष्यां दहन्नपि खलु क्षितिमिन्धनेद्धो बीजप्ररोहजननीं ज्वलनः करोति ॥

One is immersed in an ecstatic delight as one reads the lines (Sak VI. 10):—

स्वप्नो नु माया नु मतिभ्रमो नु...

This has its counterpart in the homely form of the earlier poet Bhāsa Svapna V. 9. यदि तावदयं स्वप्नो धन्यमप्रतिबोधनम् । अथायं विभ्रमो वा स्यात् विभ्रमोऽप्यस्तु मे चिरम् ॥ or in its photographic 'negative' in Bhavabhūti U. R. C. III अपि खलु स्वप्न एषः ... But we should remember that the statement owes its origin to the Ādikavi which struggles for manifestation in different poets. Again, the wellknown M. D. Verse ii. 42 :—

त्वामालिख्य प्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैः शिलायाम्
आत्मानं ते चरणपतितं यावदिच्छामि कर्तुं ।
अस्त्रैस्तावन्मुहुरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालुप्यते मे
क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते संगमं नौ कृतान्तः ॥

or its simpler and easier manifestation in the *Śak.* vi. 22 is in everybody's mouth and we are apt to miss the fact that it shines in borrowed effulgeuce. The *Rām.* V. 34. 21 pithily puts it:—

स्वप्नेऽपि यद्यहं वीर राघवं सहलक्ष्मणम् ।
पश्येयं नावसीदेयं स्वप्नोऽपि मम मत्सरी ॥

The above reflections lead us to three important points :—(a) Kālidāsa's literary life falls into three well marked periods. The first period includes his juvenile lyric composition of the *R. S.* the *K. S.* replete with imaginative fervour and the *M. A.* where the jovial and enjoyable side of life find a delicious expression. Here, the *Rām.* is utilised often in the manner of a copyist in details of words, expressions and subject matter, but not with that tone of assimilation and condensation that we come across in the works which are assignable to the next period. (It is quite likely that the former half of the *K. S.* specially Cantos iii. and v. were retouched.) The bare outline of the Tārakāvadha story as we read in the *Rām.* i. 36 and 37 has been very faithfully followed in all its details. This is the period of preparation. The second period, the period of creative assimilation comprises the *Vik.*, the *Md.* and the *R. V.* in which we meet with evidences of the sober, chastening and guiding help of Vālmīki almost to a perfection specially in the *M. D.* (Uttaramegha) and *R. V.* x to xv where an overwhelming majority of verses draw their inspiration from the *Rām.* Here again, the latter half of the *R. V.* appears to be the artistic summarisation of the *Rām.* just as the *Kādambarī-kathāsāra* of Abhinanda or a part of the *Rāmcarita* of corresponding achievement as portrayed in Kālidāsa's epic. It is just possible that like the *K. S.* the *R. V.* was composed on different occasions separated from one another by quite a good length of time. In the third period we have the *Śak.* his *magnum opus* where he is not merely self-contained and self-sufficient (स्वे महिम्नि प्रतिष्ठितः) but like the poet's skylark true and faithful to the kindred points of his first master and model Vālmīki as well as of his own genius. It is the period of maturity and perfection.

The genealogy of the Ikṣvāku kings[1] differs from that followed in the *Rām.* and apart from that of Daśaratha and Rāma, Kālidāsa mentions the achievements of kings that are nowhere traceable and applied to them in the *Rām.* The credit of the originator of the family goes to King Raghu in the R. V., whereas in more than one context in the *Rām.* Sagara is given that honour.[2] An important reference in R. V. vi. 72. 73. is not traceable in the *Rām.* This is hardly explainable unless we suppose that Kālidāsa followed other Paurāṇic chronicles or excercised an imaginative elaboration of the plot.

The theory that it is just likely that many of these similarities and parallelisms might be explained in the other way [Kālidāsa has been imitated by lesser poets concealing their indentity under the big appellation of Vālmīki as has been partly countenanced by Winternitz (English translation Vol. I. p. 490 f.n. 3) on the assumption of Cowell] is absurd and preposterous. No one suggests that there is difference in artistic excellence in different parts of the *Rām.* The Ādi and the Uttara are certainly later than the original nucleus and the latter has often forfeited its title of kāvya and been more in the nature of an ākhyāna; but for purposes of our paper there in no harm in accepting the whole work as one unified piece' and Vālmīki as a unitary poet as Indian tradition has accepted him. Such a supposition as the one noted above is belied by internal evidence of style no less than by Kālidāsa's utilisation of the entire kathāśarīra of the *Rām.* from Rāmachandra's descent to the earth right up to his ascent to the heaven.

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[1] *Rām.* i. 42, i. 70, ii. 110. where the relevant genealogical list is Dilīpa--Bhagīratha-Kakutstha-Raghu from whom the twelfth king in genealogical succession is Aja. Agnivarna the last king in *Rv.* is the fourth in the *Rām.* list from Raghu.

[2] *Rām.* ii. 110. 22. It is worth noting that the antecedents of Raghu's birth in the *Rv.* are almost the similar to those of Sagara in the *Rām.* (ii. 110. 22. 17, 23).

The question whether Kālidāsa's originality is thereby detracted from can be judged by well-established canons of criticism; and Indian critics (e. g. Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara, Kṣemendra) have been vociferous in their praise about this prince of poets. Ānanda's kārikā[1] दृष्टपूर्वा अपि ह्यर्थाः काव्ये रसपरिग्रहात् । सर्वे नवा इवाभान्ति मधुमास इव द्रुमाः ॥ Dh. A. iv. 4, supplies us with an angle of vision from which such coincidences have got to be studied. Novelty and charm lie not in mere materials and forms. Beauty and originality derive their essence from suggestion and from their emotional surroundings. It is easy to establish that rasa-parigraha or rasa-tātparya is the dominating feature in Kālidāsa. He eminently deserves the appellation of " Chintāmani Kavi as " noted by Rājaśekhara. In the items of discussion that have been introduced in this paper[2] we hardly fail to note proofs of Kālidāsa's outlook of experience and farsight[3] from the works and expressions like सेवाविचक्षण, दत्तहस्त, प्रसाद..., अनुभाव; स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डल, नामाङ्किकृत, सन्ध्याकपिश, (चल) कपालकुण्डला; भाव, अनुशय; which he has coined and invented often in the manner of the *Rām.* Some of these form the crystallised experience of his courtlife;[4] others are expressions which we owe to close observation and elegant presentation[1] and others again carry philosophic import[2] much in favour with him. In plot, framework and devices Kālidāsa's originality is marvellous and cannot avoid detection. His charming presentation of the Spring in *K. S.* iii. in fitting consonance with the heroine, his unconventional, abrupt opening of the *Vik.*,[3] situations like the introduction of the Lion in the *R. V.* ii., the romantic setting and progressive machinery in the Indumati–svayavṃvara[4] and the manipulation of the bee–motif in the *Śak.*[5] stand out preeminent. Like all great poets Kālidāsa has his own creed of poetic thought. The realisation of true and stable love is attained only after having a progeny and not until then.[6] In *Vik.* even where the love is between a human being and a celestial courtezan, prince Āyus serves as the joining link of consummated love. In Kālidāsa's creed of beauty, personal charms are above borrowed decorations which are often superfluous,[7] even when such aids are utilised, they are from nature's inventory and not man-made. Beauty in his poems is प्रभाततरलं ज्योतिः. His ideal penance-grove[1] thrives in the midst of enjoyment that can lure the five senses; and tender feelings have every scope for their exercise, though strictness and self-control is their very breath. Beasts, birds and plants sympathise with men and are treated by them as their own kith and kin.[2] Even in the midst of rigorous and rough routine such as during ascetic service and hunting excursion, the tender and delicate side of human nature is not the least blunted. Boys in play are a favourite pastime with Kālidāsa[3] and diversions of heroes, whether as lovers or as rulers amidst their drudgery of daily duties, include the fine art of painting.[4] Majesty is ever associated with royaly whether in prosperity or in adversity.

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[1] *Dhvanyāloka.* iv. 4.

[2] चिन्तासमं यस्य रसैकसूतिरुदेति चित्राकृतिरर्थसार्थः ।
अदृष्टपूर्वो निपुणैः पुराणैः कविः स चिन्तामणिरद्वितीयः ॥

[3] cf. Kavikanthābharana of Kṣemendra
पादोपजीवी-पदकोपजीवी स्वोन्मेषतो वा भुवनोपजीव्यः ॥
वाल्मीकिव्यतिरिक्तस्य यद्येकस्यापि कस्यचित् ।
दृश्यते प्रतिभार्थेषु तत्तदानन्त्यमक्षतम् ॥ Dh. A. iv. 7.

[4] सेवाविचक्षण, दत्तहस्त (*Rv.* xiii. 69. *K. S.* xii. 3. xi. 27.), प्रसाद (*Śak.* vi. 29. *R. V.* ii. 68. *M. A.* v. last verse.), अनुभाव (*Rv.* i. 37. *Ś*ak. iii. beginning).

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[1] स्फुरत्प्रभामण्डल (*Rv.* xiv. 14. *K. S.* xii. 13). नामाङ्कित (*Rv.*i ii. 55. *K. S.* xvii 4. Sak. iv viṣkambhaka in PR's speech. अत्थि तेण सणामहेअङ्किअं···). सन्ध्याकपिश (*Rv.* xii. 28. xiii. 64. Sak. iii. 26).

[2] Sak. v. 2. ii. 1. *Rv.* vi. 36. अनुशय (Sak. vi. 7. vii. 25. *Rv.* xiv. 83).

[3] We have in *Rām.* ii. 110. 17a. reference to mountain scenery in a similar situation but no lion. cf. किल in *Rv.* ii. 27.

[4] *Rv.* vi. The svyaṃvara in the *Rām.* and Mahābhārata concerns a lady that is वीर्यशुल्का. Innovation lies in the introduction of the romantic element.

[5] Sak. i. 4, 20. v. 1, 19.

[6] *Rv.* iii. 24. and *Śak.* vii. 29.

दिष्टया शकुन्तला साध्वी सदपत्यमिदं भवान् ।
शुद्धा वित्तं विधिश्चेति त्रितयं वःसमागतम् ॥

हस्ते लीलाकमलमलके बालकुन्दानुविद्धं
नीतालोध्रप्रसवरजसा पाण्डुतामानने श्रीः ।
चूडापाशे नवकुरवकं चारु कर्णे शिरीषं
सीमन्ते च त्वदुपगमजं यत्र नीपं वधूनाम् ॥ Md. ii. 2.

[7] *Śak.* i. 17. *Rv.* xiv. 9. *Md.* ii. 2.

सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ॥ Śak. i. 17.

तपस्विवेषक्रिययापि तावद्यः प्रेक्षणीयः सुतरां बभूव ।
राजेन्द्रनेपथ्यविधानशोभा तस्योदितासीत् पुनरुक्तदोषा ॥ Rv. xiv, 9

With reference to the third item of our discussion here viz. parallelism in sentiment and thought, the traits of K's mastermind may be brought home to our attention by a characteristic instance of his borrowing from Vālmīki. In the *Rām.*[5] we get the simple and sincere curiosity expressed in the form परं कौतूहलं हिमे when Rāmachandra was guided by Viśvāmitra to the hermitage of Vāmana. In the *R. V.* (xi. 22) where this narrative is introduced on self-same lines we get the the characteristic Kālidāsa-like touch. उन्मनाः प्रथमजन्मचेष्टितान्यस्मरन्नपि बभूव राघवः ।

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[1] *Ks.* i. 54. स कृत्तिवासास्तपसे यतात्मा गङ्गाप्रवाहोक्षितदेवदारु ।
प्रस्थं हिमाद्रेर्मृगनाभिगन्धि किञ्चित्क्वणत्किन्नरमध्युवास ॥
प्राणानामनिलेन वृत्तिरुचिता सत्कल्पवृक्षे वने
तोये काञ्चनपद्मरेणुकपिशे धर्माभिषेकक्रिया ।
ध्यानं रत्नशिलातलेषु विबुधस्त्रीसन्निधौ संयमो
यत् काङ्क्षन्ति तपोभिरन्यमुनयस्तस्मिंस्तपस्यन्त्यमी ॥
and Rv. i. 50, 51.

[2] Sak. i. p. 31. iv. 11 & 13. Rv. xiv. 69:—
नृत्यं मयूराः कुसुमानि वृक्षा दर्भानुपात्तान्विजहुर्हरिण्यः ।
तस्याः प्रपन्ने समदुःखभावमत्यन्तमासीद्रुदितं वनेऽपि ॥
K. S. v. 14. Rv. ii. 26. ix. 58. K. S. v. 15. 26. Sak. ii [illegible]

[3] K. S. xi. 40—49. Rv. iii. 25, 28. Sak. vii. pp. 241, 242.

[4] Md. ii. 42. Sak. vi. 17:—
कार्या सैकतलीनहंसमिथुना स्त्रोतोवहा मालिनी
पादास्तामभितो निषण्णहरिणा गौरीगुरोः पावनाः ।
शाखालम्बितवल्कलस्य च तरोर्निर्मातुमिच्छाम्यधः
शृङ्गे कृष्णमृगस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमानां मृगीम् ॥
Rv. xiv. 25.

[5] *Rām.* i. 28. 17d.

In another passge (*R. V.* vii. 15) we read मनो हि जन्मान्तरसंगतिज्ञम्. In that wellknown verse of the *Śak.* (v. 2):—

रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान्पर्युत्सुकी भवति यत्सुखितोऽपि जन्तुः ।
तच्चेतसा स्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदाणि ॥

we have that cryptic basic idea fashioned into a magnificent superstructure of semi-poetic, semi-philosophic stuff, which takes the reader back by pleasurable surprise and launches him in a trance of highest flight. This was Kālidāsa at his best and the anonymous connoisseur was true to his salt when in a moment of contemplative sublimity he opined:—

पुरा कवीनां गणनाप्रसङ्गे कनिष्ठिकाधिष्ठितकालिदासा ।
अद्यापि तत्‌तुल्यकवेरभावादनामिका सार्थवती बभूव ॥

INTERPRETATIONS IN ŚĀKUNTALA

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The paper attempts to explain four passages in Śākuntala whose interpretations given by commentators still beset the inquiring mind with doubts.

The passages are the poetry portions आत्मोद्धतैरपि रजोभिरलङ्घनीयाः and धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः occurriug in the verses beginning with मुक्तेषु रश्मिषु and गच्छति पुरः शरीरम् respectively and the prose portions चेष्टाप्रतिरूपिका कामिजनमनोवृत्तिः and दिष्ट्या धूमाकुलितदृष्टेरपि यजमानस्य पावक एवाहुतिः पतिता.

1. In आत्मोद्धतैरपि रजोभिरलङ्घनीयाः the significance of the word अपि is explained by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa as नेम्युत्थितैस्तु सुतराम् (अलङ्घनीयाः) इत्यपिशब्दार्थः. Sārārthadīpikā, a commentary on Śākuntala by Sri Rama Varma and K. Rama Pisharoti has the elucidation रजोभिरपीति रजःपरमाणूनां अतिलाघवेनोत्पतनस्वभावात् तल्लाघवोत्कर्षमपिशब्दो द्योतयति. Sarada Ranjan Ray follows Rāghava Bhaṭṭa when he says आत्मना उद्धतैः अपि न तु केवलचक्रोद्धतैः रजोभिः धूलिभिः. With regard to the meaning of the expression अलंघनीयाः also, opinions vary. Abhirāma has the comment अप्राप्याः while Srinivasa explains it as अस्पृश्याः. Kale gives the meaning 'not to be assailed by', i. e. not allowing the dust to settle on as to touch their backs, and observes that there is no propriety in translating Alanghanīyāh by 'Not to be outstripped by' as has been done by some previous translators like Monier Williams. Ray, on the assumption that the wind was favourable i. e. blowing from behind, interprets it as 'even thus the dust did not touch them. Hence they were faster than the wind.'

In order to understand the exact significance of अपि the whole conception of the scene by the poet has to be grasped. There is no doubt that what Kālidāsa intends to picture before our mind's eye is the speed with which the horses were running. The poet, like one who views from a distance, parceives on the background of his imagination the deer which runs in fear, the horses attached to the chariot trying to get at it and the piles of dust raised by the hoofs of the horses -all of them moving fastly as if they are vying with one another in a race. The horses are conceived of as rivalling the speed of the deer and at the same time of being careful not to allow the dust to overtake them. The dust, by reason of its being raised just in front of the hoofs of the horses, had virtually an advantageous position as a competitor who is given a start in a race. Nevertheless it was unable to outstrip the horses.

आत्मोद्धतैरपि रजोभिरलङ्घनीयाः will therefore be better interpreted as:—

आत्मोद्धतैरपि आत्मभिः स्वैः (रथ्यैः) उद्धतैः उत्क्षिप्तैरपि (खुराणां पतनेन अश्वानां अग्रभूमौ स्थितिम् प्रापितैः अतएव अश्वान् अतिवर्तितुं लब्धावसरैरपि) अलङ्घनीयः लङ्घयितुं अतिक्रम्य पुरो गन्तुमशक्याः इति धावतां रथ्यानां विशेषणम् ।

It is possible that Kalidasa had ample opportunities of witnessing races at the palaces of the sovereigns under whose patronage he flourished.

The verse

तूर्णं प्रणेत्रा कृतनादमुच्चकैः प्रणोदितं वेसरयुग्यमध्वनि ।
आत्मीयनेमिक्षतसांद्रमेदिनीरजश्चयाक्रान्तिभयादिवाद्रवत् ॥

from Śiśupālavadha cited by Kale to support his contention that Alaṅghanīyāḥ means 'Not to be assailed by' does not help us much, since the conception there, is that the chariot moves with great velocity as if afraid of being attacked by the heaps af dust. The Ākrānti, in the light of the Utprekṣā, does not consist in the mere touching of the chariot by the dust, the idea being that of a single person trying to escape from a mob rising against him. It appears that Kale has been led away by the Tātparyārtha to the effect Ātmīyanemisamudbhūtadhūlijālenāspṛṣṭaṃ sat drutamagamadityarthah given by Mallinatha in his commentary.

2. Dhāvati Paścādasaṃstutaṃ Cetah. Raghava Bhatta, Abhirāma and Srinivasa accept the reading Asaṃstutaṃ while Kale and Ray seem to be inclined to favour the Bangali reading Asaṃsthitaṃ. Raghava Bhatta interprets Asaṃstutaṃ as Asaṃstutaṃ Śarīreṇāparicitamiveti Gamyotpreksā., the idea being that Duṣyanta's mind, which ought always to keep company with his body, goes after Śakuntalā as though a stranger to it. Abhirama also gives the meaning Aparicitam to Asaṃstutam. In his opinion, the Aparicitatva of the mind pertains to Priyatamāviyoga and not to Duṣyanta's Śarīra. See Asaṃstutam Aparicitam, Arthāt Priyatamāviyogena. It would appear that Abhirama is for construing the epithet Asaṃstutam as indicating the reason for the mind's going after Śakuntalā. The mind, being subject to experience of separation from Śakuntalā for the first time, is eager to get back to her to relieve its sufferings. Srinivasa explains Asaṃstutam and the way is which Asaṃstutatva becomes the Hetu of the Dhāvana in a different menner. See उत्तमनायिकाया ललितविलोकनादीनां स्वाभाविकत्वेनापि संभवात्तेषां स्वविषयत्वेन चिरसहवासाभावात्सम्यङ् न परिचितमित्यसंस्तुतमित्युक्तं...। किं च असंस्तुतं चेतो धावतीत्यनेन शकुंतलाकृतानां चेष्टाविशेषाणां स्वविषयत्वेन चिरपरिचयं कृत्वा सम्यङ्ज्ञातुं धावतीवेत्युत्प्रेक्षा ध्वन्यते । Kale and Ray, as has already been referred to, favour the reading Asaṃsthitam and translate it as 'unsteady', Ray would go one step further and apply the Asaṃsthitatva not only to the mind but to the Cīnāṃśuka as well. See असंस्थितं अस्थिरं चंचलं (चीनांशुकपक्षे लाघवेन हेतुना वायुना अभिभूतत्वात् चेतःपक्षे शकुन्तलाव्यापारेण अभिभूतत्वात्)

It may be remarked here that between the two readings Asaṃstutaṃ and Asaṃsthitaṃ the former is more poetic in as much as it is capable of some Viśeṣārtha. Asaṃsthitatva being a natural characteristic of the mind as well as the Cīnāṃśuka does not deserve any special mention. Asaṃstutaṃ cetah means 'the mind which is not worthy of being praised'; the root 'ṣṭun stutau' being used here only in its primary significance. The suffix–Kta has to be taken as conveying the idea that the action relates to the Vartamānakāla besides that of the Karmārtha. Hence Asaṃstutaṃ would mean Asaṃstūyamānam. For the Vartamānārtha of the Kta see Pāṇini Matibuddhipūjārthebhyaśca (2–188). It need not be said that 'ṣṭun stutau' easily allows itself of being included in roots meaning Pūjā. Such a censure of his own mind by Duṣyanta is occasioned by its sudden relinqishing him in utter disregard of its long attachment to him, at a time when it ought to have stood by his side to help him in his Āśramabādhānivāraṇaprayatna implied, in Gacchati Puraḥ śarīram, by its fleeing to a person whom it had known only for a short while. Instances of the characters of Kālidāsa applauding or chastising their minds according to circumstances could be found like—

भव हृदय साभिलाषं संप्रति संदेहनिर्णयो जातः (दुष्यन्तवाक्य)
हृदय, किमेवं वेपसे ? आर्यपुत्रस्य भावस्थमवधार्य अधीरं तावद्भव (शकुन्तलावाक्य)
हृदय सांप्रतमुचिता ते आशंका (शकुन्तलावाक्य)
हृदय, मा उत्ताम्य एषा त्वया चिंतितं मंत्रयते अनसूया (शकुन्तलावाक्य)

An analogous passage wherein the baseness of the mind is described could be found in the heroine's words अहो चित्त नृशंस, जन्मप्रभृति सहपरिवर्धितं म परित्यज्य क्षणमात्रदर्शनपरिचितं जनमनुगच्छन् न लज्जसे of Ratnāvali. It may be mentioned that by the censure of the mind what is suggested is Duṣyanta's excessive attraction towards Śakuntalā.

In the light of the explanation offered, the applicability of the primary sense of the root in Asaṃstutaṃ will be evident. It seems that the synonym Paricayah given to Saṃstavah by Amarasiṃha as Saṃstavah syāt paricayah has been responsible in assigning the meaning Aparicitam for Asaṃstutaṃ by the commentators mentioned above.

3. अहो चेष्टा प्रतिरूपिका कामिजनमनोवृत्तिः। Most of the commentators have proceeded on the acceptance of the reading ceṣṭāpratirūpikā kāmijanamanovṛttih whlie the reading ceṣṭānurūpiṇī kāmijanamanovṛttih has also been pointed out by some. In the latter, the expression ceṣṭānurūpiṇī seems only to be a substitution for ceṣṭāpratirūpika. Unlike others, Monier Williams is for taking the word with Akārapraśleṣa as Ceṣṭāpratirūpikā and for translating the same as 'the state of mind of a lover has not a counterpart in his gestures'. This meaning however does not fit in with the idea expressed in the verse

अनुयास्यन् मुनितनयां सहसा विनयेन वारितप्रसरः ।
स्थानादनुच्चलन्नपि गत्वेव पुनः प्रतिनिवृत्तः ॥

which follows it. What Duṣyanta does here is to draw attention to the psychology of a lover on the basis of his own experience at the time as enunciated in the verse cited. There is no doubt it is the Vinaya of Duṣyanta that prevented him from his succumbing himself to the natural inclinations of his mind i. e. his stepping forward to seize Śakuntalā of whom he was so much enamoured. Had Duṣyanta been a Kāmin alone, he would have acted according to his will disregarding her position as Munitanayā.

Rāghava Bhatta has the comment अहो इत्याश्चर्ये । चेष्टाप्रतिरूपिका चेष्टासदृशी यादृशी शरीरचेष्टायां तादृशी तां विनापीति । अत एवाश्चर्यम् । The likeness of Manovṛtti to Ceṣṭa which is intended to be pointed out in Yādṛśī...vināpi has not been clearly brought out by him, since the equation of Yādṛśī and Tādṛśī would apply to Manovṛtti according to the context. The likeness, in the light of Rāghava Bhatta's elucidation, will be between the Manovṛtti when there is corresponding Śarīraceṣṭā and the Manovṛtti when there is no corresponding Śarīraceṣṭā. It should be noted that the text institutes a comparison between the Manovṛtti on the one side and Ceṣṭā on the other. Srinivasa's explanation of the line is अहो इत्याश्चर्ये । चेष्टाप्रतिरूपिका चेष्टायाः आङ्गिकक्रियायाः प्रतिरूपिका समानरूपा । This would mean that the Manovṛtti will correspond to the Ceṣṭā and so will go against the ordinary experience of the Ceṣṭā following Manovṛtti. The Āścarya in the opinion of Srinivasa consists in the Vailakṣaṇya of the Manovṛtti of the lovers and that of righteous people. See सतां तु यत्र चित्तम् शुद्धभावेन स्वारसिकतया प्रवर्तते तत्र इवाङ्गिकप्रवृत्तिरपि । कामिनां तु तद्विलक्षणमिति भावः । and इतरवैलक्षण्येनाश्चर्ये निमित्तमाह स्थानात् स्वस्थितिस्थलात् अनुच्चलन्नपि पूर्वोक्तहेतुना न गच्छन्नपि गत्वा प्रतिनिवृत्त इव । तस्मात् कामिमनोवृत्तिश्चेष्टाप्रतिरूपिकेति संबंधः । कामिनां चित्तं तु दुर्लभस्थलेपि प्रवर्तत इति भावः । It will be seen that Srinivasa has been led away in this interpretation by the verse—

सप्रत्यवायदुर्लभनिषेधविषयश्च यो विषयः ॥
कामः स्वभाववामः प्रसरति तत्रैव दुर्वारः ॥

of Sāhityamīmāṃsā which was uppermost in his mind. Kale's explanation to the effect 'Although he did not perform the physical action, still the wish was so intense that the mental effort appeared to him like the physical effort' comes nearer the truth. The authors of the commentary Sārārthadīpikā have improved upon Rāghava Bhatta's explanation and have brought out the Sādhāraṇadharma rightly when they observe चेष्टा शरीरव्यापारः । तस्याः प्रतिरूपिका सदृशी चेष्टायां सत्यां यादृशी प्रतीतिर्मनोव्यापारेपि तादृशी तत्तुल्येत्यर्थः । सति मनोव्यापारे असतोऽपि शरीरव्यापारस्य सत्त्वेन स्फुरणादाश्चर्यम् ।

Taking all these into consideration, an explanation something like what follows may perhaps be necessary to enable us to have a better understanding and appreciation of the passage. अहो इत्याश्चर्ये । कामिजनमनोवृत्तिः कामिजनस्य कामिलोकस्य मनोवृत्तिः मनसः अन्तरिन्द्रियस्य वृत्तिः व्यापृतिः चेष्टाप्रतिरूपिका चेष्टा कर्मेन्द्रियाणां व्यापृतिः सा प्रतिरूपं प्रतिकृतिः यस्यास्तादृशी भवति । अत्र नायकः अन्तःकरणव्यापृतेः आङ्गिकव्यापृतिसारूप्यं स्वानुभवदृष्टान्तेन निगमयति । इच्छानुकूलायां आङ्गिकचेष्टायां प्रवृत्तायां या प्रतीतिः आत्मनः सैव प्रतीतिः इच्छानुकूलचेष्टायां अप्रवृत्तायामपि कामिजनेन साक्षात्क्रियते इति भावः । प्रकृते प्रस्थितां शकुन्तलां ग्रहीतुं नायकस्य मनसि समुदिता या इच्छा सैव मनोवृत्तिः । तदनुकूला चेष्टा तावत् स्वस्थानादुत्थाय तामनुगम्य स्वहस्तेन तस्या ग्रहणम् । मुनितनयायाः शकुन्तलायाः जिघृक्षया संभविष्यन् सर्वोप्युद्यमः राज्ञो विनयेन प्रतिरुद्धः । ततश्च स्थानादुच्चलनमपि न संप्रवृत्तम् । तथापि राज्ञः प्रतीतिः 'अहमसमीक्ष्यकारी इतः किंचिद्दूरं गत्वा पुनः जातविवेकः सन् प्रतिनिवृत्तोऽस्मि' इति । स्थानादनुच्चलतोऽपि तस्य कामिनः गत्वा प्रतिनिवृत्त इति या प्रतीतिः सैव 'चेष्टाप्रतिरूपिका कामिजनमनोवृत्तिः' इत्येवंरूपस्य निगमनस्य संसाधयित्री । असतोऽपि शरीरव्यापारस्य सत्त्वेन प्रतिभानादेव नायकस्य विस्मयः ।

4. दिष्टया धूमाकुलितदृष्टेरपि यजमानस्य पावक एवाहुतिः पतिता. The line occurs as the words of congratulations uttered by Kāśyapa to Śakuntalā after his return to the hermitage from the Somatīrtha. Kāśyapa's words are quoted by Priyaṃvadā in the course of her conversation with Anasūyā.

Almost all the commentators have taken this portion as Aprastutapraśaṃsā implying the Prastuta in the form of Śakuntalā's luckily getting herself attached to a suitable husband in spite of her father's obscured vision consequent upon his absence from the hermitage. See Rāghava Bhaṭṭa:—पावक एवाहुतिः पतिता । अनेन दृष्टान्तेन स्वस्य कृतकृत्यता ध्वनिता । ममायासं विनैव वाञ्छितस्थले संबन्धो जातः इत्यर्थः; अभिरामः—अभिनंदनप्रकारमाह । अदत्ताऽपि मया संकल्पितमेव वरं गतवतीत्यत्र प्रस्तुतसदृशान्तरेणाह—दिष्टयेति; सारार्थदीपिका—अभिनन्दनप्रकारमाह दिष्टयेत्यादि । दिष्टयेति हर्षे । अथ तातेन मया खल्वविदितमेव त्वं मया सङ्कल्पितमेव पतिं प्राप्तेत्यर्थं स्वानुभवगोचरेण दृष्टान्तेनाह धूमेत्यादि । धूमावरुद्धेत्यादिन आत्मनोऽसंनिधानेनाज्ञानम् । यजमानपदेनात्मा । आहुतिपदेन शकुन्तला । पावकपदेन राजा च सादृश्याद् गम्यते इति अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा ।

Kale does not offer any elucidation on this portion while Ray will be found to agree with the previous commentators when he observes the implied meaning to be 'I did not see (Ākulitadṛṣṭi) that in Duṣyanta there was a suitable husband for you. Yet chance wedded you to him.' The authors of Sārārthadīpikā have further drawn attention to a sense in which the prastutavṛttānta is argued to be one relating to Duṣyanta in the main. See:-केचित्तु धूमावरुद्धदृष्टेरपि यजमानस्येत्यनेन कामपरवशो राजा, आहुतिरित्यनेन बीजं, पावकपदेन शकुन्तला च गम्यते इति कामान्धेनापि राज्ञा कृतं बीजाधानं उचितक्षेत्र एवेत्यर्थः इत्याहुः ।

It may by mentioned here at the outset that the portion under reference has to be construed as Abhinandana of some action and not Kṛtakṛtyatā on the part of Kāśyapa as conjectured by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa. This is evidenced from the introduction तावदेनां लज्जावनतमुखीं परिष्वज्य तातकाश्यपेनैवमभिनन्दितम् made by Priyaṃvadā who reproduced the Abhinandanaprakāra. The question next arising is the person in relation to whose action the congratulation is uttered. It cannot be said to refer to Kāśyapa congratulating himself since no action (corresponding to Āhutipatanānukūlavyāpāra) deserving any compliment on his part has been described; and we definitely know that Kāśyapa was away at the time when the Gāndharvavivāha took place. The falling of the Āhuti in the Pāvaka can be predicated only with reference to the Yajamāna who is in front of the fire with the offering in his hand. Nor does it stand to reason that the commendation has any direct reference to Duṣyanta as suggested by some since the words uttered by Kāśyapa after having embraced Śakuntalā are more likely to relate to one of them than to a third party. As it has already been made clear that the reference cannot be connected with Kāśyapa, it follows without saying that Śakuntalā is the person congratulated. We know from the previous Acts that Śakuntalā's mind becomes susceptible to an emotion inconsistent with her life in the hermitage ever since she espied the kingi Overcome by her excessive attraction to Duṣyanta, Śakuntalā had almost lost her powers of discrimination to question herself whether the person in whom she was reposing her confidence was really deserving of her. Thus her mind being fixed unawares on Duṣyanta, she agreed to become his wife through Gāndharvavidhi. Hence the word Yajamāna will be seen to refer to Śakuntalā, the Dhūmākulitadṛṣṭitva to her stultified vision resulting from the intensity of her emotions, Āhuti to the offering of her love and Pāvaka to Duṣyanta on whom she reposes her affection. In spite of the probability of her love going amiss, the fact that it fell on the proper person seemed to be quite deserving of congratulation to Kāśyapa who had wanted to give her in marriage to one befitting her. That the person intended to be congratulated is Śakuntalā that the person who congratulates is her father and that the incident on which the congratulation is made is her Duṣyantapariṇītatva in accordance with the Gāndharvavivāha are further corroborated by Duṣyanta's words to Śakuntalā o the effect भीरु अलं गुरुजनभयेन। दृष्ट्वा ते विदितधर्मा तत्रभवान्नात्र दोषं : ग्रहीष्यति कुलपतिः। पश्य—

गान्धर्वेण विवाहेन बह्व्यो राजर्षिकन्यकाः।
श्रूयन्ते परिणीतास्ताः पितृभिश्चाभिनन्दिताः॥

occurring in the third Act. The full significance of the expressions Tātakāśyapenaivam Abhinanditam will thus be clear when read along with Pitṛbhiścābhinanditāh of the verse cited above. Further, it is clear that the Abhinandana referred to here is about no one other than Śakuntalā who has rightly fallen in ove with Duṣyanta from the words of Priyaṃvadā अनसूये, दूरगतमन्मथाक्षमेयं कालहरणस्य। यस्मिन् बद्धभावैषा सा ललामभूतः पौरवाणाम्। तद्युक्तमस्या अभिलाषोऽभिनन्दितुम, and

सखि, दिष्टया अनुरूपस्ते अभिनिवेशः । अथवा सागरमुज्झित्वा कुत्र वा महानद्यवतरति — to Anasūyā and Śakuntalā respectively.

There is no need to consider whether Yajamāna which is in the masculine gender could denote Śakuntalā in as much as there is no rule in instances of Aprastutapraśaṃsā that the Aprastuta should invariably agree with the Prastuta in gender.

What has been discussed above are only a few of the passages of Śākuntala worthy of being enquired into with a critical and appreciative bent of mind. The differences of opinions in the interpretations go only to bring home to us that the poetry of Kālidāsa is such that it yields us new food for our thought and imagination when we approach it with due devotion and an unbiassed outlook.

GLEANINGS FROM MALLINĀTHA'S COMMENTARY

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1. The term मल्लिनाथी current in the sense to "comment upon" expresses the popularity and importance of the great commentary by Mallināth.

2. Mallināth has commented upon five Mahākāvyas, Meghaduta, Nalodaya and Ekāvali.

3. Mallināth lived in the latter of the fourteenth century. He quotes Sāhitya Cintāmaṇi of Komati Vemadev (1409), Sangīta Ratnākara, Mugdha Bodha of Bopadeva. The second verse from the introduction to his commentary is quoted in an inscription dated, 1533, A. D.

4. As he belongs to a comparatively later date, much of the material found in his works has already been traced and most of the authors and works mentioned therein are known to the students of the classical Sanskrit Literature. Still, the closer observation of this unique work reveals much, which will throw fresh light on the literary history of the medieval Sanskrit literature.

5. It is not possible to discuss his work in detail. I however, propose to simply narrate the facts and point out some of the points which seem to have escaped the Scholars' eyes, and leave the exhaustive discussion to the better-equiped scholars.

6. It appears that he first wrote the Kālidāsa-traya-Sanjīvinī, commencing with Raghuvaṃśam. He refers to Sanjīvinī in both the commentaries on Kirāta and Māgha; Raghuvaṃśa Sanjīvini is referred to in Meghadūta and Kumāra Saṃbhava Sanjīvini.

7. From his statement at the beginning of Raghuvaṃśa, "कालिदासीयं काव्यत्रयं व्याचष्टे", it is clear he has not commented upon ऋतुसंहार. Whether it could be said from this fact alone that ऋतुसंहार is not a work of Kalidāsa is a point of dispute.

8. He had other similar commentaries before him. Among the commentators refered by him, are:—(१) दक्षिणावर्तनाथ & भोजराज, on रघुवंश, (२) प्रकाशवर्ष on किरात, (३) रङ्गराज, वल्लभ & दिवाकर on शिशुपालवध, (४) उपाध्याय विश्वेश्वरभट्टारक on नैषधकाव्य.

9. His purpose of writing a new commentary was chiefly मन्दात्मानुजिघृक्षा. Therefore, he intends to make his commentary the easiest and explanatory, as he rightly says, इहान्वयमुखेनैव सर्वं व्याख्यास्यते मया । नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते ॥

However, in the introduction to Sarvaṃkaṣā, he says that this work is also meant for scholars of different tastes and interests.

10. Generally, he takes up a verse, following the prose order explains the meaning of the verse, quotes Kosha, explains the formation of words, refers to the grammatical disputes, hints the side and secondary meaning, takes help of Nyāyas and Rūḍhis, shows Alankāras and Vṛtta, narrates the stories and traditions. In short, he has enriched his work with all sorts of information.

11. Mallinātha consults about *18 koṣas* in all. Most of them are well known and are mentioned by the modern historians of Sanskriṭ Literature. But, the following appear to be unfamiliar to the modern students :

(1) *Sajjana*,—Mallinātha quotes Sajjana in Raghuvaṃśa Sanjīvanī and other commentaries. From these quotations it appears to be a koṣa of general nature, such as Amara. As he refers to it more than once and in all commentaries, it must have been a current work. Another koṣa referred by him is (2) *Utpala Mālā*. He also once says Utpalah. A koṣa by name Utpalini is described to Vyādi. Whether this Utpalini is also known as Utpalamālā or Utpala is yet to be ascertained. (3) *Ghantāpatha* is probably a commentary on some koṣa, which he quotes once only. It is interesting to note that the name of his commentary on Kirāta is also Ghantāpatha. (4) Another name is that of *Bhāguri*, the grammarian and Lexicographer. Kshīraswāmi quotes this Bhāguri frequently. (5) In the commentary on Meghadūta Mallinātha refers to four more koṣas. A single quotation is found under the name *Ujwala*, and another under (6) *Rudra*. Two sentences quoted by Kshīraswāmi are said to be from Rudra's koṣa. Therefore, this Rudra must have been an earlier Koṣakāra. The other two koṣas are (7) *Mālatīmālā*, and (8) *Akshaya Koṣa*. (9) *Dhāraṇi* is also quoted once.

12-It is well-known that authors of Scientific Literature such as Ayurveda and Jyotiṣa have their own koṣas. Mallinātha quotes from *Dhanvantari*—an Ayurvedic Nighantukāra and *Vāgbhaṭa*.

Mārtanḍa and Rudraṭa are two more names mentioned by Mallinātha. The quotation under Rudraṭa cannot be strictly said to be from a koṣa. In the commentary on Naiśadha he mentions a name "*Shābdika Manndana.*" It cannot be said from this single quotation, whether it is a koṣa or koṣavyākhyanam or a grammtical work.

13. Then come the works on Poetics. Mallinātha generally consults the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin, Daśarūpaka, Alaṅkāra Sarwasva and Kāvyaprakāśa.

He also refers to the authors of his own time such as Vidyādhara and Vidyānātha. His definition of लावण्य quoted under the name Bhūpala is that of a *Singaṇa Bhupāla*, the author of Rasārṇava Sudhākara. Besides these known works, (१) रससुधाकर, (२) रसाकर, (३) रसरत्नाकर, रससागर and सारस्वतालङ्कार— all these are new names. The definition of Nāndī is taken from some Vasantrajiya. *Kalapaka* is a work dealing with the various Bandhas.

14. Among the works on Saṅgīta and Kāma, he refers to Ratiśāstra of Kokkoka, & Sangīta Ratnākara. नृत्यसर्वस्व and नृत्यविकास are two works on dancing which have not yet found a place in the history of Sanskrit Literature. Earlier authors like Mātanga, Nārada, Bharata and Vātsyāyana are freely quoted. *Ashokakalpa*, is probably a work describing the Dohada and such other peculiarities of Ashoka vṛkśa of which the Sanskrit poets are so fond. मदिरर्णव must be a work on the methods of preparing Madya as the name itself suggests. *Ratisarvasva* is another work mentioned in this connection.

15. Referring to the authors on Rājanīti, besides Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka Mallinātha refers to Gonardiya, in the last verse of Raghuvaṃśa. This Gonardiya is an earlier authority than Kauṭilya himself. Patanjali also mentions him in his Mahābhāṣya. नीतिवाक्यामृत is evidently a work of the type of the Nītisāra of Kāmandaka.

16. Numerous works on minor subjects such as Śakuna, Gaja, Aśva and Ratna are mentioned by Mallinātha. The works on शकुन are : शकुनार्णव, शकुनशास्त्र, कर्णोदय, निमित्तनिदान & गुणपताका.

17. Pālakāpya otherwise known as Hastyāyurveda is a work by Pālaka Ṛṣi. It is in the form of conversation between Pālaka and Romapāda. It is said to be a later form of the original work. While commenting on one verse, Mallinātha says, पालकादिभिः सूत्रकारैः. From this it appears that the original was in the form of Sūtra. मृगचर्मीय and राजपुत्रीय are other works belonging to Gajaśāstra.

खेतोत्तर and Hayalīlāvati are two references in connection with Aśvaśāstra.

Cakṣuśa also seems to be a Gajaśāstrakāra from the quotation under his name.

18. Agastya is quoted as an authority on Ratnaśāstra. A quotation under his name gives the places where pearls are found. Though this name Agastya appears to be a name of an ancient sage, this Agastya belongs to a later period. *Buddha* or Buddhabhaṭṭa is the author of Ratnaparikṣā. Ratnaprakāśa is another work of this type.

19. Mallinātha refers to a few works on Jyotiṣa and Āyurveda. Among these, the *Rājamṛgānka* is a karaṇagrantha by Bhoja. Along with the famous

Aryabhaṭṭa he mentions one Aryamihira and also refers to Varāha Saṃhitā of Varāhamihira. *Kalyāṇa varmā* and *Utpala* are quoted as authorities on Jyotiṣa. कूटस्थीय is another jyotiṣa work mentioned by him.

20. Vāgbhaṭa is mentioned both by the name Vāgbhaṭa and Bahaṭa, the prakrit form of the same name. *Siddhayoga saṃgraha* and *Yogasāra* of Nāgārjuna are other ayurvedic works.

21. For grammar he mainly depends upon Kāśikā of Jayāditya and Vāmana. He frequently mentions Vallabha an earlier commentator on Aṣṭādhyāyī. आख्यातचन्द्रिका seems to be a later work. It is difficult to say whether गणव्याख्यान is a commentary or a grammatical work itself.

22. Among the grammatical works other than Panini school are: मुग्धबोध of बोपदेव, न्यास of जिनेन्द्रबुद्धि, and गणरत्नमहोदधि of वर्धमान.

He also mentions Durgasinha a commentator on Katantra school of Grammar. This Durgasinha is the author of Pancatantra in Kannaḍa. न्यासोद्योत is a commentary on न्यास of जिनेद्रबुद्धि.

23. There are a few quotations under the name Bhaṭṭamalla. Form these, it appears that Bhaṭṭamalla is a grammarian. His work seems to be in Kārikās. And he is more concerned with Prayoga side than the Prakriyā side. In is evident from most of the quoted Kārikāpadas that he explains the uses of the various verbs in different padas.

24. Bhoja or Bhojarāja is quoted as an authority on अलङ्कार, ज्योतिष, सङ्गीत, & अश्वशास्त्र.

25. Mallinātha quotes many purāṇas, smṛtis, āgamas and Dhārmasūtras. He mentions Mitākṣarā the famous commentary on याज्ञवल्क्य smṛti. He refers to one Śambhū-rahasya in his commentary on Meghadūta.

One may be astonished to see that most of these numerous authors and works mentioned above are yet untraced. If this humble effort of mine provokes the enthusiasm of scholars in this direction, I feel myself satisfied.

KAVI-KAUMUDI

Mr. **H. L. Hariyappa,** Poona

The purpose of this paper is to announce to the Sanskrit–loving public the discovery of a short but sweet collection of *anyokti* verses, entitled *Kaviś Kaumudi.* Lakṣmī Narasimha of Kalya, son of Ahobala–sudhi, is the author of the work.

अहोबलसुधीगर्भसुधाम्बुधिसुधाकरः ।
कल्यलक्ष्मीनृसिंहाख्यः करोति कविकौमुदीम् ॥

I owe to my professor, Mr. C. R. Narasimhaśāstri who first introduced me to this work. Most of the verses still linger in oral tradition among the, –dandits of Mysore. Being one of the best inheritors of that tradition, my professor with his keen sense of humour and knack for poetry, cherished and transmitted them now and then for the edification of his students. Later, he mentioned the name of this work and its poet who hailed from our own State of Mysore. Then I began my search.

Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalagorum mentions a कविकौमुदी by Narasimha-rāstri, on the authority of L. Rice's Catalogue of Mss. in Mysore and Coorg (1885). The latter records as follows : " Author–Kadle Narasimha Sastri; extent–*Kāvya* of 100 *Granthas:* paper Mss. in Telugu characters in the possession of one Visveswara Sastri of Bangalore. " Unfortunately this Ms. was lost as his son acknowledged the fact in a letter to me, stating that, " owing to his absence for a long time from Bangalore on duty elsewhere, the library collection was eaten away by white ants " ! This disappointment was, however, more then compensated when I found in the Mysore Oriental Library, no less then three Mss. of Kavi–Kaumudi and further stumbled upon two more works of the same poet, namely, जनकजानन्द(न) an incomplete drama in 5 acts, and विश्वदेशिक-विजय a Panegyric on Jagadguru Śri Śaṅkarāchārya.

The poet, his age and works: कविकौमुदी conveys to us no more information than cited above regarding the poet's date and other compositions. But the Janakajānanda supplies the want to some extent. Laxmi–narasimha belonged to *Kauśika–Gotra.* His great grand father, Narasimha, was a great exponent of the three Vedas and a learned grammarian who wrote a work called

प्रक्रियाकल्पवल्लरी. Narasimha's grandson was AHOBALA Paṇḍita, who was reputed as a great poet, being the author of a Kavya called सहित्यमकरन्द and of a treatise on poetics called अलङ्कारचिन्तामणि. He had four brothers one of whom was called Vādi-Kesarī. Ahobala's sons were two, the elder of whom was Subrahmaṇya who became so famous as a teacher that he used to be called Upādhyāya without reference to his real name; the younger son was Lakṣmi Narasimha who wrote, among others, the following:—

1. Kāvi-Kaumudī
2. Janakajānanda, and
3. Viśva-Deśika-Vijaya.

The prologue to the Janakajānanda reveals also the fact that it was staged before the court of king Abhirāma (अभिराम) at the Spring Festival in honour of God Lakṣmi-Narasimha who adorns the peak of the Ahobala mountain. King Abhirāma lived in peace after vanquishing his enemies. He was a generous patron so much so he gave away his newly conquered territory to two artist-brothers Kalakaṇṭha and Sumukha, admiring their display of a martial dance. Evidently the King was able to maintain his Kingdom in peace and looked after his subjects with paternal care and zeal. The people spent their time happily pursuing peaceful arts and vocations.

The last work Viśvadeśika-Vijaya glorifies Śri Śankarācārya and the Advaitic tradition. Incidentally, he refers to great thinkers who succeeded the Acārya. Although the poet indulges, as was wont perhaps in his time, in decrying the opponents of his faith, the mention of some of those names is our only concern for the purpose of knowing the period of his life. Vidyāraṇya Veṅkateśa (Vedānta-Deśika), Vyāsarāya Narasimhāśarma, Appayya Dīkṣita and Jayatīrtha are mentioned. The latest date that can be called out of these references is that of Appaya Dīkṣita, who lived about 1600–1650 being the contemporary of Panditarāja Jagannātha who was patronised by Emperor Shahajehan. Thus Lakṣmi Narasimha flourished only later, perhaps much later.

The reference to King Abhirāma appears to be historically beyond identification. An inscripition on the Ahobalagiri points to a certain Abhirama (Ibrahim) being ousted from the place (1584–85). It is understood that Ibrahim Kutbshah of Golconda had only plundered the region a year before that. It is impossible that this short-lived glory of the Muslim conquerer could nave been perpetuated in the work, although it could be gathered form other sources that other Muslim Princes like Mullick Ibrahim (Malki-Ibharāma) are celeberated as patrons of Sanskrit and Telugu poetry; (Vide Cāṭupadya-maṇimañjari of Prabhākara Sastri). For want of corroborative evidence, therefore, we have to content ourselves to think that our poet's Abhirāma is an imaginative name, even as we can declare with greater probability that the artist's names, Kalakaṇṭha and Summukha, to whom the King gave away some of his territory, are quite fictitious. It is also just possible that the Poet was honouring a local chieftain who was too peaceful to forge his way into known history.

The Poet is Kaly-Lakṣminarasiṃha; that is, he belonged to the village of Kalya, which may be identical with the village of that name in Magadi Taluk today. The Kalya family (कल्यान्ववाय) must have been renowned for their learning and literary activity having trained a number of pupils as is indicated in the Janakajānanda. When I made a trip to Magadi to collect local tradition if any, about this family, I was not much benefited. The village is almost deserted and found no trace of the family. But other learned families there are; and names like Ahobala and Narasimha are quite common.

Thus it can be said that our poet lived in a period later than 1659, i. e. after Appayya Dīkṣitar. The lower limit is the date of Rice's Catalogue which records the Kavi-Kaumudi Mss. (1884 A. D.). It may be within reasonable limits if we assign the poet to the 18th century.

A word about the work itself. Its exact extent cannot be determined as no two Mss. which I have collated agree, regarding the number of verses. Space forbids a detailed discussion on this point and I feel that the point does not bear so much of scrutiny either. From all available material I conclude that the poem was in two parts, the second one being incomplete. Either the author did not complete it, or the complete work of the poet is not available. The total number of authentic verses belonging to Kavi-Kaumudi may be given as 147 to 150.

Anyokti is a type of literary composition which is the nearest equivalent of the English satire. Being in the nature of the figure *Aprastruta-Praśaṃsā*, it is sure to entertain the listener or the reader because of its profound relation to human emotions and experiences. A few examples may be cited from our text to illustrate the high level of Poetry displayed by the poet.

कोकिलः कोयमकारणकरुणः कोकिलकुलनायको मम श्रवसि ।
पञ्चमरुतगलदमृतैः सिञ्चति कटु फेरवारवज्वलिते ॥ ५ ॥

उच्चावचं न कुरुत स्वनितं पतङ्गा-
स्तूर्णं मुखानि पशवो मुकुलीकुरुध्वम् ।
कर्णं प्रदाय रसिकाः कलयन्तु हर्षा-
त्तारं तनोति रणितं तरुणः पिकोऽयम् ॥ ११ ॥

काकानां प्रीतियोगं चिरसहवसतिं कोकिलापक्षसे चेत्
तर्हि त्वं तद्वदेव श्रवणपुटकटून् कुत्सितान् कूज शब्दान् ।
अभ्यासस्तत्र नो चेत्तव गलदमृता गीरियं गुप्यतां वा
तामाकर्ण्य स्वजातेरननुगुणगुणां त्वाममी संत्यजेयुः ॥ १२ ॥

परैस्सोऽहं बाल्ये वयसि परपुष्टोऽभवमिति
त्रपाजाडयं मुञ्च प्रकटय कलां कोकिल गिरम् ।
खगानां का श्लाघा स्वयमुदरपुष्टया, किमयशः
परैः पुष्टया, त्वं तु स्फुरसि कलकण्ठत्वयशसा ॥ १५ ॥

काकः

लज्जां हित्वा काक वराक च्युतशङ्कम्
स्पर्धां बद्ध्वा कोकिलयूना सह कूज ।
घोरारण्ये मूर्खमृगैकान्तशरण्ये
को जानीते तस्य तत्राप्यन्तरमत्र ॥ १९ ॥

फलैर्वा पर्णैर्वा विपिनभुवि जीवन् परभृतो
गिरा संप्रीणीते श्रुतिमधुरया भृत्य इव माम् ।
बहिः क्षिप्तं धान्यं बलिमपि च भुक्त्वाङ्गणमुखे
कथं वा दुर्भाषाः करट रहसि त्वं कथय रे ॥ २० ॥

सिंहः

जित्वा सर्वाण्यरण्यान्यतिविषममहागुल्मदुर्गाणि मार्गा-
त्प्राप्तं मां पक्कणान्तं बत भषकततिर्बुक्कणैर्धिक्करोति ।
लज्जन्ते हन्तुमेनां मदकरटिघटाकुम्भपीठीविपाट-
क्रीडाधौरेयधाराः खलु मम नखराः किं करोमि क्व यामि ॥ २९ ॥

युष्माभिर्वनदेवताः सकरुणं किं नाम रोरुद्यते
वत्साः काननजन्तवो मृगपते सर्वे त्वया चर्विताः ।
मामुद्दिश्य किमद्य मन्दमतयो युष्माकमाक्रन्दनम्
यस्तेऽदत्त विधिर्मृगेन्द्रपदवीं तस्मा इदं रोदनम् ॥ ३४ ॥

सूर्यः

सन्तापयस्यशरणं विगतापराधं
लोकं त्वदीयकरलग्नमुदारधाम्ना ।
कूजत्पतत्रिकुलमाकुलपद्मिनीक-
मद्यैव भावि पतनं स्मर ते खरांशो ॥ ३८ ॥

कुप्यसि तृप्यसि भानो कुमुदे कमले च तेन तेन तव ।
किमपकृतं किमुपकृतं शिव शिव निर्व्याजमेव वैषम्यम् ॥ ४० ॥

चन्द्रः

अज्ञातमातृलालनमेणशिशुं कंचिदङ्कमारोप्य ।
अद्यापि रक्षसि विधो धर्मात्मा को नु भवदन्यः ॥ ४५ ॥

तापं छित्वा तपनजनितं विश्वमाश्वासयस्त्वम्
पीयूषार्द्रैर्वसुभिरभितोऽवर्धयस्सिन्धुराजान् ।
खण्डं खण्डं बुधपरिषदे कायमेव व्यतारीः
अस्तं गच्छन्नपि हिमरुचे वर्तसे कीर्तिमूर्त्या ॥ ४६ ॥

वृक्षः

पुष्पं फलं किसलयं मधु च द्वितीयं
सर्वं परोपकृतये सहकार किं तु ।
कान्तस्वरे परभृते कटुवाचि काके
साधारणो भवसि तेन भवामि दूनः ॥ ५४ ॥

दूरादाघ्राय गन्धं सुरभिसुमनसामाश्रयोऽसौ महानि-
त्यागत्यालंचिकीर्षुश्चिकुरभरमहं केतकीमध्यरुक्षम् ।
लुञ्छयन्ते हन्त केशाः परुषतरमुखैः कण्टकैः केतकाय
स्वस्त्यस्तून्मोचयैनान् शिव शिव कृपया धर्मिसत्वे हि धर्माः ॥ ५० ॥

वहति मलयवाते यच्छिरःकम्पनं ते
विरसहृदय वेणो तस्य न श्लाघनं तत् ।
अपि तु गुणलवं वा तत्र कंचिन्न वेद्मी-
त्यभिनयमिव कुर्वन् मस्तकं निर्धुनोषि ॥ ६० ॥

मन्दस्पन्दिनि चारुसौरभजुषि प्राणिश्रमच्छेदिनि
प्रत्यायाति नभस्वति क्षितिरुह स्तब्धोऽसि लुब्धाग्रणीः ।
झञ्झावायुरुपेत्य पांसुपटलं क्षिप्त्वा भवन्मूर्धनि
छित्वा ते विटपं फलानि सकलान्युच्चावचं लुम्पति ॥ ६५ ॥

मात्रा संजातमात्रस्सपदि परिहृतः कोकिलो मौकिलेषु
त्यक्तस्तैश्शैशवोक्तिप्रसरणसमये निश्शरण्योऽध्यरण्यम् ।
पुष्टो हृष्टस्त्वयाम्रद्रुम नवकिसलयैश्शिक्षितः पञ्चमं च
त्वत्कीर्तिं कीर्तयित्वा प्रतिदिशमधुना तीर्णवानाधमर्ण्यम् ॥ ६७ ॥

समुद्रः

तापं ग्रसन्निव हसन्निव सुप्रसन्नां
वाचं वदन्निव मुदं बहिरातनोति ।
वाराशिरन्तरवतीर्य विचार्यमाणे
घोरावहारपरिवारविहारभूमिः ॥ ८१ ॥

रासभः

रे रे रासभ वस्त्रभारवहनात् कुग्रासमश्नासि किम्
राजाश्वावसथान् प्रयाहि चणकाभ्यूषं सुखं भक्षय ।
सर्वान् पुच्छवतो हया इति वदन्त्यत्राधिकारे स्थिताः
राजा तैरुपदिष्टमेव मनुते सत्यं तटस्थाः परे ॥ ९७ ॥

यूयं के सत्यलोके रचितवसतयः स्वर्धुनीवीचिमाला-
खेलल्लीलामरालाः द्रुहिणरथगतेस्साधकाः के नु यूयम् ।
रासभ्या धर्मपत्न्या सह रजकमुनेराश्रमे कर्मनिष्ठाः
पूताङ्गास्तीर्थयात्राकृतिभिरहरहः रासभाचार्यवर्याः ॥ १०१ ॥

VEṆĪDATTA, SON OF BHOGĪ
His Date and Works (Between A. D. 1300 and 1650)

Mr. **K. Venkateswara Sarma**, Trivandrum.

1. Veṇidatta and his namesakes.

Aufrecht mentions an author of the name Veṇīdatta as having written a commentary Bhāvārthadīpikā, on Bopadeva's śataślokī,[*] a short medical treatise in a hundred verses. This Veṇīdatta is a Brahmin, son of Bhogī, grandson of Vāsudeva and great grandson of Lauha. No other works of this author have been recorded by Aufrecht, though several of his namesakes and their works are noticed by him.[†] Mention of the other writers in Sanskrit Literature of the name Veṇīdatta may be made here with their works to avoid their being mis-identified with our author.

(i) *Venīdatta* son of Jagajjīvana and grandson of Nīlakṇṭha (A. D. 1600–1650).[‡] Author of :

Pancatattvaprakāśa (lex),[$]
Padyaveṇī (anthology),[||] and,
Vāsudevakathā (kāvya) (CC. III. 126 b).

(ii) *Veṅīdattaśarman*: Tarkavāgīśabhaṭṭācārya, son of Viśveśvara, and grandaon of Lakṣmaṇa.[¶] (Latter half of the 17th century A. D.).[♆] Author of :

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[*] CC. I. 631b.

[†] CC. I. 603 a, II. 144 a, III. 126b.

[‡] Prof. P. K. Gode assigns him to the first half of the 17th Century, he being quoted by Sundaradeva of the last quarter of that century, and other evidences, in his article : Date of Sūktisundara—Between A. D. 1644 and A. D. 1710, or the last quarter of the 17th century. ', Poona Orientalist, I. ii 52-55.

[$] For a Ms. of the work dated (Saṁvat) 1701 (A. D. 1644), in which year it was composed, see CC. I. 314a.

[||] Edited by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, Calcutta, 1944.

[¶] On this author see G. V. Devasthali : Veṅidattaśarman and his Rasikaranjini New Indian Antiquary. V (1942). 193-200.

[♆] ibid. See also: pt. Gopala Sastri Nene, Introduction to his edition of Veṇīdatta's Padārthamaṇdanam, and Pt. T. P. Upādhyāya, Introduction to his edition of Vieṅidatta's Bhedajayaśrī. Dr. M. Krīshnamachariar, however, mentions a Ms. of Veṇīdatta's Rasikarañjinī dated corresponding to 1553 A. D. Cf. History of Classical Sanskrit Literature, P. 776 fn.

Alaṅkāracandrodaya (CC. I. 603a)
Bhāgavataprakrama--prakaraṇa[*]
Rasikarañjinī, commentary on Bhānudatta's Rasataraṅgiṇī,[†]

Pt. Gopala Sastri Nene mentions also the works[‡] :
Annapūrṇāṣṭakastotram (CC. I. 603a),
Āsvādasundara-prakaraṇam,
Tarkadhundhadhvaṃsanam,
Nirvikalpabhaṅga,
Nyāyasiddhāntarakṣāmaṇi,
Nyāyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī-kaṇṭakoddhāra,
Padārthamaṇḍanam,[§]
Parāmarśavimarśa,
Bhedajayaśrī,[||]
Muktivimarśa (CC. III. 126b), and,
Yuktivarūdhinī, a commentary on Vipakṣavikṣepa.

Pt. T. P. Upadhyaya adds the following works to the list[¶] :
Kālīstotra, and,
Vākyārtharatna.

(iii) *Veṇīdatta*,[ψ] son of Jagannātha. Author of :
Rasakaustubha (Poetics) (Mss. 34 A-G, A Descriptive Catalogue Manuscripts in Mithila, II. p. 44ff.)

(iv) *Veṇīdatta*, son of Nanda Paṇḍita and grandson of Rāma Paṇḍita. Author of :
Bālabhūṣā (dharmaśāstra), a commentary on his father's Tattvamuktavali. (Madras Ms. R. 1684. Triennial Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., Madras. III)

The following Veṇīdattas could not be identified :

(v) *Veṇīdatta*, author of Audīcyaprakāśa (CC. I. 603a),

(vi) *Veṇīdatta*, author of Śaiva-parākrama-prakaraṇa (CC. III. 126b),

(vii) *Veṇīdatta*, father of Gopīkaṇṭha author of Nyāyadīpikā (CC. I 603a), and,

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[*] Mentioned by G. V. Devasthali, ibid.

[†] On this see G. V. Devasthali, ibid.

[‡] Introduction to Padārthamaṇḍana, S. Bh. T. 30, pp. 5-6.

[§] Ed. by Pt. Gopala Sastri Nene, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, 30, Benares, 1930

[||] Ed. by. Pt. T. P. Upadhyaya, Sarasvati Bhavana Texts, 47, Benares, 1933

[¶] Ibid. Introduction, p. 2.

[ψ] I am indebted to Pt. Kalyānasundara Sastri, Madras, for the information under this Veṇīdatta.

(viii) *Veṇīdatta,* father of Paramānanda author of Praśnamāṇikyamālā (CC. II. 144a).

Veṇīdatta's, Works : Bhāvārthadīpikā.

Aufrecht records only one Ms. of Bhāvārthadīpika, Veṇīdatta's commentary on Bopadeva's Śataślokī.* viz., Burnell 67a. This Ms. identical with Tanjore Ms. No. 11141†, is the only manuscript of the known. This is a paper Ms. of 8 folios ($10\frac{7}{8}$"× $4\frac{7}{8}$") and is complete and in a fairly good condition. In the introductory verse, the author gives his parentage :

वासुदेवसमुद्भूतभाग्यभृद्भोगिसूनुना ।
शतश्लोकीविवरणं वेणीदत्तेन तन्यते ॥

The colophon at the end of the work is also detailed:—इति श्रीमन्महोपाध्यायवासुदेवात्मज-भोगिसूनुना वेणीदत्तकवीन्द्रेण कृतायां शतश्लोकीव्याख्यायां भावार्थदीपिकायां क्वाथाधिकारः षष्ठः । After the colophon the place of transcription is mentioned as:—काञ्चीनगरे लिखितम् The following verse occurring after this is in high praise of the attainments of the author:—

तर्के दुस्तर्कयुक्तिर्निखिलनयकृतौ कल्पनाकोविदेन्द्र-
स्सङ्गीतज्ञान्तरङ्गः श्रुतिपठनशुचिस्सर्वचातुर्यचुञ्चुः ।
ज्योतिश्शास्त्राग्रगण्योऽग्रगणितगणितो वैद्यविद्यानवद्य
स्साहित्ये सार्वभौमो जगति विजयते वेणिदत्तः·कवीन्द्रः ॥

Of the different subjects in which the author is extolled to be proficient, only works in *Sāhitya* and medicine are known at present.

Sāhityābdhi.

Aufrecht does not notice Veṇīdatta's Sāhityābdhi, a short work in 37 verses composed in diverse metres illustrating the different types of heroines defined by Sanskrit rhetoricians. This work is also represented by the only manuscript of the work at Tanjore, Ms. No. 5312‡. This is a small manuscript in old handmade paper of 4 folios ($8\frac{1}{2}$"×5"), and is complete and in a fairly good condition. This has been edited bv Mr. P. V. Varadaraja Sarma in the

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* CC. I. 631b. On p 603a, however, the work is entered under **Veṇīdatta** as 'Bhāvārthadīpikā—Śataślokīcandrakalā-ṭīkā (med.)' This latter, Ś. candrakalā, is a commentary by Bopadeva himself on his Śataslokī. That the present work is a commentary on the original and not on the commentary by the the author is verified from a reference to the manuscript.

† Described in the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts. Tanjore XVI. pp. 7428—29.

‡ Described in their Catalogue, IX. PP. 4103-4.

Journal of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library.* There is a stanza in the manuscript before the beginning of the work proper, in the same tenor of the verse 'तर्के दुस्तर्कयुक्तिः' noticed before, paying a glowing tribute to the high literary merit of Veṇīdatta's poetry:—

किं कान्ता कटिकिङ्किणीकलकलैः किं कीरकर्णामृतैः
किं वा कोकिलकूजितैः किमतनोः कोदण्डघण्टारवैः ।
किं वा तैर्विलसद्विरिञ्चवनितावीणारवाडम्बरै-
र्वेणीदत्तकवेर्विदग्धकविता यद्यस्ति किं वा परैः ॥

In the beginning of the work the author gives his genealogy in a verse similar to the introductory verse of his Bhāvārthadīpikā :—

वासुदेवसमुद्भूतभाग्यभृद्भोगिसूनुना ।
वेणीदत्तेन कविना साहित्याब्धिर्विरच्यते ॥

And the manuscript ends with the colophon : इति श्रीवेणीदत्तकविविरचितानि श्रृङ्गारपद्यानि ।

Aparṇākhilāṅga-varṇanam.

A third work of Veṇīdatta, also not recorded by Aufrecht and which is brought to the notice of scholars for the first time, is his Aparṇākhilāṅga-varṇanam, a panygeric on Goddess Aparṇā : Pārvati, in praise of the various organs of the Goddess. This work of Veṇīdatta is also represented by an only manuscript in the Travancore University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, No 1619. This is a small paper manuscript of 8 folios (5''×1¾''); the work is complete in the manuscript which also gives the date of transcription as Saṃvat 1930 (–A. D. 1873). The introductory verse names the author :

नखादिवर्णनं श्रीमद्वेणीदत्तो यथामति ।
छन्दोभिर्विविधैश्चक्रे पार्वत्या विविधोक्तिभिः ॥

And the concluding verse gives the genealogy :

आसील्लौहाभिधानाद्द्विजवरतिलकाद्वासुदेवाभिधान—
स्तत्सूनोर्भोगिनाम्नोऽभवदतुलमतिर्वेणिदत्ताभिधानः ।
सोऽयं चक्रेऽङ्गकानां शरदिजशशभृच्चारुसूक्तिस्तुतीर्या-
स्ता भूमण्डले सत्सदसि परिचितास्सन्तु गोत्रेन्द्रजायाः ॥

It may be noted that over and above the information on this point supplied by the other two works, this contains the name of the great grandfather of the author as Lauha.

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* With a short introduction, under the caption Veṇīdattakavi, the author of Sāhityābdhi and Śataślokīvyākhyā,' III, ii-iii (1943) PP. 18-22.

Stray Verses of Veṇīdatta

Apart from these three works, certain detached verses of Veṇīdatta have also come down to us quoted in anthologies and other works. Veṇīdatta's verses, as may be seen from his two poetical works, the Sāhityābdhi and Aparṇākhilāṅgavarṇana, are more of a self-contained nature and complete in themselves than form a narrative, that they easily lend themselves for quotation separately. Thus the Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa* contains six verses of our author quoted as of भोगिसूनोर्वेणीदत्तस्य, perhaps to distinguish him from a contemporary author and poet of the same name, son of Jagajjīvana. These verses are: 7. 36–37; 13. 22; 14. 28; 16. 2; and 20. 25.†

III Veṇīdatta's Date

The upper limit for the date of Veṇīdatta is provided by the date of Bopadeva, whose Śataślokī he comments upon. Bopadeva is the son of Keśava, pupil of Dhaneśa and the friend and protega of the versatile author in Dharmaśāstra, Hemādri, at whose instance and for whose pleasure it was that several of the works of Bopadeva were written.‡ Hemādri had the greatest respect for his learned protege$ and has himself written commentaries on his Bhaktimuktāphala¶. and Harilīlāmṛta§. Hemādri was in charge of the imperial records and minister under the Yādava kings Mahādeva and Rāmacandra who ruled between 1260 and 1309 A. D., as evinced by numerous contemporary records*. Hemādri's date is fixed from these evidences to the latter half of the 13th century and the first years of the 14th. This is the date for Bopadeva also, who, when we consider the respect and veneration with which Hemādri mentions him in his commentaries on Bhaktimuktāphala aud Harilīlāmṛta, should have been an elder contemporary of his. Leaving a small margin of about 35 years for a commentary to be written on Bopadeva's work Śataślokī, there being already a commentary by the author himself—we may, with all probability, fix the upper limit for Veṇīdatta's date as 1300 A. D. Again, Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, as has been noticed before, quotes as many as six verses of our author under the distinct caption भोगिसूनोर्वेणीदत्तस्य. Veṇīdatta should, naturally therefore, have been either a contemporary of Laksmaṇabhaṭṭa or earlier to him, the latter alternative being the more probable one in as much as generally it is poets of some standing in the least, that come in for quotation in others' works. Recent researches on Laksmaṇabhaṭṭa and his work have shown that he should have florished during the first half of the 17th century.† These considerations place our author, Veṇīdatta, son of Bhogī, to a date between 1300 and 1650 A. D.

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* Edited in the Kāvyamālā Series, No. 89, N. S. Press, Bombay.

† The numbers refer to the page and verse in the above edition.

‡ Cf. श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्धाध्यायार्थादि निरूप्यते ।
विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रितुष्टये ॥
Introductory verse to his Harilīlāmṛta.

चतुरेण चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणिवणिज्यया ।
हेमाद्रिणार्जितम्मुक्ताफलं पश्यत कौतुकात् ॥

× × ×

विद्वद्धनेशशिष्येण भिषक्केशवसूनुना ।
हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकरत् ॥
Concluding verses to his Bhaktimuktāphala.

$ Cf. the concluding verse to his commentary Kaivalyadīpikā on Bopadeva's Bhaktimuktāphala.

यस्य व्याकरणे वरेण्यघटनाः स्फीताः प्रबन्धा दश
प्रख्याता नव वैद्यकेऽपि तिथिनिर्धारार्थमेकोऽद्भुतः ।
साहित्ये त्रय एव भागवततत्त्वोक्तौ त्रयस्तस्य भु-
व्यन्तर्वाणि शिरोमणेरिह गुणाः के के न लोकोत्तराः ॥

¶ Edited by Pt. Isvarachandra Śastri etc. in 2 pts. 1920, 1921 Calcutta. Cal. Or. S. 3.

§ Edited by Śrinityasvarūpa Brahmacārin, Vṛndāvan, 1905.

APPENDIX

As has been stated earlier in this paper, Veṇīdatta's verses being more of a self-complete nature and forming tolerably good poetry, it is quite possible that he be quoted in later works on *Alaṅkāra* and in anthologies. To facilitate their being traced to our author as distinguished from his namesakes‡ the *Pratīkas* of the verses definitely known to be his are indexed below alphabetically. Such tracing may help to bring out additional details on this author, and bring his date to nearer limits.

(Abbreviations used : Ap. : Aparṇākhilāṅgavarṇanam; Bhā. : Bhāvārthadīpikā: Laks. : Verses quoted by Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa in his Padyaracanā; Sāh. : Sāhityābdhi.)

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* For an account of these, see MM. P. V. Kaṅe : History of Dharma Śāstra, Vol. I. pp. 356-7.

† See P. K. Gode : Date of Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Ankolkar—Between A. D. 1625 ane 1650. Journal of Oriental Research, Madras XIV (1941).184-93

Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri : Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa. Indian Culture, IX (1943). 215-26.

‡ See infra,

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† तर्के दुस्तर्कयुक्तिः	Bhā.
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* This verse eulogizing the author occurs in the ms. of Sāh. before the introductory verse might be from a diffrent person.

† This verse, also in the same strain, is found after the colophon in Bhā. might also have been added by a different hand.

A NOTE ON COKKANĀTHAMAKHIN AUTHOR OF ŚABDAKAUMUDĪ AND OTHER WORKS

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In one of his recent articles, 'The Bālavyutpattikāriṇī of Śokkanātha (A Commentary on the Yudhiṣṭhiravijaya of Vāsudeva) ',[*] Mr. K. Kunjunni Raja makes mention of the different namesakes of Cokkanātha and discusses their identification. In this context he refers[†] to Cokkanātha 'famous as the father-in-law of Rāmabhadradīkṣita ', and the author of the three works on Grammar : Śabdakaumudī[‡] a commentary on the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini, arranged under the several *prakaraṇas* in the lines of the Prakriyākaumudī of Rāmacandra and the Siddhāntakaumudī of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita; Bhāṣyaratnāvalī,[$] an elaborate commentary on Patañjali's Mahābhāsya and Dhāturatnāvali[||] a short work in 430 verses, dealing with the roots in Sanskrit aud their meanings, arranged under the ten *gaṇas*.

In his above reference, Mr. Raja observes that, 'His (Cokkanātha's) father was Dvādaśāha–yāji Nārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, and his mother Gaṇapati. He was ....of the Śaunaka *gotra* ....'.[¶] The object of the present note is to examine the correctness of these observations.

It was Mr. T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, in his article, 'Rāmabhadradīkṣita and the Southern poets of his time',[♇] who enunciates for the first time that Cokkanātha was of the Śaunaka *gotra* and that the name of his mother was Ganapati.[§] That Cokkanātha belonged to the Kauśika *gotra* and not to the Śaunaka is well evinced by the detailed colophon to his Śabdakaumudī :

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[*] Published in the Adyar Library Bulletin, X. ii (May, 1946) p p. 109-22.

[†] ibid. p. 114.

[‡] For Mss. of the work see : Madras Ms. R. 3316. A Triennial catalogue of Manuscripts, Vol. IV. Pt. i. Sanskrit B. p. 4939; Tanjore Ms. 5855. Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, Vol. X. p. 4369; Trivandrum Ms. 549. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Curator's office Library, Vol. III. p. 1168.

[$] Ms. No. 1063. Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in South India, Dr. E. Hültzsch, Vol. II. p. 33.

[||] Tanjore Mss. Nos. 5697-99.

[¶] Mr. Raja, op. cit. p. 114.

[♇] vide Indian Antiquary. XXXIII (1904). pp. 126ff. 176ff.

[§] ibid p. 129.

इति **कौशिककुलतिलक**-सञ्चारिभाष्य--द्वादशाहयाजिपुत्र--**श्रीचोक्कनाथदीक्षित**विरचितायां शब्दकौमुद्यां प्रथमः परिच्छेदः Trivandrum Ms., Des. Cata. III. p. 1168. Again the colophon to the commentary on the obove work by the author's son Bālapatañjali, reads : इति**श्रीकौशिककुलतिलक**-सञ्चारिभाष्य-श्रीद्वादशाहयाजिपौत्रेण **बालपतञ्जलि**द्वादशाहयाजिना कृतायां शब्दकौमुदीव्याख्यायां शाब्दिकरक्षाख्यायां कारकप्रकरणम् ॥ Tanjore Ms. 5856. Des. Cata X. p. 4371. as a confirmation to the above, Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Annamalai University, who is a direct descendant of Cokkanāthamakhin writes, in his letter dated 19-6-1946.[*]

That the name of Cokkanāthamakhin's mother was Gaṇapati has been unquestioned thus far, and Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri has been followed by all later scholars who have written on the subject.[†] Mr. Sastri himself scents an unliklihood to this unusual name and tries to justify his finding : 'His father was Dvādaśāhayāji Nārāyana Dīkṣita and his mother Gaṇapati. This sounds strange as the name of a woman. But that she actually bore the name Gaṇapati is evident from the following passages:

धातारं सूत्रकारं शिवनुतिसहितं पाणिनिं वाक्यकारं
विष्णुं कात्यायनं तं गिरिशमहिवराधीश्वरं भाष्यकारम् ।
तातं नारायणं श्रीगणपतिमपि ताम्मातरं सादरं ता-
नाचार्यान् सर्वतन्त्रप्रणयननिपुणानानमेः कर्म कुर्मः ॥

Introduction to Bhāṣyaratnāvalī. (See Hultzsch, p. 101)

शिवं गणपतिं चाम्बां द्वादशाहादियाजिनम् ।
तातं नारायणं नत्वा धातुपाठं समारभे ॥

Introduction to Dhāturatnāvalī.[‡] (Tanjore Ms. 5797. Dis. cata. X. p. 4256)

Even to the casual reader the name Gaṇapati being given to a woman looks strange and prompts him to check up the same and examine whether it is the correct inference that has been drawn from the above two verses quoted by Mr. Sastri in support of the identification.

An erudite scholar of the name Gaṇapati is known in the family of Cokkanāthamakhin as his (elder) brother. Bālapatañjali, son of Cokkanātha, mentions him with great respect and veneration in one of the introductory verses to his commentary on his father's Śabdakaumudī. Cf.

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[*] See also Mr. N. Vaidyanatha Sastri : 'Life of Cokkanāthamakhin of KauŞika gotra from Literary Sources.' Journal of Oriental Research, Madras; IV (1930) pp. 261-66.

[†] Mr. Vaidyanatha Sastri : ibid p. 261;
Prof. P. P. S. Sastri : Cokkanātha DīkŞita, Tanjore Dis. Cata. XIX. p. XXIV
Mr. Kunjunni Raja : op. cit. p. 144.

[‡] Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri : ibid p. 129-30.

पितृव्यो यस्य श्रीगणपतिबुधः ख्यातमहिमा
श्रुतौ शास्त्रे काव्ये स्मृतिसमुदये चातिनिपुणः ।
वदन्तीमं केचित् सुरगुरुमथान्ये च फणितिं
कुमारं केऽप्याहुर्वेंटनिकटवासीशमपरे ॥

(Trivandrum Ms. vide Dis. Cata. III. p. 1174.)

This Ganapati, whom Bālapatañjali mentions in such exalted terms must also, naturally, be revered to his (Gaṇapati's) own brother Cokkanātha. It may even be that Cokkanātha, himself, had had his lessons under his very learned brother and had cherished much respect for him. In any case, the mention of this Gaṇapati next to his own father in the second verse quoted by Mr. Kuppswami Sastri, *Dhātāraṃ sūtrakāraṃ* etc. is well in keeping with the context; to his mother Cokkanātha offers his salutation next, but without mentioning her name. In the second verse quoted by Mr. Sastri, the author does not seem to refer to his mother at all; but to Lord Śiva, then to God Gaṇeśa and then to the Great Goddess Pārvati by the term *Ambā* which latter is as much as a synonym of the Goddess in South India—before he salutes his own father who is mentioned last. The particle *Ca* in the verse favours more this interpretation than to take *Ambā* to mean the author's mother and Gaṅapati her name and the slight impropriety that salutation is made to her even before the father is mentioned. That Cokkanātha was a great devotee of Śiva whom he salutes in the beginning of his other works too may also favour this view of interpreting the verse. Cf.

सोमास्कन्दं शिवं नत्वा पाणिन्यादिमुनीश्वरान् ।
गुरूंश्च तुष्टये विष्णोः कलये शब्दकौमुदीम् ॥

(Introduction to Śabdakaumudī Pūrvārdha)

सोमास्कन्दं पुरानन्दं कर्पूरधवलं शिवम् ।
रत्नसिंहासनारूढं त्यागराजमहं भजे ॥

(Introduction to Śabdakaumdī Uttarārdha)

ब्रह्माद्वैतं भजामः सशिवमपि शिवं त्यागविद्याविनोदम् ।

(Introduction to Bhāṣyaratnāvalī).

The view that the name of the mother of Cokkanāthamakhin was Gaṇapati cannot, therefore, be correct. The author nowhere expressly mentions his mother's name, which, therefore, remains unknown.

BHĀVABHAṬṬA

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Saṅgītarāya Anuṣṭupcakravartin Bhāvabhaṭṭa, son of Janārdana Bhaṭṭa (a great musician of Shah Jahan's Court) and grandson of Tānabhaṭṭa was a protege of Mahārāja Anup Singhji of Bikaner. Under the patronage of this king he wrote several works, MSS of which are now available in the Anup Sanskrit Library. Mitra in his Catalogue of this Library (pp. 510, 513 and 514) notices Anūpasaṅgītavilāsa (only a part of it. viz Nṛtyādhyāya), Muralīprakāśa and the Naṣṭoddiṣṭa prabodhakadhraupadaṭīkā. In his Catalogus Catalogorum (I, 408; II, 93) Aufrecht notices in addition to these the Anūpasaṅgītaṅkuśa. Krishnamachariar (History of classical Sanskrit Literature, Note 1042) briefly mentions all these as well as Anūpasaṅgītaratnākara and Saṅgītavinoda and in a footnote adds that at the instance of his patron Anūpasiṃha Bhāvabhaṭṭa wrote a commentary on the Gītagovinda.

Anūpasaṅgītavilās, Anūpasaṅgita Ratnākar and the Anūpa Saṅgītāṅkuśa are given as printed in the Ratnasamuccaya published by Meherchand Lacchmandas of Lahore. The Anūp Sanskrit Library has the following works of Bhāvabhaṭṭa.

1. Anūpasaṅgītaratnākara.
2. Anupasaṅgītavartamāna.
3. Anūpasaṅgītavilāsa.
4. Anūpasaṅgītāṅkuśa.
5. Kutupādhyāya.
6. Gamakamañjarī.
7. Gamakamañjarīṭīkā.
8. Naṣṭoddiṣṭa prabodhakadhraupadaṭīkā.
9. Bhāvamañjarī.
10. Muralīprakāśa.
11. Rāgamālā.
12. Anūparāgasāgara.

Among these there are seven viz. Nos. 2, 5–7, 9, 11 and 12 which have not so far received a notice anywhere. I give here a brief description of these.

Anūpasaṅgītaratnākara

This is a major work divided into nine Adhyāyas, Svara, Rāga, Prakīrṇa, Prabandha, Vādya, Tāla, Nṛtya, Nāṭaka and Rasa. There are eighteen MSS of this in the Anup Sanskrit Library, containing various Adhyāyas (No. 3379 etc.).

Svara

Two MSS (Nos. 3379 and 3388) contain Svara chapter. This contains about 1000 Granthas. Begins with a commentary on portions of the Svarādhyāya of Saṃgītaratnākara of Śārṅgadeva :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ इह चिकीर्षांविषयप्रतिपाद्यप्रधानांशसमासोक्त्या सूचयन् शिष्टाचारपरिप्राप्तं दृष्टादृष्टफलविशिष्टदेवतानमस्कारमादौ करोति ब्रह्मग्रन्थीत्यादिना ॥

Ends :

इति श्रीमद्राटोडकुलदिनकरमहाराजाधिराजश्रीकरणसिंहात्मज-जयश्रीविराजमानचतुःसमुद्रमुद्रावच्छिन्नमेदिनीप्रतिपालनचतुरवदान्यतातिशयनिर्जितचिन्तामणि--स्वप्रतापतापितारिवर्गधर्मावतार--श्रीमहाराजाधिराज-श्रीमदनूपसिंहप्रमोदितश्रीमहीमहेन्द्रमौलिमुकुटरत्नकिरणनीराजितचरणकमल--श्रीसाहिजहाँसभाण्डलमण्डनसंगीतराजजनार्दनभट्टाङ्गजानुष्टुप्चक्रवर्तिसंगीतराज-भावभट्टविरचिते श्रीअनूपसंगीतरत्नाकरे स्वराध्यायः प्रथमः समाप्तः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

In some places the author borrows verbatim from the Kalānidhi of Kallinātha on this chapter.

Rāgaviveka

Two MSS. Nos. 3380 and 3392. This contains about 3,000 Granthas. Some Rāgas are illustrated by pieces in Hindi mixed with Vrajabhāṣā. There are some sung in praise of Akbar.

Prakīrṇaka

Two MSS. Nos. 3384 and 3394. Nearly 80 Granthas.

Prabandha

Two MSS. Nos. 3384 and 3395. Contains nearly 800 Granthas.

Vādya

Two MSS. 3387 and 3390. About 500 Granthas.

Tāla

Two MSS. 3386 and 3393. About 550 Granthas.

Nṛtya

Two MSS. 3385 and 3381. About 800 Granthas.

Nāṭaka

Two MSS. 3383 and 3391. About 2500 Granthas.

Rasa

Two MSS. Nos. 3389 and 3382. About 750 Granthas. Nos. 3392 and 3395 were owned by Dīkṣita Maṇirāma.

Anūpasaṅgītavartamāna

There are two MSS of this in the Library, Nos. 3411 and 3412. It contains nearly 800 Granthas. The MSS are incomplete. No. 3412 is a copy of No. 3411. The work deals with Rāga, Vādya and Nṛtya. The Nṛtya part contains a treatment of the Rasas where reference is made to different views, the author accepting the Abhivyaktivāda. The work concludes with a description of some Desī Nṛttas : Śivapriya, Rāsaka (Māyūrāsaka, Ḍaṇḍarāsaka, and Ḍaṇurāsaka), Carcarī, Cāraṇa, Bindu, Kanduka, Bhāṇḍika and Ṣāḍasani.

The MS begins :

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

श्रीगुरुं गणनाथं च बटुकं शारदाम्बिकाम् ।
पितरं मातरं नत्वा ... ग्रन्थनमुत्तमम् ॥

क्रियते भावभट्टेन वर्तमानप्रवर्तकम् ।
तौर्यत्रिकं तु संगीतं संगीती तज्ज्ञ उच्यते ॥

ते भरतमतङ्गाद्यास्तेषां मतपयोनिधिम् ।
निर्मथ्य तत्सुधासारं बालवृद्धमनोहरम् ॥

Ends :

वेषभेदविधानज्ञस्तत्कालोचितजल्पकः ।
स्वानुरूपैरनुचरैर्युक्तः कण्ठान्नमुण्डितः ॥

स्वरशारीरगुणवान्बहुरूपी निगद्यते ।
एतादृशगुणोपेता स्त्री वा मुण्डनवर्जिता ॥

युक्ता चाभिनयैः सम्यगाङ्गिकाहार्यवाचिकैः ।

Anūpasaṅgītavilāsa

There are nineteen MSS of this in the Library (No. 3359 etc.). The work is divided into Svara, Rāga, Prakīrṇaka, Prabandha, Vādya, Tāla and Nṛtya. Of the nineteen MSS. three are of Svarādhyāya, four of Rāga, two of Prakīrṇaka, two of Prabandha, two of Vādya, two of Tāla, three of Nṛtya and one of Adhyāyas from Prakīrṇaka to Nṛtya.

Anūpasaṅgītāṅkuśa

There are thriteen MSS of this (No. 3396 etc.) in the Library. It is divided into six Adhyāyas, Svara, Rāga, Prakīrṇaka, Prabandha, Vādya and Tāla. The number of MSS for each is as follows:—

Svara three; Rāga two; Prakīrṇaka two; Prabandha two; Vādya two; Tāla two.

Kutupādhyāya

The MS of this in the Library is numbered 3467. There are 5 folios with 6 to 8 lines per page and 38 syllables per line. On the last page there is written : भाउक्त्तकुतुपाध्याय.

Begins :

गीतं चातुर्विधाद्वाद्याज्जायते चोपरज्यते ।
मीयते च ततोऽस्माभिर्वाद्यमाद्यं निगद्यते ॥

गीतं चातुर्विधादिति। तत्र पूर्वाभ्यामिति ततसुषिरावनद्धघनवाद्यगणेषु मध्ये पूर्वाभ्यां ततसुषिराभ्यां श्रुत्यादिद्वारत इति । अत्रादिशब्देन स्वरमूर्च्छनाक्रमतानालंकारजातिगीतयो गृह्यन्ते ॥

Ends :

अङ्गहारप्रयोगज्ञैर्लास्यताण्डववेदिभिः । विचित्र......

Gamakamañjarī

The Ms. of the Gamakamañjarī in the Library (unnumbered) contains six folios with eight lines in a page and twentytwo syllables in a line. It begins :

श्रीगुरुगणाधिपवटुकशारदाभ्यो नमः ।
श्रीभरताचार्येभ्यो नमः ॥
जनार्दनपदाम्भोजं स्मृत्वा नत्वा महेश्वरम् ।
श्रीमच्छ्रीभावभट्टेन कृता गमकमञ्जरी ॥१॥
अथ गमकसामान्यलक्षणम् ।
स्वरस्य कम्पो गमकः श्रोतृचित्तसुखावहः ।

Ends:

श्रुतिकालविभागेन एवं बहुविधो मतः ।
अग्रस्थानः १८ ॥
पश्चाद्भूत्वा निवृत्तोऽसावग्रस्थानकसंज्ञकः ।

इति श्रीभावभट्टसंगीतरायानुष्टुप्चक्रवर्तिविरचिता गमकमञ्जरी समाप्ता ॥

Gamakamañjarīṭikā

The Ms. of this is numbered 3468. It contains six folios with eight lines in a page aud twenty five syllables in a line. There are references in the work to Ratnākara, Someśvara and Mataṅga.

Begins : श्रीगुरुगणाधिपतिशारदाभ्यो नमः । अथ गमकमञ्जरीटिप्पणं लिख्यते । अथ प्रतिहतिं लक्षयति । प्रतिहतिरिति हतियुगात् तन्त्रीनखघातद्वयात् हेतोर्गाभिरवः हूंकारशब्दद्वयानुकारी गम्भीरध्वनिः प्रतिहतिरुच्यत इति शेषः ॥

Ends: मृद्विति ॥ इह अनयोर्मध्ये मन्द्रं स्थानं मृदुः तारं स्थानमित्येव कठिनं मृदुपदेन मन्द्रस्वराः कठिनपदेन तारस्वराश्च ज्ञेया इत्यर्थः ॥ इति मृदुकठिने ॥

इति श्रीभावभट्टसंगीतरायानुष्टुप्चक्रवर्तिकृता गमकमञ्जरीटीका समाप्ता ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

Bhāvamañjarī

This is Ms. No. 3461 in the library with 18 folios (1—20, foll. 10—15 missing) of 11 lines per page and about 40 letters per line. This relates to Nāṭya.

Begins :

जनार्दनपदं नत्वा क्रियते भावमञ्जरी ।
भावेन तत्त्वंबोधार्थं न लघ्वी नातिविस्तरा ॥१॥
अङ्गान्यत्र शिरो हस्तौ वक्षः पार्श्वे कटीतटम् ।
पादाविति षडुक्तानि स्कन्धावप्यपरे जगुः ॥

Ends :

किटत क्किणंज कणककितट कि थि ।

इति ध्रुवशब्दाः ॥ एवमन्येऽपि शब्दा लक्ष्ये द्रष्टव्याः । इति शूडशब्दं नृत्तम् ।
अथ विवर्तनानृत्तम् ।
दक्षिणाङ्गेऽथ वामाङ्गे स्वरपाटगतं... ॥

Naṣṭoddiṣṭaprabodhakadhraupadaṭīkā

This is No. 3470 in the Library. It has nine folios with six lines in a page and twentyeight syllables in a line.

Begins :

श्रीगुरुगणाधिपशारदाभ्यो नमः ।

रत्नाकरे—

त्रिवर्णभिन्नषड्जस्य भाषा तदङ्गं डोम्बकृतिः ।
तज्जा डोम्बकृतिमांसा धांन्ना दैन्यैरिपेरिता ।

रागविबोधे—

मल्लरिमेले उक्ता तीव्रतररिमृदुमतीव्रतरधाश्च ।

Ends :

गरिसेति सामिकतानः अत्र स्थायी वर्णस्य बाहुल्यं आरोही वर्णोऽपि क्वचिद् दृश्यते ॥

इति श्रीभावभट्टसंगीतरायानुष्टुप्चक्रवर्तिविरचितनष्टोद्दिष्टप्रबोधक-ध्रौपदटीका समाप्ता ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥

There are references in the work also to Rāgatattvabodha, Rāgacandrodaya, Rāgamañjarī, Nṛtyanirṇaya and Rāmakutūhala.

Muralīprakāśa

This is No. 3476 in the library. The Ms. contains 93 folios with 360 verses. It is damaged and incomplete. On the front page one later hand writes " मुरलीप्रकाशी भाऊ-भट्टकृत " and at the end another writes " इति मुरलीप्रकाश भाऊभट्टकृति संपूर्णं ॥ " There is a Sanskrit commentary going up to verse 83. There is also a Vrajabhāṣā commentary for a few verses at the beginning. There are gaps here and there.

Begins :

श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणाय नमः ।

वैणवः खादिरो दान्तश्चान्दनो रक्तचान्दनः ।
आयसः कांस्यजो रौप्यो वंशः स्यात्काञ्चनोऽथवा ॥१॥

टीका—श्रीलक्ष्मीनारायणाय नमः ।

अथ सुषिरवाद्येषु प्रथमोद्दिष्टं वंशं लक्षयति । वैणव इत्यादिना । वैणवो वेणुविकार इत्यर्थः । खादिरः । अयमपि विकारार्थेऽण् । दान्तः । गजदन्तनिर्मितः ॥

भाषाटीका—अत्र सुखिर वाद्यनि में प्रथम कह्यो यांते वंशवाद्यको लक्ष करियतु हे ॥

Ends :

श्रृङ्गजा दारवी वा स्यात्काहलाकृतिधारिणी ।
अष्टविंशत्यङ्गुला च दैर्घ्ये मधुकरी शुभा ॥३६०॥

इति मुरलीप्रकाश भाऊभट्टकृति संपूर्णम् ॥

Anūparāgamālā

Ms. No. 3555 in the library is bound in book form and contains some works on music. This was written at Āḍūṇī by Mathena Rākhecā. One of the works contained in this is the Anuparāgamālā of Bhāvabhatta. The beginning of this is missing. There are 64 folios with 24 lines in a page and 12 letters in a line. The work deals with the descriptions and Dhyānas of the various Rāgas.

Begins:

......तासमांढै ओहांटी कंपितैमंद्रै द्रुततरैः स्वरैः ॥ ३ ॥

Ends with a colophon mentioning the author and the patron as in the other works.

Anūparāgasāgara

This is one of the major works of Bhāvabhatta. As its title indicates it deals with the Rāgas. There are three MSS of this in the library : 3543, 3544 and 3376. It contains about three thousand granthas, being, divided into twelve Adhyāyas, namely प्रथमप्रहररागप्रकाशन, द्वितीयप्रहररागप्रकाशन, तृतीयप्रहररागप्रकाशन, चतुर्थप्रहररागप्रकाशन, पञ्चमप्रहररागप्रकाशन, षष्ठप्रहररागप्रकाशन, सप्तमप्रहररागप्रकाशन, अष्टमप्रहररागप्रकाशन, ब्रह्माण्डपुराणोक्तरागप्रकाशन, वीणाद्रये स्वरस्थापन, चतुरशीतिरागालापन, शेषराग प्रकाशन. In Adhyāya 9 in MS. No. 3543, fol. 150a there is this : लिखिता रामभट्टार्थं ॥ There are references in the work to Rāmakutūhala, Ratnākara, Viṭṭhalabhaṭṭa, Someśvara, Sakalakala, Pārijāta, Darpaṇa, Rāgārṇava, Nṛtyanirṇaya, Hṛdayaprakāśa, Rāgavibodha, Candrodaya, Rāgamañjarī, Saṅkīrṇarāgādhyāya and Kallinātha.

The Caturaśītirāgas are: अग्निष्टोम, अत्यग्निष्टोम, वाजपेय, षोडशी, पुण्डरीक, अश्वमेध, राजसूय, विश्वकृत्, बहुसुवर्ण, गोसव, माहाव्रत, विश्वजित्, ब्रह्मयज्ञ, प्राजापत्य, अश्वक्रान्त, रथक्रान्त, विष्णुक्रान्त, सूर्यक्रान्त, गजक्रान्त, बलिभिद्, नागपक्ष, चातुर्मास्य, संस्था, सत्र, उक्थ्य, सौत्रामणि, चित्रा, उद्भिद्. These twentyeight are of ṣaḍjagrāma.

Auḍava:—ईडा, पुरुषमेध, श्येन, वज्र, इषु, अङ्गिरस, कङ्क, सपहीन, गनीहीन, ज्योतिष्टोम, दर्श, नन्द, पौर्णमास्य, अश्वप्रतिग्रह, रात्री, सौरभ. These are Sapahīnas of Ṣadjagrāma. सौभाग्यकृत्, कारीरी, शान्तिकृत्, पुष्टिकृत्, वैनत, उच्चाटन, वर्शाकरण. Thus 49 of Ṣadjagrāma.

Madhyamagrāma 21 :— सावित्री, अर्धसावित्री, सर्वतोभद्र, आदित्यायन, गवायन, सर्पायन, कौण्डपायन, अग्निजिह्व, दशाह, उपांशु, सोम, अश्वप्रतिग्रह, बर्हिस्, अभ्युदय, सर्वस्वदक्षिण, दीक्षा, सोमाह्व, समिध, स्वाहाकार, तनूनपात्, गोदोह.

Auḍuvas :— त्रैलोक्यमोहन, वीर, कन्दर्पबलशातन, संघचूड, गजच्छाय, रौद्र, विष्णुविक्रम, भैरव, कामद, अवभृत, अष्टाकपाल, स्विष्टकृत्, वषट्कार, मोक्षद. Thus the total is (49+21+14) 84.

As noted above, Krishnamachariar ascribes the Saṅgītavinoda to Bhāvabhaṭṭa. If this is identical with a work called Saṅgītavinodasāra of which there are Mss. in the Anup Sanskrit library, the ascription is not correct. There are four Mss. of this in the Library (Nos. 3507—3510). There is no mention of the author. In the colophon of No. 3509 the work is described as Saṅgītasāra from Saṅgītavinoda. It begins: अथ संगीतविनोदो लिख्यते ॥ The extent of the work is nearly 500 Granthas. Mss. Nos. 3507 and 3508 were owned by Anupsingh as Mahārāja Kumar. There is an entry to this effect at the end of these two. No. 3507 is at the end dated Samvat 1649 i. e. A. D. 1592. From this it is clear that the work is earlier than the 16th century. It cannot, therefore, be ascribed to Bhāvabhaṭṭa who belonged to the 17th century. In one of the Mss. viz. No. 3510 the text of the Saṅgītavinoda is supplemented by a chapter on Nṛtya by Anupsingh. There is also an independent Ms. of this chapter in the Library (No. 3506). This contains nearly 400 Granthas.

FOUR PASSAGES OF THE KIRĀTĀRJUNĪYA AND THEIR INTERPRETATION

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It is almost a truism to assert that man's contribution to literature presupposes its distinct evaluation of the art of expression and there can be no better illustration of this than that in ancient Indian literature, be it in the form of lyric effusion as in the Vedic Saṃhitās, of prosaic liturgical nicety as in the Brāhmaṇas, or of the sweet mystic and sustained grandeur of Upaniṣadic speculations. It is however, equally certain that the beginnings of the Alaṅkāra-śāstra, are enveloped in obscurity and it is hazardous to ascribe them to a comfortably late period, say, the post Christian era. The ethereal song of the Vālmīki-Kokila misses its point if not appraised in the light of its appreciative background and Kalidāsa's muse is a sealed book if not understood in its critical perspective, though it must be emphatically stated that neither of these two masters wrote to the dictation of certain literary standards or vogues and both have deluded the endeavours of later theorists—those of the Riti-cum-guṇa, Alaṅkāra and even of the Dhvani camps to encompass them in their respective folds. We have, of course, instances, in a later age, of poets who meant to throw light on their Alaṅkāra background even in its technical and elaborate side, as well as of theorists in the śāstra who put forth quite a decent handiwork of poetic form. It is, however, always a difficult and delicate task to unravel the Alaṅkāra-śāstra content of a poet who wrote before degeneration set in and Alaṅkāra-śāstra in its set technique dominated the field. Bhāravi, however, is a notable exception. His vaunted, oft-repeated self-advertising general remarks (*Kirāt* I. 3, II. 1; III. 4; XI. 37; XIV. 4 etc.) which have given rise to the current cant* about his literary excellence and which, like the similar vague characterisations in the *Rām.* (Kis. III. 31-33), on which they seem to be based, carry us not far in this matter. There are, however, luckily for us, passages in his *Kirāt.* which reflect his views, admirably and specifically, couched as they are in technical expressions.

These are *Kirāt.* II. 26, 27; XI. 38-40; XIV. 3, 5; and XVII. 6. It must be conceded at the outset that the first three groups of passages refer professedly, in the line of the *Rām.* passages referred to above, to the form of speech (girām vistara, vacas), but that is no bar to our drawing conclusions therefrom, primarily because the direct reference to their context is of little consequence, when we remember a much-missed characteristic of our poet, his rather very clever manipulation of dialogue in the presentation of his epic matter. Besides they contain over and above his conventional characteristic words which were meant to be and are surcharged with definite con-notative content deducible from the Alaṅkāra ideology of the period. These involve technical terms, many of which got out of use in later Alamkāra thought and are consequently apt to be understood in a general and vague way, thus setting at rest the inquisitiveness of a not very wary reader. The commentators whose commentaries have come down to us[*] and who almost universally depend for their Alaṅkāra annotations on late Alaṅkāra nibandhas, had to tax their ingenuity in explaining them and did not agree, amongst themselves, and even sometimes within their own views expressed in other quarters, as to their actual sense. The palpable technicalities in these passages relate to the following terms:—स्फुटता, पद, अर्थगौरव, पृथगर्थता, सामर्थ्य, प्रसाद, ओजस्विन्, गरीयस्, लाघवान्वित, आकांक्षा, अनुपस्कार, विष्वग्नति, निराकुल, अप्रकम्प्य, निरपेक्ष, औदार्य, अर्थसम्पत्ति, विविक्तवर्णाभरण, संस्कार, प्रयोग, शिक्षा, भावार्थ, गुण. Three of these words—प्रसाद, ओजस्विन्, औदार्य, have a consistent current of content throughout the Alaṅkāra literature and have therefore not caused any confusion, though it must be said that in the case of the last,[†] our author's views demand close investigation. Guṇa is a well known entity and the words अर्थसम्पत्ति[‡] and गंभीर[$] are transparent and the *double*

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* भारवेरर्थगौरवम् ।

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[*] e. g. Vallabhadeva, Cirtabhānu and Mallinātha. It is a pity that the manuscript utilised for the त्रैसर्गिक of Citrabhānu—as published in the T. S. Series leaves out passages II. 26—27. The digressive nature of this commentary is however a handicap. Mallinātha's commentary is easily the best and has utilised relevant materials from earlier commentators.

[†] Mallinātha's reference to the Kāvyādarśa affords little help because of its indecision for औदार्य and अर्थसंपत्ति in the first sense would almost overlap. The second श्लाघ्यैर्विशेषणैर्युक्तम्, which is an integral part of the भाविकालंकार of Bhāmaha etc. and which in later Alamkāra nibandhas was styled the fiqure परिकर is presumably what is intended by the poet. (eg. in *Kirāt,* I. 19; 11. 49; XI. 45)

[‡] अर्थसम्पत्ति implies the breadth or distension as under the Śabdaguṇa noted by Bhoja in the S. K. A. The word शान्तम् is an obvious reference to प्रसाद.

[$] A verse in the K. P. सदा मध्ये यासाम्... (Chap. VII) seems to hint at the divergence in practice between प्रसाद and गाम्भीर्य, which refers to the depth or comprehension and is the Śabdaguṇa गाम्भीर्य as in the S. K. A. It is not the same thing as the गाम्भीर्य of the A. P. (346. 8) which includes सौशब्द्य as well.

entendre in both is far from farfetched. (As to the terms विशुद्धि[*] (XIV. 5,) with its palpable variant सौष्ठव (I. 3.) and in the adjective शुचि (II. 26) in our epic and its treatment in the Śabdaśuddhi section in the treatises of Bhāmaha and Vāmana and *arthagaurava*, *abhidheyasampad* (XIV. 5) and the adjective ऊर्जित (II. 1) there is hardly any room for ambiguity.)

We have to turn to the remaining eighteen words, which appear from their very form to be technical terms. स्फुटता and पद are to be taken together in fixing out their meaning. It is also worth noting here that except in the last passage selected for investigation , a motive of apparent antethesis (virodha) is evidently pursued all through, i. e. स्फुटता is to be contradistinguished from अर्थगौरव, पृथगर्थता from सामर्थ्य, प्रसाद from ओजस्, गरीयस् from लाघवान्वित, आकाङ्क्षा from अनुपस्कार, निराकुल from विष्वग्गति, निरपेक्ष from अप्रक्रम्य; विविक्तवर्णाभरण from सुख-श्रुति, प्रसन्न from गम्भीर, अभिधेयसम्पत् from विशुद्धि. स्फुटता is distinguished from क्लिष्टता, (vide K. S. V. under III. 2. 14. and S. K. A. V. 11ab and Ratneśwara's gloss thereon) which is unavoidable in cumbrous derivations that mar the easy approach to meaning through व्यवधान or farfetchedness. The word पद as is evident from references in the K. M., the V. P. and the S. P.[†] concerns the निर्वचनप्रक्रिया, the व्युत्पत्ति in the terminology of Bhāmaha (K. A. I. 14) and is not the simple word as commentators have taken it. Vāmana's illustrations सपदि पङ्क्तिविहङ्गमनाम् (K. S. V. under II . 1, 13) is a pointer to the vicious extreme to which poets can go in this direction. Mallinātha's rendering of पृथगर्थता affords us no help at all. It is again Bhoja[‡] who comes to our rescue in explaining the word and in pointing out its inverse relationship with सामर्थ्य.

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[*] विशुद्धि is not सामर्थ्य as explained by Mallinātha (under XIV. 5.) it is, the शब्दशुद्धि of Bhāmaha and Vāmana. Bharavi poses as a strict follower of the Ṣabda-pārāyaṇa unlike Kālidāsa, who follows the Rāmāyaṇa in its archaisms and anomalous forms (vide K. A. VI. 4, 5 :-- परप्रत्ययतो यत्तु क्रियते तेन का इतिः ॥ नान्यत्प्रत्ययशब्दा वा गवभाति-मुदे सताम् ॥ Irregular anomalous forms like सततनैशतमोवृत... (V. 2.) and आजघ्ने विषमं (XVIII. 63) are rare.

[†] व्याकरणस्मृतिनिर्णीतः शब्दो निरुक्तनिघण्ट्वादिभिर्निर्दिष्टस्तदभिधेयो योर्थस्तौ पदम् ॥ तस्य पंच वृत्तयः... (K. M. VI. p. 21). पद is one of the twelve sub-varieties of Śabda noted in Chap. II. and treated in detail in Cbap. III. of the S. P. The V. P. in the प्रकीर्णकाण्ड treats of पदवृत्ति in their meaning-bearing aspects.

[‡] His characterisation of the doṣa असमर्थ brings this and its relation to सामर्थ्य in bold relief. पृथगर्थता is distinct from पृथक्पदता, which is the prerequisite of the Śabdaguṇa माधुर्य and is exemplified in *Kirāt.* I. 24.

The latter word is a technical term in the grammar of Pānini (eg. I. 3, 42; II. 1. 1; IV. 1. 82.) and has been explained as meaning having the same sense (सम् + अर्थ = समर्थ) and being thus at variance with पृथगर्थता. Mallinatha's exposition of सामर्थ्य (Ghantā II. 27) would relate it inversely to the अपार्थता as noted by Vāmana (K. S. V. III. 2, 14). A rather nice dissertation in the S. P. (Chap. VII & VIII) bears sufficient evidence of what place such concepts occupied in earlier Alamkāra thought; for we have to remember that the K. M. of Rājaśekhara, the works of Bhoja and of Jaina authors Hemacandra and Vāgbhata (jr) remain to us as the relics of views which were becoming antedated.

The second set of passages requires a no less close examination. The unfamiliar terms गरीयस् and लाघवान्वित refer to the two divergent aspects of प्रौढि, a constituent element of the Arthaguṇa ओजस् and are typified in our epic (eg. I. 17c; I. 44c; II. 59c; III. 52cd; IV. 22d, for पदार्थे वाक्यरचनम् and in VI. 1a; IX. 21d; XI. 34d; XI. 45; XVIII. 25c for वाक्यार्थे पदाभिधा in its gramatical aspect आकाङ्क्षा is connectibility and requires other words; it is thus essentially at variance with उपस्कार* which is mere verbiage (चहुपूरण in Bhāmaha's language, K. A. V. 67) in the form of verse-fillers, a defect noticeable in many poets including Kālidāsa † to which fact our poet may not unlikely refer as a detracting flaw. In Mallinātha's explanation here ‡ one misses the purposive antethesis. Bhoja's threefold division of words, a bit different from that of the Niruktakāras (S. P. Chap. III.) in to क्रिया, कारक and उपस्कार supplies us with the necessary background for understanding the word. The निराकुल (अनाकुल in Bhāmaha) leads us to the helplessness of words in conveying the desired meaning as in the use of the word नील in the R. S. (I. 2a) or of दशपूर्वरथम् in the R. V. (VII. 29) and देवपूर्वं गिरिं ते (M. D. I. 42) of which latter type Bhāravi himself is accusable (*Kirāt*. XVIII. 44). It is equivalent to a characteristic phrase of Ānandavardhana (स्खलद्गति Dh.

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* *Pān*. VI. 1, 139. sanctioning the augment in the form covers अध्याहार (ellipsis) in its scope as Mallinātha takes it. We should better take it in the sense of प्रतियत्न (ornamental flourish or verbiage).

† The words सुवर, प्रवर; अन्न, ज्ञान, वृत्ति; (the former as prefixes, the latter as sufixes) प्रसभं, नितान्तं and सद्यः in the early works of Kālidāsa and the words वृत्ति, बन्ध, अन्त and भाज् as last members of compounds (even in Kālidāsa's maturest works) are nothing but उपस्कार.

‡ अनुपस्कारमध्याहारदोषरहितम् (Ghantāpatha X1. 38). This plausible interpretation, following Vāmana's dictum लिङ्गध्याहारौ... K. S. V. (V. I, 14) misses its point when we recognise that it does not abound in great poets.

I. 20) utilised by Mammaṭa (K. P. II.) and is thus distinguished from विष्वग्नति having an all-round application. निरपेक्ष is distinct from सापेक्ष or साकाङ्क्ष from the grammatical standpoint and from अप्रकम्प्य or अलङ्घ्य from the viewpoint of Mīmāmsā or Nyāya. It is something standing by itself in absolute defiance of its neighbourhood, as ditinguished from अप्रकम्प्य that which involves disturbance of equilibrium, i. e. of surroundings and is consequently not authoritative.

In the third set of passages we have the epithets विविक्तभरण and सुखश्रुति which introduce the element of सौशब्द्य as noted by Bhāmaha and have an obvious relation to the Śabdālamkāras of the poem. Mallinātha's explanation of the first term is very happy and is the only one possible. The poet's use of alliteration (अनुप्रास) is quite good and felicitous; but early Alaṁkāra discussions as in Bharata (N. S. XVI. 41) would lead us to a consideration of Yamaka as the Śabdālamkāra *par esse* or par excellence, a view different from what we find in later developement in the śāstra as from Dandin's time. Bhāravi apparently regards Yamakas of विविक्तभरण type as superior to those of the other type (श्लिष्टवर्ण) in both of which Kālidāsa indulges in his यमकप्रक्रिया in the Raghuvaṃśa. * Of about thirtysix Yamakas we have in the *Kirāta* † only two are deviations from this type, whereas in the *Raghu.* we have ten out of this latter type XIV. 5, refers to the two views relating to appreciation of Kāvya, one relating to ukti (शब्द) the other to abhidheya or artha, so characteristically emphasised by Bhāmaha—सौशब्द्य as opposed to अर्थव्यक्ति, to both of which due importance has got to be assigned (K. A-I. 13).

In XVII. 6, we have six technical terms of which guṇa is wellknown. It appears that the दोषहानगुणादान formula which we find referred to in K. S. V. I. 2, 3 and a later adaptation of which we meet in K. M. Chap. IV. [we have to note incidentally that the right reading is गुणादानपरः कश्चिद्दोषहानपरोऽपरः । गुणादोषाद्धतित्यागपरः कश्चन भावकः । and not दोषादानपरोऽपरः as in the printed text (G. O. S. edition] was quite old. संस्कार should be taken preferably in the sense of व्युत्पत्ति, the alternative explanation offered by Mallinātha, as is evident from the poet's use of the word in another context (III. 48d). The first synonym, though in keeping with a parallel use in the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage, already noted, where the point is rather on the use and pronunciation of words in Sanskrit as distinct from the vulgar tongue, and connected with a variety of doṣas :(च्युतसंस्कृति) later brought into prominence, hardly fits in with the characterisation (चेतो रमयन्तु). प्रयोग is abhidhā in Bhoja's language (S. P. Chap. VII) and is, what Mallinātha paraphrases, as अभियुक्तव्यवहार corresponding to the शिष्टप्रयोग coupled with the संकेत of the Naiyāyikas. In its creative aspect it is determined by प्रतिभा and अभ्यास combined (cf. K. S. V. I. 3, 29). शिक्षा * is विवक्षा in Bhoja's enumeration and has been elaborately treated by Hemacandra † it being the equivalent of the कविसमयs. The word शिक्षा has the desiderative sense as much as विवक्षा and connotes the desire of making something possible with poetic invention which may not be the same as reality. The भूषण relates to अलङ्कारयोग as in the Alaṃkāric code (vide S. P. Chap. VII.). In भावार्थ here the poet intends to bring out the sense of action as in Pāṇinī's use of the word (II. 3, 37; II. 3, 54; III. 3, 11) which relates to the views of older philologists, a view supported by Yāska (Nir. 1. 1, 3). In case we restrict our consideration to words as used in Kāvyas, प्रयोग would refer to रसवियोग in Bhoja's list and भावार्थ to तात्पर्य as in that list ‡ The very frequent references to उपपत्ति * अनुमान † न्यायनिर्णीतसार ‡ (in the context of आगम) as marks of words would suffice to indicate the obsession of our poet regarding the logical and methodical expression as the *sine qua non* of thought. The detailed studies of these passages has thus clearly demonstrated the hold which grammatical and logical concepts had on the mind of our poet, specially in the presentation of his Kāvya-materials.

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* R. V. IX. 1-54, of which the श्लिष्टवर्णयमकS appear in v.2 (नगरं नगरन्ध्रकरौजसः) 3 (शमनुदं मनुदण्डधरान्वयम्), 13 (शतमखं तमखण्डित), 24 (समधुरं मधुरञ्चित ...), 25 (मलयन्मलयन्नगमत्यजत्), 35 (किसलयैस्सलयैरिव), 36 (स्मरसखं रसखण्डन), 48 (मधुमन्मधुमन्मथ), 49 (तनुमतो नुमतस्स...This however is a defect in यमक as नतिलकस्तिलक, v. 41), 52 (सुनयनं नयनन्दित) In the K. S. we have no systematic यमकप्रक्रिया. In XV. 33d we have a यमक (अमंसमन्तास्समरे) of this type.

† Kirāt. I. 22, 36, 45; II. 12; III. 8; IV. 7; V. 4, 7, 9 (पृथुकदम्बकदम्बकराजितं ग्रथितमालतमालवनाकुलम् an expression utilised in the Aihole inscription, V. 10,11, 13,19, 20 23, 25, 27, 33, 36; VI. 3, 13, 45; XIV. 6,42;XV. 1,3, 8, 10, 12, 16, 31,35,37, 42, 50, 52; XVI. 3 of which two V. 27 (सनाकवनितं नितम्बरुचिरं) and XV. 8 (समरं अमरन्तकसंयतः) are exceptions.

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* śiksā (desiderative noun from root शक्) has within its purview लक्षणा (secondary interpretation) which in its happy description by later writers is शक्यसंबन्ध. In the creative aspect it involves not merely knowledge but also application. As one writer puts it:— नहि सकृन्निपतितमात्रेणोद्बिन्दुरपि ग्रावणि निम्नतामादधाति शिक्षयेत्युक्तम् ।

† सतोऽप्यनिबन्धोऽसतोऽपि निबन्धो नियमश्चेति शिक्षा. This is poetic convention as treated in the K. M. Chap. XIV. A very late work (Nanjarājay. v. p. 14.) opines:— कविसमयानुरोधेन निबद्धौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यम् ।

‡ S. P. Chap. VII. तात्पर्य in the sense of syntactic concord bringing in the desired sense is a function of words accepted by a school of grammarians and naiyāyikas अस्तु नाम निःसीमाऽर्थसार्थः किन्तु रसवत एव निबन्धो युक्तो न नीरसस्य । (K. M. Chap. IX.)

These considerations, that have been assigned in the epic a place little short of an accepted creed, lead us to locate the poet in the time-chart of Alaṃkāra speculations. It will not suffice to dismiss them off as his exclusive views, for to the student of literature such views coming as they do from a celebrity are easily standardised. In the field of literary court-epic (the Mahākāvya) they register an unqualified affiliation to a mode (मार्ग), different from what was emphasised in the writings of poets like Aśvaghoṣa and Kālidāsa. Ananda $ takes note of this while referring to the two-foldness of routes followed by great masters which Abhinava explains fully and clearly. Aśvaghoṣa's mode is sensuous, simple and passionate in the apt wording of Keith; and Kālidāsa's is the रसमार्ग *par excellence*. While Bhāravi in his occasional exuberance (as in III. 33-54, XI. 45-79; XVIII. 23-43.) can work out this passion-element to a nice point and believes in the fundamental basis of रसभावनिरन्तरता in Dandin's language, he chooses a different line for himself. The tender and delicate touches of Rasa-appeal are not primary to him – the virility of expression, the studied dignity of sequential thought and the purity of formal speech are matters of greater weight to him. After him come a series of authors in the line, lesser poets like Bhaṭṭi, Kumāradāsa, who follow the lead of the वस्तुतात्पर्य. Tradition accepts the next great name Māgha as following the example of Bhāravi, though it is not difficult to detect in him a reaction and a swing to the right wing as represented by the prince of the classical poets. An ingenious but plausible interpretation of a verse in the Śiśu. (IV. 20) hints at this and this is substantially borne the by internal evidenee in its dialogues and descriptions (barring the steriotyped ones as of ऋतुवर्णन, सूर्यास्त, चन्द्रोदय) as in the description of Dvārakā (Canto III), that of sunrise (Canto XI) the warm and cordial reception of Kṛṣṇa (Canto XIII) and in the conversation between Kṛṣṇa and Nārada (Canto I) and the enjoyable rallies and sallies (Canto XVI) which are reminiscences of the finer grace of earlier masters.

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* eg. in Kirāt. II. 1, 28 उपपत्तिर्युक्तिः (Ghantā) cf. शब्दश्छन्दोऽभिधानार्था इतिहासाश्रयाः कथाः । लोकयुक्तिः कलाश्चेति... (K. A. I. 9.) युक्ति coupled with Rasa makes it appear formidable and attractive (K. A. V. 3. स्वादुकाव्यरसोन्मिश्रं शास्त्रमप्युपयुञ्जते). This presupposes the restricted attention to पौर्वापर्य (XI. 42) or पूर्वापरसंगति which is expressed by the term प्रबन्ध (XI. 43).

† eg. in *Kirāt.* II. 28 अनुमान = प्रमाण (a common mannerism in our poet as in युक्त = नियुक्त (I. 4) उदाजहार = व्याजहार (I. 27) विहित = अभिहित (II. 1). विगाह्यते = अवगाह्यते (II. 3.)

‡ eg. in *Kirāt.* XI. 39, न्यायेन = युक्त्या (Ghantā). उपपत्ति, अनुमान and न्याय are different words to express the same sense. The best poetic expression attainable as to this view is by logical expression. For निर्णीत cf. हृदयं निर्णयमेव धावति (II. 29 b) and K. A. IV. 17, 18. Jayadeva's inclusion of Lakṣaṇas in his definition of the Kāvya registers this Alaṃkāra-background, while it hits at his logical preoccupation. Vide *Candr.* I. 9; III. 11, and his exposition of the terms ख्याति, अभिमान, यज्ञ, युक्ति and निरुक्ति in the latter context.

$ Under Dh. A. III. 7. द्वयोरपि मार्गयोः स्वर्गबन्धविधायिनां दर्शनात् and the Locana thereon.

The inevitable result of forceful preference for out of the way expression and a tendency to elaborate ornamentation (already evident in Bhāravi) and assiduously perpetrated by later writers (Māgha not excepted) come in for castigation in Alaṅkāra treatises* so much so that the Māhākāvya as a form fell much in disfavour and an aversion therefrom made itself vocal. The Kāvya was regarded as Kavikarman, involving व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यास, aspects that were praised to the detriment of poetic imagination. We have a flash of return to sanity, sensibility and feliticious passionate expressions with Abhinanda, a lesser poet no doubt, in the *Rāmacarita*, which had hardly seen the light when Abhinava composed the *Locana*, though it was known about a decade later to Kuntaka and to Bhoja. Had this tendency manifested itself a little earlier the Mahākāvya-species of composition would have had at least a tolerable extension of life like the Nātakas and Khaṇḍakāvya, and would not have disappeard in the smoke and the dust of artificial conceits, the brilliant and sweet Naiṣadhacarita notwithstanding.

Now to turn to the point from which we started in our investigation and were led to a searching study regarding the Alaṅkāra background of Bhāravi. As we have noted, Bhāmaha is the theorist—and he is also the earliest theorist as a whole whose work has come down to us—in whom we have recorded an ideology much in common with what our poet expressed in terms almost similar. Does this help us in tracing the transition from the simple and effective mode of

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* मुक्तकेषु हि प्रबन्धेष्विव रसबन्धाभिनिवेशिनः कवयो दृश्यन्ते (DH. under III. 7). दृश्यन्ते च कवयोऽलङ्कारनिबन्धनैकरसा (DH. under III. 14) where in both the extracts प्रबन्धेषु अनपेक्षितरसा प्रबन्धेषु refers positively to *Mahākāvyas*.

Kālidāsa to the laboured dignity and the studied forcefulness of the later poet ? It is difficult to answer this by a categorical affirmative. Among other things Kālidāsa's technique and plan have not been noted in any Alaṅkāra-work preserved to us and his identity with any poeticist is hardly believable. Bhāmaha's fling at one of his devices (K. A. II. 42, 43) is almost aimless and undoubtedly late. We may, however, make a rough surmise about the time difference between these two masters if we look to certain items of cicumstantial literary evidence which we can bring in. Bhāmaha, himself a Kashmirian author and a name to conjure with, is placed earlier than Bāṇabhaṭṭa by the Kashmirian Anandavardhana.* This gives us a limiting date for the poeticist (cir. 575) seeing that at least two generations are to intervene between the great poet of Bihar and the logician-poeticist of far off Kashmir. Bhāravi was not a little indebted to Kālidāsa as it appears from echoes in expression and parallelism in sentiment.† Kālidāsa lived very probably at about 400 (A. C. Bāṇa's silence over Bhāravi does not prove anything and Keith's placing of Bhāravi near about 500 A. C. is a bit over-cautious dating. The biographical reference in the *Avantisundarīkathā* the authenticity of which as coming from the great Daṇḍin who, by the by, must have lived after Bāṇabhaṭṭa.‡ is open to question, is in the nature of a cock-and-bull story and need not detain us. If Māgha be assigned a date about the middle of seventh century, which is nothing improbable, we can place Bhāravi near about 500 A. C. He would thus be nearer to Kālidāsa than to his illustrious successor Māgha. The sting of criticism of a senior rival is easy to detect in Bhāravi's pointed references to विशुद्धि, उपस्कार and विविक्तवर्णाभरण, as we have noted above and this along with the almost respectful reference in the expression सुकविकीर्तिदुराशया (in the verse in Kavivaṁśavarṇana, V, 5. which Māgha has appended to his epic furnishing us with an account of himself) to Bharavi by Māgha affords sufficient proof therefor.

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* Dhva. under IV. 4. यथाधरणीधारणायाधुनात्वं शेषः इत्यादौ (हर्षचरित)... (Bhāmaha's K. A. III. 27) शषो हिमगिरिस्त्वञ्च इत्यादिषु अन्येष्वपि ।

† *Kirāt.* I. 9, 11, 20; II. 50; III. 18, 45, 48; V. 3, 16. 29, 33, 40, 47; VI. 46; IX. 1, 4, 7. 58; XI. 9; XIII. 60; XIV. 27, 31, 32, 37, 45, 46; XVI.18, 58; XVII. 10; XVIII. 5. are some of the prominent coincidences.

‡ अभानुभेद्यमरत्नालोकच्छेद्यम् .... (195 Kāvyamāla edition in Śukanāsopadesa section of the Kādambari is palpably imitated in the verse:—अरत्नालोकसंहार्यमवार्यं सूर्यरश्मिभिः । .... (*Kāvyad.* II. 197). the discussion regarding the generation of कथा and आख्यायिका varieties of prose Kāvyas in the Kavyad is intelligible only in the light of Bāaṇabhaṭṭa's contribution thereto.

THE DATE OF NĀRĀYAṆA BHAṬṬA

By **K. Kunjunni Raja,** M. A.

Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa of Malabar, the well-known author of the *Nārāyaṇīya*,[*] the *Prakriyāsarvasva*[†] and the first part of the *Mānameyodaya*[‡] is generally supposed to have lived for 106 years from 1560 th 1666 A. D. The purpose of this paper is to examine how far this traditional view is acceptable.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa himself has given a large number of dates, from which it is possible to have a fair idea about the period in which he flourished. Let us, first of all, examine them.

(a) His famous stotra work *Nārāyaṇīya* was completed on 27th November, 1587, expressed by the chronogram 'Āyurārogyasaukhyam' denoting the Kali date, which is given at the end of the work. It is this poem that made Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa famous throughout the land as a great poet and an ardent devotee of Viṣṇu. This must have been his first great work.

(b) The *Prakriyāsarvasva*, which is an original recast of the *Sūtras* of Pāṇini with a lucid explanation, was composed at the instance of King Devanārāyaṇa of Cempakaśśeri (also known as Ampalappuḷa). Two Kali dates 1723201 and 1723261 represented by the chronograms 'Yatnah phalaprasūh syāt' and 'Kṛtarāgarasodya' are found in a verse in the introductory portion of the work.[$] This is equivalent to 1617 A. D.

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[*] Due to its popularity there have been several editions, both in Devanāgari and in Malayalam. It was edited with the *Bhaktapriyā* commentary as No 18 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series...It has been edited with notes and English translation by P. N. Menon, Palghat, 1939.

[†] Only a small portion is available in print. The first three sections and a part of the fourth section were published as No. 106 of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series in 1931; the rest of the fourth section was published as No. 139 of the same series. The fifth section, named Taddhita, was edited by Prof. Kunhan Raja and published as No. 15 of the Madras University Sanskrit Series in 1941. The commentary on the Uṇādi section was published as part II of No 7 in the same series.

[‡] Printed in Trivandrum Sanskrit Series as No. 19 in 1912. Edited with an English translation by Prof. C. Kunhan Raja and Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, and published from the Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1933.

[$] अयं अच्युतगुरुकृपया पाणिनिकात्यायनादि-कारुण्यात् ।
यत्नः फलप्रसूः स्यात् कृतरागरसोद्य शब्दमार्गजुषाम् ॥

It is generally believed that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa completed tbe work within an incredibly short period of sixty days, and that the two dates given are the dates of commencement and completion of the work.* But since the verse giving the dates comes in the beginning of the text it is difficult to consider that as giving the date of completion also. The previous verse says that he was receiving guidance from the king at every step. Prof C. Kunhan Raja has suggested† that it is quite probable that the discussion with the king about the plan of the work lasted for sixty days. It is difficult to think that this voluminous work was completed within a couple of months.

(c) According to the popular traditions in Kerala, Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa has given the date of the flood in the Bhāratappuḷa in the following verse which describes the flood.

Nadīpuṣṭir asahyā nu
Nahyasāram payo' jani
Nijāt kuṭīrāt sāyāhne
Naṣṭārthāh prayayur janāh.

Here all the four lines give the same date 1721180; in the first and the third lines the number representing the date is given in one order, and in the other two lines it is given in the reverse order. This is about three years earlier than the date given in the *Prakriyāsarvasva*.

(d) The following verse is said to have been composed by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa at the death of his preceptor Tṛkkaṇṭiyūr Acyuta Pisharoti:—

He śabdāgama nirdayam vibudhatālubdhair nipīḍiṣyase
dhārsṭyaikapravaṇāsi vaidyasaraṇe naṣṭosyalaṅkāra bhoh
Hanta jyotiṣatantra paryavasītā tithyṛkṣayos te kathā
'Vidyātmā svar asarpat' adya bhavatām ādhārabhūr Acyutah.

The portion 'Vidyātmā svarasarpat' gives the Kali date of Acyuta Pisharoti's death. It is equivalent to 1624 A. D.

Of these four dates given, the first two are certainly by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa; for the authenticity of the other two dates we have to depend on tradition. Anyhow it is clear from these that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa flourished during the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries A. D.

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* This tradition is recorded in one of the commentaries on the work. See R. 2710 of the Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library : 'अत्र यत्नः फलप्रसूः स्यात् इति ग्रन्थारम्भदिनं कलिसंख्या, कृतरागरसोदयेति ग्रन्थनिर्माणावसानदिनं च कलिसंख्येत्यवगन्तव्यम् ।'

† Introduction to the Prakriyāsarvasvam, pp. xvii f.

The date 1560–1666 A. D. given to him by scholars is mainly based on tradition. It is said that in the *Āranmula Sthalapurāṇa* by Neṭumpayil Kṛṣṇan Āśān there is a statement that the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa lived for 106 years :[*]

'Ampattimānnu vayassiraṭṭi yirunnulla
Melpputtūr Paṭṭerikkum guruvāyulla deham'

There is another tradition that the *Nārāyaṇīya* was composed by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa at the age of twenty-seven.[†] If we accept these we will have to say that he lived between 1560 and 1666. In fact Mr. R. Narayana Panikkar says[‡] in his 'History of Malayalam Literature' that in a *granthavari* record of Neṭumpayil Kṛṣṇan Āśān, the dates of birth and death of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa are given as 1560 and 1666 A. D. Many scholars have accepted these dates as correct. The fact that he composed the *Nārāyaṇīya* in 1587 shows that his date of birth 1560 A. D. given in the *granthavari* is quite likely to be correct. But it is not possible to accept the date 1666 A. D. given for his death in the *granthavari*.

Nārāyana Bhaṭṭa has written only the first of the *Mānameyodaya;* though he intended to complete the work himself. The following verse in the beginning of the work shows clearly that it was his intention to write both the parts of the work :

Mānameyavibhāgena vastūnāṃ dvividhā sthitiḥ
atas tad ubhayam brūmah śrimad Kaumāriladhvanā.

But he was not able to finish the work; it was later completed by another Nārāyaṇa, the protege of Mānaveda of Calicut and the famous commentator on the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Kumārasambhava.*[§] There the author says that the first part of the work has been written by the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, and he is completing the unfinished work at the instance of his patron Mānaveda.

Prań Nārāyaṇasūriṇārdharacitam tan Mānameyodayam
mohāt pūrayitum kṛtā matiriyam santah prasīdantu nah.

The author of the *Meya* portion of the work definitely refers to his patron Mānaveda as a great scholar, poet and devotee :

Yatkīrtir na hi māti hanta mahatī brahmāṇḍabhāṇḍodare
yasyājñām praṇatais śirobhir anīśam dhatte nṛpāṇām gaṇah
So'yam Nāṭakatarkakāvyanipuṇah Prajñātapātañjalo
bhaktaś cakriṇi Mānavedanṛpatir jāgarti pṛthvītale.

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[*] *Meppattūr Nārayāna Bhaṭṭagiri,* by V. Rajarajavarma Raja, p. 6. ff.

[†] *ibid.*

[‡] History of Malayalam Literature, Vol. II, p. 273 f.

[§] On this Nārāyaṇa, see Introduction to the आश्लेषाशतक Travancore University Journal, Vol. II, Part I. and the Manuscript Notes by H. G. Narahari, Adyar Library Bullettin Vol. IX, p. 101. ff.

This Mānaveda has to be identified with the author of the *Kṛṣṇagīti* and the *Pūrvabhāratacampū*. From the attributes given in the previous verse it is clear that he is the Mānaveda mentioned. This Mānaveda is referred to by the author of the *Meya* portion of the *Mānameyodaya* as the ruling monarch of the land. Now from historical records we know that this Mānaveda was the Zamorin of Calicut from 1655 to 1658 A. D.* Hence it is clear that the *Meya* portion of the work was composed during the period 1655–1658 A. D.; and that by that time Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa had already passed away. It is quite possible that hearing about the death of Melpputtūr Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa and also about the fate of that famous Mīmāṃsā work of his, Mānaveda, who was a friend and admirer of that scholar, wanted to get that completed; he found another great scholar in Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita and requested him to complete the work.

Thus it is clear that the date of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's death cannot be later than 1655 A. D. If we accept the date of birth 1556 A. D. given by tradition, we can say that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa flourished between 1550 and 1655. Bhaṭṭatiri might have died a few years earlier; but not later than 1655 A. D.

There is a story, recorded by Keralavarma Valiya Koil Tampurān,† that the famous Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita was so much impressed by the *Prakriyāsarvasva* that he wanted to meet its author Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in person ; and that he proceeded to Kerala, but learning about Bhaṭṭatiri's death, turned back saying that it was futile to go there when Bhaṭṭatiri was no longer there :

> Yadvīkṣākutukottaraṅgahṛdayo dhīras tātah Kaumudī–
> Kārah Keralamaṇḍalam prati purah prasthāya madhyepatham
> Śrutvā yasya psrāsutām nivavṛte yadvarjitām tām diśām
> gatvā kim kriyatāmiti pratihatotsāhah svageham prati.

This traditional story also suggests that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa must have passed away much earlier than 1655 A. D.; for Bhaṭṭoji himself flourished before that date.

The *granthavari* record is at least 150 years later than Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa‡ and has only the value of a traditional story. The fact that Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita protege of Mānaveda, completed the *Mānameyodaya*, during 1655–8 shows that Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa had passed away by that time, and that the date of his death recorded in *granthavari* is not correct.

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* Zamorins of Calicut, by K. V. Krishna Ayyar, Calicut, 1939. p. 215.

† It is in the introductory portion to his commentary on the *Prakriyāsarvasva*.

‡ See V. Rajarajavarma Raja, *op. cit.* p. 7 f.

THE CONCEPTION OF CONVENTIONS OF SPEECH IN SANSKRIT DRAMATURGISTS

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The enacted drama sets certain limits of expression. At times the reactions in the minds of the characters amidst varied surroundings and situations are not known; and without such khowledge or depiction no faithful characterisation is possible. Hence the necessity of devising pleasant means which are not cumbersome, and are at the same time in conformity with 'theatrical effect.' Herein come the conventions connected with Vācikābhinaya and 'Idealism' in drama. Otherwise it would be quite ridiculous that within the distance of a few feet, two characters conversing with each other or even a single one soliloquising is not heard by other characters on the stage, but the audience gets to know all that is spoken. Though unnatural, it is through such convenient conventional devices as the Apavārita, Janāntika or Svagata and the like that the dramatist is able to open the mind of a particular character on the stage before the audience.

Bharata first hinted the Apavārita and Ākāśabhāṣita as Nāṭyadharmī (in NS XIII. 76 GOS) and later described them along with Janāntika, Ātmagata etc. in the twenty-sixth chapter (KSS edn. and 25th of KM edn.), under the Citrābhinaya. He did not mention Prakāśa. He mentioned other devices, like कर्णे एवमेवम्. Bhārata says :

यानि गुह्यार्थयुक्तानि वचनानीह नाटके ।
कर्णे निवेद्यमेवमेवमित्यभिधाय च ॥ NS. XXVI. 84. KSS.

and also—

सकृदुक्तं तु यत्कार्यं भूयः कस्मात्तु कारणात्
तत्कर्णे श्रावयेद्येन न याति पुनरुक्तताम् ॥ NŚ. XXV. 94 KM

But this convention is not spoken of by any of the later theorists. Kāṭaya and Vīra mention a convention कर्णे एवमिव and not कर्णे एवमेवम् to tell a 'top secret' in the ear. This secret is subsequently known. Kāṭaya quotes the following from some unknown source :

कर्णे एवमिवेत्युक्त्वा ज्ञाप्यः पश्चात् प्रसङ्गतः Mālavikā p. 13

But the correct and fuller quotation about this and perhaps from a common source is given by Vīra twice, once in his comment on Mahāvīra (p. II) and again on Uttara (p. 39). In his commentary on Uttara we find the following :

अर्थस्त्वेकेन विज्ञेयः पक्षाज्ज्ञात्वा (ज्ञाप्यः ?) प्रसङ्गतः ।
कर्णे एवमिवेत्युक्त्वा काव्यबन्धे प्रयुज्यते ॥

Dhananjaya classed such conventions under the division of plot from the point of Nāṭyadharma. He says: "नाटयधर्ममपेक्ष्यैतत्पुनर्वस्तु त्रिधेष्यते" DR. p. 33. According to him Vastu is threefold viz. Sarvaśrāvya, Niyataśrāvya, and Aśrāvya. Niyataśrāvya is further divided into Janāntika and Apavārita. More correct is the division of plot given by Sāradā into Aśrāvya and Śrāvya; latter subdivided into Sarvaśrāvya and Niyataśrāvya, and this latter again subdivided into Janāntika and Apavārita (Bp. p. 219). Similarly Siṅga divides Śrāvya into Svagatam and Prakāśam, the lätter is Sarvaprakāśa and Niyataprakāśa, and the latter is again twofold i. e. Janāntika and Apavārita. (RS. p. 284). Kṛṣṇa first of all divides Vastu into Sūcya and Asūcya. Sūcya is subdivided into Śrāvya and Aśrāvya. Asūcya is threefold i. e. Aśrāvya, Dṛśya and Śrāvya ; Aśrāvya is Svagata, and Śrāvya is, unlike all others except Abhk divided into Sarvaśrāvya, Niyataśrāvya and Ākāśāśrāvya. Niyataśrāvya is like Dhana and others said to be twofold : Janāntika and Apavārita. (MMC. p. 60). Abhk follows Singa in dividing the Asūcya vastu into Svagata and Prakaśa, but does not say to which category does the threefold classification of Janāntika, and Apavārita, and Ākāśabhāṣita belong. (NR. p. 81).

The commentary of Abh is brief, the only salient feature being his comment on Ākāśabhāṣita and the distinction between Janāntika and Apavārita (BORI MS p. 367).

Rāma agrees with Dhana in classing the convention under Vṛttabheda but neither does he mention his basis, nor his categories. His definitions of Svagata as स्वहृद्दिस्थितम् and Ākāśokti as स्वयं प्रश्नप्रत्युत्तरमपात्रकं are nearer to those in NS. (ND p. 31).

From his treatment of these conventions, it is clear that Sāradā is indebted to Dhana for various definitions. He reproduces the half-verse describing Prakāśa and Svagata and another regarding Apavārita (BP p. 219 f). He slightly transforms the definitions of Janāntika and Ākāśabhāṣita therein also one pāda of each is taken from DR.

In the third prakāśa of SS, Sarva deals with these conventions along with the Modes of Address, Exclamations and other terms, as also with 'prathamah Kalpah'. This term is significant in the light of Dhani's remark that 'some' speak of other conventions like the Prathamah Kalpah, etc. (DRA p. 33). Dhani is right in defending Dhana for not treating these terms, some of which are not spoken of by Bha, some are local terms and not conventional and some others are not found in the lexicons. The term Prathamah Kalpah is not found in NS and Sarva must be indebted to Kohala or some other authority for the following description which is not quite clear :

अभीष्टवस्तुसंसिद्धौ येन केनापि चोदितः ।
प्रथमः कल्प इत्येव प्रवदत्याप्तनायकः ॥ SS. III. 7. b–75a.

Dramas use this term, but in Mālavikā (I. p. 15) Gaṇadāsa utters it and in Sāk, (VII. p. 237) Mātali supports the idea of Duṣyanta passing over the Hemakūṭa mountain and showing a desire to avail of the opportunity to pay homage to Kāśyapa. In the same drama, (V. p. 172), 'udārah kalpah' is used by the king at Śakuntalā's suggestion to make him recognise herself by the ring. Seemingly none of these uses are in conformity with the definition given by Sarva.

Sāgara like Sarva mentions these conventions under a miscellaneous section (No. 16 styled as ' Conventions of the stage ' by the Editor). As a matter of fact, though the major portion is covered up by topics which may be classed under conventions, it gives description of technical terms also as the Naṭa, Sūtradhāra, Bhūmikā, Pātra etc., beside topics on the Language to be used in the dramas, on Nomenclature of characters, Modes of Address and Exclamations.

Among the general conventions of speech he differentiates between Ātmagata and Svagata, and Ākāśabhāṣita is included under the Avakāśika speech mentinned by Sāgara alone. He says :

अवकाशागतं वाक्यमावकाशिकमुच्यते ।
न विशेत्पात्रमपरं कार्यं स्यात्तेन तद्यथा ॥
स्वल्पं कार्यमभिप्रेतं वक्तुं पात्रेण किं फलम् ।
आकाशवाङ्नेपथ्योक्तिलेखान् तत्रावकाशयेत् ॥ RK II. 2277 ff.

Āvakāśika is, therefore, an emergent device. The last three are also mentioned under the Antarsandhis given according to Mātṛgupta by Rāghava (Sāk. p.21). Trilocana, towords the end of his work NLO, follows Sāgara and generally reproduces (Fol 37a) from RK but omits the mention of Prakāśa and Āvakāśika, without giving any reason. He confirms Sāgara's differentiation of Ātmagata and Svagata but like him also does not give any basis for it. Definition of Janāntika and Apavārita is reproduced almost verbatim.

Singa as already pointed out gives these conventions under the 'Asūcya vastu' wrongly. Ākāśabhāṣita is defined under the description of the Bhāṇa. His description generally agrees with that of DR, his first pāda of the definition of Janāntika is the same as in DR and the definition of Apavārita agrees verbatim. (RS p. 284).

Viśva does not class these conventions under the 'vastubhedas' like Dhana or Rāma, and gives them under Nāṭyoktayah; his definition of Janāntika is the same as in DR, and his comment on Apavārita the same as in DR; generally his definitions are derived from Dhana. (SD p. 329).

Kṛṣṇa gives Abhāratīya description of Patākā and Tripatākā hands while defining Janāntika. (MMC p. 60).

Rūpa like Singa treats of these under Asūcya vastu, but as his work is concerned with the Nāṭaka and the definition of Ākāśabhāṣita in his source was given under Bhāṇa, he omits the mention of it altogether. And that is where he falters. Ākāśabhāṣita is profitably used in the Nāṭaka also, and he could have incorporated the definition from SD which he so often does, or from the NS direct which he claims to have studied. (NC p. 194).

Abhk's definition of Sarvaprakāśa is culled from RS and of Janāntika, Apavārita and Ākāśabhāṣita from DR. (NR p. 81).

Vidyā and Puṇḍa omit the topic. It cannot be that these conventions went out of use in their time and were preserved in later works. Vidyā himself uses though sparingly, these devices in his drama illustrating the theory (see PR p. 135 and 176). From his description of Bhāṇa we khow that Puṇḍa was acquainted with 'Śūnyabhāṣita' (ND fol. 13a).

Rāghava quoted from Dhana and gave the definition of Tripatākā from SR.* Raṅga quotes from DR, RK, and SD †.

The Vasantarājīya as quoted by Kāṭaya (Mālavikā p. 25) agrees with Dhana in classing Janāntika and Apavārita as Niyataśrāvya. The quotation runs :

यथोक्तं वसन्तराजीये--

अर्थस्त्वेकेन विज्ञेयो नियतश्राव्य इष्यते ।
द्विविधः स परिज्ञेयो जनान्तश्चापवारितः ॥

I. Prakāśa.

Bha does not mention Prakāśa which must have been introduced later. Dhana classes it under Sarvaśrāvya, that is, a speech heard by all the characters on the stage, though every speech even the Svagata is heard by the audience. The necessity for this introduction seems to be to contrast it with Svagata or soliloquy. This is what has been made out by the later theorists and also in the dramas. Not every speech is preceded by the stage-direction Prakāśa, for it is understood that the speeches are generally meant to be heard by all. It is only after the Svagata that a speech is Prakāśa. The contrast is brought out clearly in the deffnition given by Sarva :

मनस्यवस्थितं कार्यं पुरतः पार्श्ववर्तिनाम् ।
निश्शङ्कमुच्यते यत्तु तत्प्रकाशं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ SS. III. 44b–45a.

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* Cf. pp. 36, 39, and 84 of Arhhadyotanikā.

† Cf, pp. 17, 19, 23, 47, 99.

And still more clear is Sāgara who says :

‘ सम्प्रधार्य स्वयं पूर्वं यत्किंचिदभिधीयते ।
प्रकाशं तत्र कर्तव्यं यथाप्रस्ताववर्तिना ॥ RK. I. 2273f.

Jagad attributes wrongly the following to Bha :

‘ यत्तु सर्वजनश्राव्यं प्रकाशं तन्निगद्यते ’ इति भरतः Veni. p. 41 *

This is nothing but a versified recast of DRA.

II. Ātmagata and Svagata.

The text in NS does not seem to be quite difinite† but the idea is that any soliloquy aroused by different feelings is Ātmagata. The later theorists generally style it as Svagatam. The definitions except in SS are brief.

Sarva defines it as :

समीपावस्थितेष्वन्येष्वनेकेष्वाप्तबुद्धिषु ।
मनसा यन्नरो वक्ति स्वगतं तन्निगद्यते ॥ SS. III. 43b–44a.

It is essentially the general conception, except that the practical aspect is brought out more clearly, for it is in the presence of other characters that Svagata speeches are uttered. While mentioning the Abhinaya, Sarva calls it Ātmagata and says :

मनसा चिन्तयित्वार्थं हस्तविन्यस्तमस्तकः ।
भूयशो यद्वदेदन्तस्तदात्मगतमुच्यते ॥ ” SS. III. 59.

Sāgara takes Svagata and Ātmagata as two different items and recommends the use of Tripatākā hand as the stage-direction. Why and how he differentiates between the two which are apparently not different is not explained. He merely says :

‘ स्वगतमात्मगतं **चैव** स्वयं त्रिपताकपाणिना ।
यत्पठेत्तत्र संयोज्यं **द्वयमे**तत्प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ ’ RK I. 2265f.

Raṅga quotes this definition on Ātmagata (Vikram. p. 17) but does not explain the distinction.

Jagad attributes wrongly the following to Bha. not only in his commentary on Mālatī, but also on Veṇi (p. 16) :

‘ यत्तु श्राव्यं न सर्वस्य स्वगतं तदिहोच्यते ’ Mālatī p. 17 and 25.

This again is a versified recast of DRA.

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* Quoted in slightly different form in Mālati p. 25.

† Cf NŚ 25. 89ff KM.; and Nś. 26. 81 f KSS.

Ruci ascribes the following to Bha :

‘ हृदयस्थं वचो यत्तु तदात्मगतमुच्यते ।
यत्तु श्राव्यं न सर्वस्य स्वगतं तदिहोच्यते ॥ ’ Anargha I. p. 48;

This is a curious combination : the first pāda is from Bha and the other drawn from DRA. The definition is essentially the same any way. On the basis of the above couplet it cannot be remarked as Prof. Levi did : Ātmagatam n'est qu'une variete du svagatam; c'est un aparte ou le personnage s'interpelle.'* But if at all a difference has to be made out between Ātmagata aud Svagata in accordance with Sāgara's authority and some meaning has to be extracted from the terms themselves, it may be suggested that Ātmagata is the word that is yet *in* the character (हृदयस्थं वचः) and Svagata that which is to be heard by that character alone who speaks it *out*. (cf. ‘ स्वगतं स्वैकविज्ञेयम् RS)

III. Janāntika.

Bha's idea of the Janāntika† with the stage-direction of Tripatākā hand survives in the post-Bharata period. But the fact that it is a conversation between two persons, not heard by others on the stage is brought out by Dhana who says :

‘त्रिपताकाकरेणान्यानपवार्यान्तरा कथाम् ।
अन्योऽन्यामन्त्रणं यत्स्याज्जनान्ते तज्जनान्तिकम् ॥’ DR p. 33.

This is followed by most of the later theorists. Rāma comments यत्रान्येन सह जल्पो जनानामेकस्यैव गोप्यत्वात् बहूनामन्तिकं श्राव्यतया निकटं जनान्तिकम् (ND p. 31.) This seems to be an explanation of Dhana's phrase जनान्ते तज्जनान्तिकम्. Sarva agrees with Dhana when he says :

त्रिपताकं करं कृत्वा यदन्यस्य मनोगतम् ।
अप्रकाशं जनो वक्ति तज्जनान्तिकमुच्यते ॥ SS. III. 40b–41a.

But it does not explicitly mention if Janāntika is a conversation. Sāgara agrees with Dhana and the comment given by ND. RK noted :

वञ्चयित्वैकमन्योऽन्यं द्वाभ्यां यत्खलु पठ्यते
जनान्तिकं तत्कर्तव्यं त्रिपताकैकपाणिना ॥ RK 1.2267 f.

Kṛṣṇa mentions another detail about stage-direction suggesting the use of both Patākā and Tripatākā hands:

पताकात्रिपताकाभ्यां रञ्जितेन करेण च ।
कथान्तरेऽपवार्यान्यानन्योन्यं यत्तु मन्त्रणम् ॥
जनान्ते तच्च कविभिर्जनान्तिकमितीरितम् । MMC. p. 60

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* Levi : Le Theatre Indien : notes to p. 61.

† Cf. NS. 26. 83a (KSS).

Only Dhani, the commentary in SD following him, the eomment in ND and MMC explain the Tripatākā hand as spreading out all the fingers except the ring finger which is bent. Kṛṣṇa again deviates from the standard definitions of the Patākā and Tripatākā given in NS and followed by SR. MMC records :

तर्जनीमूलसंलग्नकुञ्चिताङ्गुष्ठकः करः ।
गण्डगः संहताकारप्रसारिततलाङ्गुलिः ॥
पताकः स्यादथ यदि वक्रितानामिकाङ्गुलिः
स एव श्रोत्रगस्तर्हि त्रिपताक इतीर्यते ॥ MMC. p. 60

The difference is that placing of the Patākā hand on the cheek and that of Tripatākā on the ear does not characterise them according to NS. (IX : 18 and 28. GOS II)

In the following definition given by Vīra the stage-direction regarding Tripatākā hand is absent :

अर्थस्त्वेकेन विज्ञेयः पश्चाज्ज्ञाप्यः प्रसङ्गतः ।
तज्जनान्तिकमित्युक्त्वा काव्यबन्धे निवेशयेत् ॥ Mahāvīra. p. 17

Jagad (Veṇi p. 19)and Ruci (Anargha p. 146) attribute the second pāda of the definition given in DR to Bha; standing alone this omits the stage-direction about Tripatākā hand. In the quotation in his commentary on Mālatī (p. 37) the definition of Bha is slightly modified. Like Rāghava (Śāk. p. 36), Vāsu (Karpūra p. 30) also quotes the definition from Dhana and of Tripatākā from SR.

IV. Apavārita

This is generally held to be a secret told to another avoiding at the same time other characters by turning aside from them. Dhana says : रहस्यं कथ्यतेऽन्यस्य परावृत्यापवारितम् DR. p. 33. It is unfortunate that such a Sanskritist as Prof. Apte should have been ignorant about Viśva borrowing from Dhana. Consequently he has erred in quoting from SD as follows in his Dictionary* :

तद् " भवेदपवारितम् । रहस्यं तु यदन्यस्य परावृत्य प्रकाश्यते ।
त्रिपताककरेणान्यानपवार्यान्तरा कथाम् ॥ "

The last pāda here definitely belongs to the definition of Janāntika not only in DR which is Viśva's source, but in BP, RS and other texts that follow these. It cannot be that Viśva meant to differ with Dhana from whom he so often draws the different definitions. Sarva omits the convention for no ostensible reasons.

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* ' Students Sansksit English Dictionary ' under ' Apavārita.'

Jagad records (Mālatī p.38) a better reading of NS thus :

'निगूढभावसंयुक्तमपवारितकं भवेत्' इति भरतः†

Ruci, as usual, takes one pāda from SD and tags on to it another one to constitute the verse which is attributed to Bha (Anargha p. 51). And again the half verse : रहस्यं कथ्यतेऽन्यस्य स्मृतं तदपवारितं is attributed to Bha at two places (Anargha p 132 and 147).

Now what exactly is the distinction between Janāntika and Apavārita ? Bha mentions that Janāntika is not heard by characters standing by, because certain situations demand that : 'कार्यवशादश्रवणं पार्श्वगतैर्यज्जनान्तिकं तत्स्यात् NS 26, 83a (KSS). And Apavārita is a secret sentence: निगूढभावसंसक्तमपवारितकं स्मृतम् ! NS 26. 82b (KSS). The difference therefore seems to be one of contents for according to Bha the stage-direction in both cases is the Tripatākā hand 'हस्तमन्तरितं कृत्वा त्रिपताकः प्रयोक्तृभिः जनान्तिकं प्रयोक्तव्यमपवारितकं तथा' (NS 26.87 KSS).

Abh points out the difference in the following words : एक एव शृणुयादिति तदपवारितं, जनान्तिकं एकान्तिकं त्वेकस्यैव निगूह्यते । (Abhi p. 367 BORI MS). This means that Apavārita is said with the idea of confiding in the secret, as it were, to a single person, but an 'Aside' made to avoid a single character on the stage is Janāntika. Dhana's definitions of the two suggest that Janāntika is a conversation between two characters, whereas Apavārita may not be so; for it is only a remark made in confidence to a single character. Moreover, there is the difference in the stage-direction. Unlike Bha, Dhana mentions the use of the Tripatākā hand only in the Janāntika; whereas in the Apavārita, the character making the remark has to 'turn aside', as is clear not only from the term Apavārita itself but also from Dhana's definition of it : परावृत्त्यापवारितम्. Rama follows Abh as regards the persons to be avoided in the two; ('इह यद्वृत्तमेकस्यैव गोप्यं बहूनामगोप्यं तज्जनान्तिकम् तद्विपरीतमपवारितम्' ND. p. 31). This means that Janāntika is though a conversation between two persons (Cf. above remark of ND and definition in RK), only one person is avoided, others are there to listen to it. The difference according to stage-direction as made out by Dhana is agreed to by Rāma also. But then this comment would conflict with the following quotation from Vasantarājīya given by Kāṭaya and this seems to agree with DR.

' अर्थस्त्वेकेन विज्ञेयो नियतश्राव्य इष्यते ।
द्विविधः स परिज्ञेयो जनान्तश्चापवारितः ॥" Mālavikā p. 25.

This agrees with DR in as far as both Janāntika and Apavārita according to Dhana are a matter of knowledge only for one character. What, then, does

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† Cf. NS. 26. 82b KSS–निगूढभावसंसक्तम् etc. etc.

Rāma mean by his comment ? He should be understood to say that though there are many characters present on the stage in the case of both Janāntika and Apavārita, the former is a conversation carried on between two characters by means of the Tripatākā hand and Apavārita is simply imparting a secret to a single confidant. Otherwise his would be a meaning against Dhana whose influence on him is undoubted. It is necessary that neither the Janāntika nor the Apavārita are heard by more than a single character who is addressed.

Sāgara differentiates between the two not by matter of contents as held by Bha and followed by Dhana, but by matter of person involved. He seems to follow Abh's distinction when he first defines Janāntika as a speech by Tripatākā hand avoiding a single person and defines Apavāritaka as its reverse thus : ‘ अपवारितकं तच्च परिवर्तकमुच्यते । ’ RK. I. 2269. The difference according to stage-direction is not so clearly brought out as has been done by Dhana.

No stage-direction is mentioned for these two by Kāṭaya according to Vasantarājīya. He seems to presuppose the Tripatākā hand as the stage-direction for Janāntika; but on Apavārita he says : अत्र पैरलक्ष्यव्यापारं कथितोऽर्थोऽपवारित: Mālavikā p. 25. Instead of a direct mention of ‘ turning aside ’ he says that this speech is said in such a manner that the other characters do not notice that any communication is being made. This is quite in keeping with the nature of Apavārita as held by Bha and later theorists as ‘ a remark in confidence ’.

V. Ākāśabhāṣita

It is a speech addressed to a person who is not there on the stage : ‘ दूरस्थभाषणं यत् स्यादशरीरनिवेदनम् ’ (NS 26. 80a.) The man employing this device himself puts the questions and replies them : तत्रोत्तरकृतैर्वाक्यैः संलापं सम्प्रयोजयेत् (ibid. 81a) as if some other person were doing it. Dhana mentions the way of putting the question; the character speaks such sentences as किं ब्रवीषि (MMC adds किं ब्रूथ; BP adds किं ब्रवीति) and pretends to hear even if no word is uttered. (DR p. 33) This is thus a speech in the void (Cf. शून्यभाषितं NL; व्योमोक्ति ND p. 127 beside Ākāśabhāṣita and Ākāśokti). Rāma details that in a certain case a question is put as if it was done by another character and some times a reply is stated as if somebody else has replied to the question put by the speaker. Both the cases are included in Akāśokti. ND p. 32. Sarva also agrees :

‘ अप्रत्यक्षेण पात्रेण सह रङ्गस्थितो नरः ।
यद्वक्त्यभिमुखीकृत्य तदाकाशमिति स्मृतः ॥ SS III. 1b-42a.

Jagad quotes the definition of NS (Veṇi p. 34), it being more similar to that in KSS edition of the text. Āt another place (ibid p. 99) he ascribes the following to Bha : ‘ पात्रस्याल्पतया यत्र पात्रं नैव प्रवेश्यते । आकाशे कर्णं दत्त्वाकाशे लक्ष्यं बध्वेति चोच्यते ॥ This seems to be an explanation of Ākāśabhāṣita and is similar to that in RK for the Āvakāśika Vākya. Ruci gives a text similar to the above-quoted one and fathers it on to Bha, together with the verse from DR :

‘ पात्रस्याल्पतया यत्र पात्रं नैव प्रवेश्यते ।
नेपथ्य इत्युक्त्वाकाशे लक्ष्यं बध्वेति चोच्यते ॥ ’ Anargha P. 12

The source of the two seems to be common and Jagad appears more faithful in his quotation.

Vīra gives a very brief definition thus : ‘ अप्रविष्टैः सहालापो भवेदाकाशभाषितम् । Uttara p. 9 and Mahāvīra p. 41. But the source remains unknown.

Ḍhuṇḍhi also records a very similar definition without naming his authority (Mudrā p. 48)

Vāsu attributes the definition given from DR to Bha. (Karpūra. p. 102).

PŪRṆASARASVATĪ AND HIS KAMALINĪRĀJAHAMSANĀṬAKA

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I. Purṇasarasvatī, his date and works.

Pūrṇasarasvatī is a brilliant commentator and poet whose works are characterised by an originality of thought and profundity of expression. His known works are :

(1) *Vidyullata*[*], an elaborate and scholarly commentary on Kālidāsa's *Meghasandeśa*, which by its originality of interpretation, stands, as its editor, the late Abhinavabhaṭṭabāṇa R. V. Krishnamachariar rightly claims[†], superior even to the commentary of Mallinātha;

(2) *Bhaktimandākinī*[‡], a commentary on Śaṇkarabhagavatpāda's *Viṣṇukeśādipādāntastotra*, as elaborate and brilliant as the *Vidyullatā*, and full of quotations from the Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and other works;

(3) *Rasamañjarī*[§], a commentary on Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, vividly bringing out the significance of the various dramatic situations, and explaining the poetic beauty of every verse and the delineation of the rasas;

(4) *Anargharāghavaṭippaṇī*[||], a short gloss on Murāri's *Anargharāghava*;

(5) *Ṛjulaghvī*,[¶], a metrical summary of *Mālatīmādhava*;

(6) *Haṃsasandeśa*[℣], a sandeśakāvya with *prema-bhakti* as its chief sentiment, in which a lady at Kāñcīpura seeing Lord Kṛṣṇa in the street (presumably the idol of Kṛṣṇa when taken out in procession during some festival),

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[*] Vani Vilas Sanskrit Series, Srirangam, 1926 (second edition).

[†] Ibid, Introduction, pp. ix-x.

[‡] Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1911.

[§] This work is now being published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

[||] Ms. No. T 859, Trivandrum,

[¶] Edited with Introduction and Notes by Prof. N. A. Gore in the Poona Oriental Series, No. 83, 1943.

[℣] Published by the late K. Sambasiva Sastri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 129, 1937.

falls in love with Him, and sends a swan to seek Him successively at Śrīraṅga Śrīnagarī (Alwartirunagari), Anantaśayana (Trivandrum), and Raktadruma (Tricchemmaram), and finally at Brindavana where He is sure to be seen, and move His mind by giving Him an account of her miserable plight, and get as a token of the love thus engendered in Him, His own garland of tulasi; and

(7) *Kamalinīrājahamsanāṭaka*[*], an account of which will be given later.

Certain other works like (i) a commentary on *Śivakeśādipādastava*,[†] (ii) an epitome of a part of *Abhinavabhāratī*, the commentary of Abhinavagupta on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata,[‡] and (iii) a commentary on the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha,[$] are also attributed to him, but details regarding these are yet to be known.

Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar[||] and K. Sambasiva Sastri[¶] record a tradition to the effect that Pūrṇasarasvatī belonged to Kāṭṭumāṭass which is a Nampūtiri family in the Ponani taluk in Malabar, noted for its proficiency in the mantraśāstra. But Dr. C. Kunhan Raja observes[♆] that he made enquiries in Malabar and found that there is no basis at all for assuming that Pūrṇasarasvatī belonged to Kāṭṭumāṭass. There also seems to be a tradition that he belonged to Cennās, another noted Nampūtiri family.[§] Therefore with the materials available at present it is difficult to say to which particular part of Kerala he belonged. Some seem to be of opinion that Pūrṇasarasvatī was a Vaiṣṇava Brahmin of Kāñcīpura.[@] This must have been based on the fact that the heroine in his *Hamsasandeśa* is a resident of Kāñcīpura. This evidence is quite inadequate to decide whether he had any connection with that place.

All the works mentioned above give the name of the author as Pūrṇasarasvatī, with the exception of *Ṛjulaghvī* and *Hamsasandeśa*, where for metrical exigencies it is given as Pūrṇasārasvata. As the name itself implies, he must have been a sanyāsin of the Sarasvatī order. But we have no means of knowing his name and works in his previous āśrama.

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[*] This work is now being published in the Journal of the Travancore University Otriental Manuscripts Library.

[†] K. Sambasiva Sastri : *op. cii.*, Introduction, p. iv.

[‡] M. R. Kavi : *Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharata* Vol. I, Baroda, 1926, Introduction p. 10.

[$] N. A. Gore : *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 15.

[||] *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 11.

[¶] *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. ii.

[♆] Adyar Library Bulletin May 1944, p. 118.

[§] I am indebted to Pandit E. V. Raman Namputiri, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, for this information.

[@] K. Sambasiva Sastri : *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. iii.

In all these works a certain Pūrṇajyoti is referred to in very reverent terms; and Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar observes* that this Pūrṇajyoti is the deity at Pūrṇatrayī (modern Trippunitura) in Cochin State. But as we are not aware of any record in which Pūrṇatrayī is referred to as Pūrṇajyoti, and as the omission of the mention of this important Kṛṣṇa temple in *Hamsasandeśa* is unaccountable if the reference is to this, this view is not acceptable. The reference is to his own guru by name Pūrṇajyoti, and this is supported by the statement :

तदिदानीं विशदश्रुतविनयमाधुर्यधुर्येण परमेश्वरभक्तिसारसीविहारकासारेण पदवाक्यप्रमाणनेत्रत्रयनिरीक्षणापरपरमेश्वरपूर्णज्योतिर्मुनिवरनिहितनिस्सृतकरुणामृतपूर्णचन्द्रेण पूर्णसरस्वतीनामधेयेन कविना निवद्धमिद्धरसमद्भुतार्थं कमलिनीराजहंसं नाम नाटकमभिनयन्तो गुणदोषनिकषदृषदं परिषदमेनां परितोषयितुमर्हन्तीति ।

in the Prologue to the *Kamalinīrājahamsanāṭaka*.†

Regarding the date of Pūrṇasarasvatī Pandit R. V. Krishnamachariar observes‡ that the references by the expression केचित् in the *Vidyullatā* are to the commentary of Mallinātha, and hence Pūrṇasarasvatī must be later than him. The incorrectness of this statement has already been proved by Prof. Gore$ and Dr. Kunhan Raja.|| The only instance where there is a resemblance to Mallinātha's statement, (and this has not been noted by Prof. Gore), is in the very first śloka where the *Vidyullatā* observes कान्ताविरहगुरुणा अलघुना दुर्भरेणेति केचित् and Mallinātha has कान्ताविरहेण गुरुणा दुर्भरेण, दुस्तरेणेत्यर्थः, and even here there is only 'some sort of verbal resemblance, but not complete identity.' But we have definite evidence to show that Pūrṇasarasvatī has not seen Mallinātha's commentary, for in explaining the word सारङ्ग in the śloka नीपं दृष्ट्वा etc. (I. 21), Pūrṇasarasvatī observes घ्राणे तु सारङ्गा गजा इति केचित्, 'करीव सिक्तं पृषतैः पयोमुचां शुचिव्यपाये वनराजिपल्वलम्' इत्युक्तत्वात्; अत्र प्रमाणं मृग्यम् । but Mallinātha has सारङ्गा मतङ्गजा कुरङ्गा वा । 'सारङ्गश्चातके भृङ्गे कुरङ्गे च मतङ्गजे' इति विश्वः । and if Pūrṇasarasvatī had seen this commentary he would not have stated अत्र प्रमाणं मृग्यम् ।

Pandit K. Sambasiva Sastri observes¶ that Pūrṇasarasvatī mentions in the *Vidyullatā* Divākara, the father (evidently a mistake for teacher) of Śāradātanaya,

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* *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 11.

† pp. 5-6.

‡ *op. cit.*, p. 11.

$ *op. cit.*, p. 19.

|| Vide *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. ix, pp. 143-145.

¶ *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. iv.

the author of *Bhāvaprakāśana*, and nowhere mentions Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭapāda (the author of Nārāyaṇīya), and hence his date falls between 1150 and 1590. This signifies nothing, for though a writer on rhetoric by name Divākara is quoted in the *Vidyullatā*, there is no evidence to show that this is the same Divākara as Śāradātanaya's teacher; and the absence of the mention of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa has no relevance here.

Prof. Gore assigns him a date between 1200 and 1450,* the upper limit being based on the date of *Prabodhacandrodaya* which is quoted in *Vidyullatā* and the lower limit on the fact that the *Vidyullatā* is criticised by Parameśvara of Payyūr mana, whom he takes as a contemporary of Uddaṇḍa.

Dr. Kunhan Raja observes† that this Parameśvara is the author of the commentary *Sumanoramaṇī* on Meghasandeśa, and that he is the grandfather of another Parameśvara, whom he places contemporaneous with Uddaṇḍa; that the date of Uddaṇḍa is about 1400, and as such the author of *Sumanoramaṇī* must be placed in the middle of the fourteenth century; that the poignant criticisms of the *Vidyullatā* in the *Sumanoramaṇī*‡ will lose much of their force if they are directed against a former commentator, and have a great significance if they are

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* *op. cit.*, p. 19.

† *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. ix, pp. 146-148.

‡ As instances may be given the following :

I Sumanoramaṇī, p. 2.

कश्चित्तु ग्रन्थनिवेशनलिप्सया भित्वा कश्चिच्छब्दमंशाभ्यां समानाधिकृताभ्यां जीवपरमात्मनोरैक्याभिधानमातिष्ठते । तत्तावदीदृशेष्वद्वैतासम्बन्धेषु ग्रन्थेषु सकलरूपनिरूपणस्यैव कर्तुं योग्यत्वान्नाद्रियामहे चित्पदस्य ज्ञानवाचिनो जीवाभिधायित्वमदृष्टचरम् । तस्माद्ग्रन्थनिवेशं विना मङ्गलविषयमनोवाक्कायव्यापारसद्भाव एवात्रास्थेयः ।

Vidyullatā, p. 2.

अथ......कविकुलपरमेश्वरो......'कं ब्रह्म खं ब्रह्म' इति, 'वह्नीन्द्रोपेन्द्रमित्रे कः' इति, 'काश्चित्तात्मार्कधीधातृवाताः' इत्यादिवचनैः परब्रह्मवाचिना ककारेण चित्तसाक्षिज्ञानमात्रस्वलक्षणजीवप्रतिपादकेन चिच्छब्देन च समानाधिकृताभ्यां जीवेश्वरैक्यमशेषपुरुषार्थमौलिभूतमनुसन्दधानः प्रथमपद्येन वस्तुनिर्देशं करोति— ।

II Sumanoramaṇī, p. 4.

यत्पुनरथं ग्रन्थः—अनेनैव कान्तातिसक्तिमूलत्वमपि शापस्यावगम्यते, अन्यथा तद्विरहविषयत्वानुपपत्तेः शापस्य इति, सोऽपि विरहस्य शापविषयत्वाभावात् प्रलापमात्रमेव ।

Vidyullatā, p. 3.

अनेनैव कान्तातिसक्तिमूलत्वमपि प्रमादस्यावगम्यते, अन्यथा तद्विरहविषयस्यानुपपत्तेः शापस्य ।

III Sumanoramaṇī, p. 4.

यत्तु महात्मनोऽपि यक्षस्य महिलासङ्गातिशयादनर्थपरम्परापतिता; अतो विषयेष्वतिसक्तिरनर्थाय,

(पुढील पानावर चालू)

against a comtemporary commentator, and hence we can assume that Pūrṇasarasvatī belonged to the fourteenth century, rather to the early part than to the latter part, and that at any rate he cannot be earlier than 1200 A. D. *

Let us now examine if we have other evidences for fixing the date of Pūrṇasarasvatī within nearer limits. There are quotations from the *Bhāvaprakāśana* of Śāradātanaya in the *Bhaktimandākinī*† and the *Rasamañjarī*, and the date of Śāradātanaya is 1175 to 1250.‡ Ānandabodha's *Nyāyadīpāvalī* and Citsukha's *Tattvapradīpikā* are also quoted in the *Rasamañjarī*,$ and these enable us to bring the upper limit of Pūrṇasarasvatī's date further down, for the date of Ānandabodha is the middle of the thirteenth century,‖ and Citsukha who

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'विनोदमात्रमेवेदमिति यस्यावधारणा विटवृत्तं स जानाति' इत्युक्तया रीत्या वर्तमानो न क्वचिदवसीदति इति ज्ञाप्यत इत्यादि प्रयोजनकथनं तेन कृतं तत्सकलं ग्राम्यमेव। असाधारणप्रयोजनासम्भवे काव्यमात्रसम्बन्धिनां प्रयोजनानां विद्यमानत्वात्।

Vidyullata, pp. 6-7.

महात्मनोऽपि यक्षस्य महिलासङ्गतरङ्गितानङ्गरसपारतन्त्र्यदोषस्य स्वाधिकारप्रमादः, तेन स्वामिकोपः, तस्माच्छापोपलम्भः, ततः स्वमहिमभ्रंशः, प्रियावियोगवेदनासन्तानानुभवश्चेत्यनर्थपरम्परा सम्पतिता; अतो विषयेष्वतिसक्तिरनर्थाय, 'विनोदमात्रमेवेदमिति यस्यावधारणा विटवृत्तं स जानाति' इत्युक्तया रीत्या वर्तमानो न क्वचिदवसीदतीति।

Almost all the references in the *Sumanoramaṇī* to earlier commentators through such expressions as कश्चित्, केचित् etc, are to the *Vidyullatā*, and they even make one believe that it was written with the deliberate purpose of criticising it. A complete list of such quotations will be given in the Introduction to *Meghasandeśa* with the commentary *Sumanoramaṇī*, in Vol. II No. 3 of the Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library.

* *Poona Orientalist*, Vol, ix, pp. 148.

† pp. 32, 33, 50.

‡ vide *Bhāvaprakāśana*, Baroda, 1930. Introduction, p. 76.

$ Under Act I verse 5 is seen

न्यायदीपावल्यामुदाहरणवाक्ये 'यद्यद् दृश्यं तन्मिथ्या यथा शुक्तिरूप्यम्' इति व्याप्तिग्रहणे उभयथापि समर्थितत्वात् ।

and *Nyāyadīpāvali* is evidently a work of Ānandabodha.

Under Act VII Verse 1 is seen

'तमालश्यामलज्ञाने निर्बाधे जाग्रति स्फुटे ।
द्रव्यान्तरं तमः कस्मादकस्मादुपलभ्यते ॥'

इति चित्सुखाचार्यप्रयोगात् ।

and this is a quotation from Citsukha's *Tattvapradīpikā* (The Bombay edition of the work reads अपलप्यते for उपलभ्यते in the last pāda).

‖ P. K. Gode : *Date of Ānandabodhayati*, Calcutta Oriental Journal, Vol. II, pp. 137-139.

has commented on the *Nyāyamakaranda* of Ānandabodha must be placed towards the close of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries A. D; and Pūrṇasarasvatī who quotes from him must be later. The upper limit of his date, therefore, is about the middle of the fourteenth century.

Now regarding the author of *Sumanoramaṇī* a definite date is not quite possible. He belonged to the family of the famous Payyūr Bhaṭṭas of Malabar, nine of whom (including a Ṛṣi and his son Parameśvara) along with Uddaṇḍa Śāstri, Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri and others formed the well-known *Eighteen-and-a-half poets* in the court of Mānavikrama, the Zamorin of Calicut. The main source for determining the date of this group of poets and scholars is the date of birth of Cennās Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiri, which is given in his *Tantrasamuccaya* as Kali 4529 (=1428 A. D.),[*] and the royal court they adorned must be in the latter half of the fifteenth century. But the exact identity of Ṛṣi and Parameśvara in this group is not known, for we know six generations of scholars in this family, namely, Ṛṣi I, his son Parameśvara I, his son Ṛṣi II, his son Parameśvara II, his son Ṛṣi III, and his son Parameśvara III, the author of *Sumanoramaṇī* being Parameśvara I, son of Ṛṣi I and Gaurī.[†] Some scholars tentatively take them to be Ṛṣi II and Parameśvara II.[‡] If this is true, the author of *Sumanoramaṇī* must be placed about 1400, and Pūrṇasarasvatī's date will fall towards the close of the fourteenth century; otherwise he can be placed only within the limits of 1350 and 1450 A. D.

II. Kamalinīrājahaṃsanāṭaka

The *Kamalinīrājahaṃsanāṭaka* is seen from its Prologue to have been written for enacting during a festival in the Śiva temple at Trichur (Vṛṣapurī) in Cochin State, and at the request of the Brahmins assembled there. The unique feature of this drama is that all the characters are drawn direct from Nature and constitute objects of Nature like birds, beasts and plants, and forces of Nature like the thunder-cloud, lightning and storm. But the play has no obvious allegorical or philosophical implication

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[*] V. A. Ramaswami Sastri : *Tantrasamuccaya of Nārāyaṇa*, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. 151, 1945, Preface, p. iii.

[†] Further details regarding this Parameśvara will be given in the Introduction to *Sumanoramaṇī* in Vol. II, No. 3 of the Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library.

[‡] Ullur S. Paramesvara Aiyar: *Vijñānadīpikā*, Part iv, Trivandrum, 1938, p. 151; C. Kunhan Raja : *Pūrṇasarasvatī*, in the Poona Orientalist, Vol. ix, p. 146. The argument of Dr. Raja for this identification is that it is in the time of Parameśvara II that we find seven members of the family living together. This is only a clue, and not a conclusive evidence, for we have no evidence to show that there were not so many members in the time of the other two Parameśvaras.

Rājahaṃsa (the King Swan), who is crowned king of birds, falls in love with Kamalinī (the Lotus) in the lake Pampā. He has a rival in his love, the elephant chief of the Vindhya mountain, whose advances are, however, repulsed and Kamalinī is married to him by Pampā, knowing that she reciprocates his love. The bridal couple is enjoying honeymoon in the lake when the infuriated elephant chief arrives to attack Rājahaṃsa. He is driven away by the crocodiles in the lake at the command of Pampā, but a fresh obstacle to their enjoyment springs up, for Rājahaṃsa is called to the Brahmaloka, by Pavanavega, the chief swan among Brahmā's vehicles, to discuss certain State matters, as their enemy Kālamegha (the thunder-cloud) is planning to attack them. Taking advantage of the opportunity thus provided by the absence of Rājahaṃsa, Kālamegha, aided by his friend Puromāruta (the storm), imprisons Kamalinī under water, and proceeds to crown his friend, the peacock, as the king of birds. The news reaches Rājahaṃsa's ears, and he mobilises his large army of birds for a fight, but while preparing to start for the fight, he is informed that his enemies have been vanquished by a curse of sage Śarat (the Autumn), who is sent for the purpose by Brahmā at the request of Pavanavega. And Rājahaṃsa is reunited with Kamalinī. This is the plot of the play.

An examination of this plot would indicate that, as observed before, it is certain natural phenomena and certain objects of nature personified and attributed with human feelings and emotions that constitute the characters in the drama. Thus the proverbial liking of the swan for the lotus is depicted as their love for each other. At the commencement of the rainy season the swans leave the ponds, and the lotuses do not blossom when there is hail. Hence the rain and storm are represented as their enemies. The desire of the elephant for the lotus turns out to be rivalry with the swan in his love for the lotus. The most enjoyable time for the swan and the best time for the efflorescence of the lotus, namely the Autumn, is depicted as their friend and well-wisher.

In conception the play is thus original, but in its representation it is quite conventional. The longing of the hero for the heroine reaching almost the extent of his becoming mad, their friends trying to relieve his sufferings by providing him with beds of lotus leaves and flowers etc., the intercession of extraneous characters for the help of the hero, are all after the conventional model and in conformity with the canons of Hindu dramaturgy.

But the play has certain defects. A primary defect is that it is more a dramatic poem than a drama, as there is much of narration and very little of action. The major part of the first Act is taken up by the dialogue between Kalahaṃsa, the friend of Rājahaṃsa and Kumudinī (the water-lily), the friend of Kamalinī, describing the love affair between them. The second Act is for the most part taken up by the description of the rising sun, the lake Pampā and the forests bordering on the lake, but there are certain incidents of dramatic interest also in this, namely, the arrival of the elephant and the forced separation of the couple. Almost the whole of the third Act is devoted to a rather over-drawn picture of the King's deeds when overpowered by his pangs of separation and the sorrow that his beloved was ill-treated and imprisoned by his enemies. The fourth Act forms mainly a dialogue between Kālamegha and Puromāruta, and the only incident which has a little dramatic interest here is Kālamegha's meeting with his wife Saudāminī (the lightning). The last Act has a somewhat desultory account of the various classes of birds that comprise Rājahaṃsa's army, and even after the reunion of the hero and heroine, the arrival and benediction of the sages Śarat and Nāḍījaṅgha (a crane) are unnecessarily elaborated.

Another important defect is that adequate attention has not been bestowed on characterisation. Neither Rājahaṃsa nor Kalahaṃsa impresses us with his valour. Kalahaṃsa stands gazing at the wrongs done to Kamalinī by the enemies and cries for help, but finally decides to fight—to die, not to win—but then he is taken away to his frind Rājahaṃsa, who, wonderfully enough, even after hearing of the calamities of his beloved, never hastens to her side. And when he finally mobilises his forces, the sage Śarat is made to curse his enemies and thus save him the trouble of a war. Also when his rival, the elephant chief, appears, the author, quite unmindful of the improbability and impropriety he brings about, makes Pampā, who is already announced much earlier as going to Brahmaloka arrive on the scene and order the crocodiles to drive away the tusker. These two major male characters are made to appear more imbecile than valorous and this is an unfortunate feature in their characterisation. It is also unworthy of the Commander-in-chief, Mānasavega, to stand behind the scenes and urge Kalahaṃsa to rush to the help of the afflicted king, when the queen is illtreated and imprisoned under his very eyes. The other characters are better drawn. For instance, Kālamegha and Puromāruta are of a different mould. They have an individuality and tenacity of purpose, though their malignity is motiveless. They are the villains of the piece. Kamalinī is also impressive as a timid young heroine ever merged in the thoughts of her lover.

Pūrṇasarasvatī seems to have intended the play to be a humorous one as is discernible from the verse—

अस्माहृशो मन्दहृशः पृथिव्यां हास्यान् व्यधास्यन् यदि न प्रबन्धान् ।
विनोदकाले विपुलाशयानां विहासहेतुः किमिवाभविष्यत् ॥

in the Prologue. There is of course the element of humour inherent in a work of this sort dealing with the love affair of a bird, but there are no situations where this element is predominant. Only in the king's honeymoon scene is there a ight touch of it.

But considered as a poem the merit of this drama is indeed high. It contains certain very fine pieces of poetry and the descriptions, which it abounds in, have a charm of their own. Several prose passages are modelled on the classical prose works, though even in the verses a predilection for rare words and highsounding expressions is often seen.

The drama, on the whole, is, as already observed, an original attempt at the introduction of objects of Nature as its characters, and to that extent it is a success. The shortcomings are accountable if we presume that this may be one of the earlier works of Pūrṇasarasvatī.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF SARVAJÑĀTMAN

K. Sitaramayya, Hyderabad

Sarvajñātman is the famous author of Saṅkṣepa Śārīraka, one of the earliest works on Śankarācārya's Brahmasūtra Bhāṣya. Dr. Chintāmaṇi of the Oriental Research Institute, Madras University, in an erudite essay on the date of Śaṅkara in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, incidentally suggested the following points on the date of Sarvajñātman.

1. Deveśvara, whom Sarvajñātman mentions as his guru is not Sureśvarācārya, the disciple of Śaṅkara.

2. It might be that Manukulāditya, whom Sarvajñātman mentions as the King of his time is the same as Bhāskara Ravi Varman and therefore, Sarvajñātman might have lived about A. D. 978.

3. Sarvajñātman, according to the traditions recorded by the commentators of Saṅkṣepa Śārīraka should have lived subsequent to Vimuktācārya, the author of Iṣṭasiddhi and consequently should have been a contemporary o Ānandabodha and lived in 10th century A. D.

It is proposed in this note to discuss the above points seriatim.

1

The following is the verse which gives rise to the first two points :

“ श्रीदेवेश्वरपादपंकजरजस्संपर्कपूताशयः
सर्वज्ञात्मगिरांकितोमुनिवरस्संक्षेपशारीरकम् ।
चक्रे सज्जनबुद्धिवर्धनमिदं राजन्यवंश्ये नृपे
श्रीमत्यक्षतशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ! । ”[*]

Tradition makes this Deveśvara identical with Sureśvara. It is curious why the learned Doctor, who is very zealous of upholding uncontradicted tradition more than once in his essay should discard the above tradition conveniently. No one prior to Dr. Chintāmaṇi ever doubted this tradition, much less contradicted it. He relies on the very word Deveśvara also for his dissent. The tradition interprets this first part of the name "Deva" as "sura" and makes the whole word equal to "Sureśvara." Dr. Chintāmaṇi in his enquiries into the vast field of Sanskrit research must have come across numerous such words as names of individuals. To give a few examples, Pūrṇabodha is used for Pūrṇaprajña and Satyabodha is derived from Satyajnāna. I quote the following extreme example.—

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[*] Saṅkṣepaśārīraka IV 62.

" श्रीमत्त्रय्यंतसिद्धांतगुरुपुत्रेण कथ्यते । सत्योत्तरप्रसादार्थं तत्त्वत्रयनिरूपणम् ॥ "*

This is a verse written by one Varadarāja in his commentary on Vedāntadeśika's Rahastrayasāra. The word "त्रय्यंतसिद्धांतगुरु" stands for Vedāntadeśika. That the colophon at the end of each chapter of Saṅkṣepa Śarīraka consistently gives the name as Deveśwara does not in the least enhance the strength of Dr. Chintāmaṇi's argument.

I shall now endeavour to show that the tradition which is handed down is not only not contradicted but positively corroborated. Dr. Chintāmaṇi on page 49 of his essay, while disposing of the chronologies of gurus preserved in the various mutts as not reliable, fortunately admits the genuineness when there are corroborative evidences. I give below a part of Kānci Chronology which is not contradicted by the learned Doctor and which has corroborative references:

† 1. Śaṅkarācārya.
2. Sureśvara.
3. Sarvajñātman.
4. Satyabodha.
5. Jñānānanda or Jñānottama.
6. Śuddhānanda.
7. Ānandajñāna.

I begin from the last name in the above table. Ānandajñāna is the general Ṭīkākāra on all Śaṅkara's works and is called by another name as Ānandagiri. He mentions himself as the disciple of Śuddhānanda in the following Colophon :

इति श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य-शुद्धानंदपूज्यपादशिष्यश्रीमदानंदज्ञानविरचिते."‡

The link between 6 and 7 is thus corroborated. Jñānānanda in his previous āśrama was called Jñānottamamiśra and gives his whereabouts as follows :

चोलेषु मंगलमितिप्रथितार्थनाम्नि । ग्रामे वसन् पितृगुरोरभिधां दधानः ।
ज्ञानोत्तमस्सकलदर्शनपारदृश्वा । नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिविवृतिं कुरुते यथावत् ॥ "$

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* Rahasyatrayaculuka.

† Table appended in Śaṅkara and his successors at Kāñci by N. Venkatraman.

‡ Colophon in Sarirakanyayanirnaya.

$ Introductory verses in Candrikā.

Mr. N. Venkataraman M. A. supports me in the above view. This, Jñānottama mentions his Guru and Paramaguru in the two following verses :

" पट्कशतकुमारिलगुर्वक्षपादकणभक्षः । यमनियमो जयति श्रीसत्यबोधाचार्यः "*

" वस्तुख्यातिविधातिवादितिमिरं नैष्कर्म्यसिद्धिस्फुटं ।
व्याख्याचंद्रिकया विधूय सुधियां सद्दृष्टिमुन्मीलयन् ॥
अंतस्संभृतशांतिवेदनसुखोद्योतस्समुज्जृंभते ।
सर्वज्ञाश्रमचंद्रमास्त्रिजगतीसर्वज्ञचूडामणिः ॥ "*

He touches Suresvara in the following verse :

" नैष्कर्म्यसिद्ध्यभिधया सुधया सुधियांव्यधात् । योमृतत्वं नमामस्तं सुरेश्वरसुधानिधिम् " †

Thus we see that the link between 2 and 5 is firmly established and the link between Śankara and Suresvara is indissoluble. The Chronology is thus completely corroborated by unimpeachable literary evidence. This is supported by the further tradition that Sarvajñātman wrote a commentary on his Guru's Naiskarmyasiddhi, a work which is unfortunately lost, but which ifextant would have thrown much light on this vexed question. Dr. Chintāmaṇi should now find no objection to recognise the tradition as his condition is satisfied.

II

I shall now try to locate the mention by Sarvajñātman of Manukulāditya. Mr. N. Venkataraman mentions this king as 'practically impossible to identify'.‡

There is no doubt that there was Cola ascendancy in the 9th century A. D. when some kings of the dynasty were so powerful as to rule Pāndya kingdom also. The Cola Kings claimed their descent from Manu who ruled the Earth with full justice. Therefore, they called themselves as being Manukula. If it can be found that any kings of this dynasty are called Ādityas we need not wander far to indentify this king mentioned by Sarvajñātman. There is one more clue to help us to identify him because Sarvajñātman mentions this king as " अक्षतशासन " or 'of uninterrupted sway'. Mr. Pillai who identifies this king with Bhāskararavivarman has strayed very far to indentify him, and in the same manner Prof. Hiriyanna is far from the truth when he identifies this King with the founder of Kollam Era (A. D. 824 or 825).

In the Cola Dynasty there are two kings by the name Āditya. 1. The first is Āditya I, the successor of Parakesarivarman Vijayālaya, who reigned between A. D. 880 and 907. He was also called Rājakesarivarman. 2. The second is

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* The last two verses of Candrikā.

† Vide introductory verses.

‡ Śankara and his Successors, P. 51.

Aditya II, the son of Parāṇtaka II who was succeeded by Parakesarivarman Uttamacola in A. D. 969.*

We shall now examine who, as between these two, answers the description of Sarvajnātman. Prof S. K. Iyangar states as follows about both:

1. "Āditya I continued the forward policy of his father and conquered finally the Pallava Aparājita, victor over Pāndyavaraguṇa and brought himself into touch with Rashtrakūtas on his northern frontier. If the Kongu-Desarājakkal is worthy of any credit, he was also the conqueror of Koṇgu. The history of his successors seems only to confirm this so far. His was also a long reign of 27 years and brings us to the reign of his son Parāntaka I".†

2. "Parāntaka II was succeeded by his son Aditya II Karikāla of whom but little is known beyond the achievement against Pāndya as a boy. He was followed on the throne by his first cousin Parakesari Varman Uttamacola".‡

If we compare the careers of the two above kings we find that neither the prowess nor the achievement of the latter entitles him to be called of " uninterrupted sway ", but the former deserves the title eminently. Besides, the reign of Āditya I should have extended as far as Kānci, the capital of the Pallavas because he conquered Aparājita. So in the years in which Sarvajnātman wrote his work Āditya should have been reigning and Kānci should have been part of the Cola Kingdom. This is confirmed by the words " अक्षतशासन " in the verse. This does not apply to Āditya II because he did not reign for any length of time, and we do not know if his frontier extended as far as Kānci. Thus all the indications go to show that the former was the king unmistakably mentioned by Sarvajnātman. Because his rule extended from A. D. 882 to 907, this work should have been written in the height of Aditya's glory somewhere about A. D. 890. It is also probable that the respectful reference to the reign of Āditya I should have been the result of patronage enjoyed by the Mutt at his hands. It is quite justifiable, therefore, that the head of the Mutt should make such appreciative references to the ruler.

I shall now mention two factors which go a long way to corroborate the above data.

1. It is undeniable that Sarvajnātman lived long though the time assigned by the Guruparampară is unbelievable. Tradition mentions that he was initiated

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* Early History of India by V. A. Smith p. 404.
Ancient India by S. K. Iyangar p 99
Colas by Neelakantasastri p 130
Ancient India p 103.

† Ancient India pp 99, 100.

‡ Ibid p 103.

even when he was very young as a Brahmacāri, during the lifetime of Śaṇkara himself. We do not actually know who gave him holy orders, but Sureśvara acted as his guardian after Śankara. It was after Sureśvara that Sarvajnātman began to rule independently. This tradition is not contradicted.* It we take it that he lived for 80 years Śaṇkara's death might have taken place when Sarvajnātman was ten years old. Calculating back from A. D. 890, this comes to about A. D. 820. This is the date of Sankara now ruling the field of research.

2. Dr. Chintāmani admits in his essay that Ānandabodha and Prakāśātman belong to the last part of the tenth century A. D.

One Citsuka wrote a commentary on Ānandabodha's Pramāṇamālā called Tātparyaṭīkā. This Citsuka should, therefore, have been a younger man than Ānandabodha by a few years and so can be assigned to the closing years of the tenth century or the opening years of the eleventh century. This Citsuka calls himself the disciple of Jnānottama whose Guru is Satyabodha in the following verse :

" ज्योतिर्यद्दक्षिणामूर्ति व्यासशंकरशब्दितम् । ज्ञानोत्तमाख्यं तं वंदे सत्यानंदपदोदितम् ॥ "

The two mentioned are Nos. 4 and 5 in the genealogy given in the first part of this note. As regards this there should be no doubt. Prof. Hiriyanna thinks that the words " सर्वज्ञाश्रम " means the name of a Pitha as "सर्वज्ञपीठ ". But this does not hold water as we find many yatis being called Asramins. Kaivalyāśramin, Nārāyaṇāśramin and Nṛisiṃhāśramin are familiar names in the domain of Advaitavedānta. It also appears that this Citsuka is the same as the author of Tattvapradipika and a commentary on Anandabodha's Nyāyapadesamakaranda.

Citsuka is said to have been the author of a commentary called Bhāvatattvaprakāśika on Sureśvara's Naishkarmyasiddhi. Further, this Jnānottama is surely the same as No. 4 in the Kanci Genealogy according to the native village and parentage given in Puṇyaślokamanjari. Thus there is no doubt as to the identity of these two Ācāryas. Taking, therefore, a little above 30 years as the period of each generation, Sarvajnātman should have flourished nearly one century prior to Citsuka i. e. in the last years of the ninth century A. D. This brings us again to A. D. 890 or thereabouts which in the previous division is shown as the probable date of composition of Saṅkshepaśārīraka.

III

There is one question in Dr. Chintāmaṇi's article that requires an answer in this connexion, i. e. the relation between Vimuktātman, the author of

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* Sankara and his successors, pp. 50, 51.

Iṣṭasiddhi and Ānandabodha. This brings us to the third point. It is too late at this stage to deny that Iṣṭasiddhi presupposes Śaṇkara and Sureśvara. This does not militate against my view because Sarvajñātman is admittedly subsequent to Śaṇkara and Sureśvara. Besides, the tradition that the author of Isṭasiddhi is referred to in Sarvajnātman's mention of "मुक्तिकोविदाः" is well-spread because not only the three commentaries mentioned by Dr. Chintamani affirm it, but also Nrisiṃhāśramin and Viśvaveda, authors of two unpublished commentaries also avow it.

"ज्ञानोमंगलनाम्नि चोलविषये नागेशसंज्ञात् द्विजात् ।
श्रीज्ञानोत्तम इत्यवाप्तबिरुदः यस्तार्किकाग्रेसरः ॥ "

Therefore, unless cogent evidence is adduced contra this tradition cannot be escaped ftom. The earliest of these commentators should have started the tradition which is successively handed down. But one thing is undeniable that the view that is said to have been mentioned by Sarvajnātman as being that of the author of Iṣṭasiddhi is not propounded for the first time by that author but is generally prevalent among all the older Vedāntins. The suggestion made by Dr. Chintāmaṇi with the distinguished support of Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidyāvāchaspati S. Kuppuswami Sastriar that Ānandabodha is the disciple of Vimuktācārya seeks to bring Sarvajnātman down to the tenth century A. D With the greatest respect to my revered Guru, the distinguished Mahāmahopadhyaya, I am constrained to hold that the above suggestion has very slender basis. The word " गुरुभिः " in Ānandabodha's Pramāṇamālā is made to convey an actual relationship of guru-sishya between Vimuktācārya and Ānandabodha. I am prone more to take the word in its simplest sense meaning " all the Ācāryas prior to him" because the view said to have been put forth by the preceptors is one generally accepted by all the prior Vedāntins. I, therefore, humbly feel that I should differ from the interpretation given by my revered Guru, and I am fortified in my view by the cogent evidence adduced above. Unless stronger ground is touched, the interpretation cannot be accepted as established. I hope to show in the near furure that the relationship of guru-sishya between Vimuktācārya and Ānandabodha is not correct. Let me now be content by suggesting that Sarvajnātman and Vimuktātman are very nearly contemporaries.

After all, it is obvious for many reasons, as Dr. Chintamani hinself has said, that the last word has not been said about the date of Śankara.

My hope is that the view mentioned in this essay may be one more argument in favour of the date of Śankara that now holds the field.

A RARE WORK OF SRI RĀMAKAṆṬHA, THE WELL-KNOWN KASHMIRIAN AUTHOR.

Shri **S. M. Fazlullah,** Madras.

There is a manuscript entitled Kiraṇāgama-vṛtti (with D. No. 17160) in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. In a verse at the end of the Manuscript and in the colophon it is stated that the author of the Vṛtti is Bhaṭṭa–Rāmakaṇṭha, son of Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha.

On page 507 of T. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum we find the name of Rājānaka Rāmakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa, son of Nārāyaṇakantha, disciple of Utpaladeva mentioned as the author of 11 works. But the Kiraṇāgamavṛtti is not mentioned there. On page 38 of "Kashmir shaivism" of J. C. Chatterji (Volume II Bombay. 1914) after Utpalāchārya, Rāma is mentioned as the author of 3 works, viz., "Spanda-vivṛti, Commentary on the Mātaṇga-tantra (?) and Commentary on the Bhagwad-Gita from the Shaiva point oi view (?)." The query-marks are Mr. Chatterji's. But it is now beyond doubt that " Rāma, brother of Muktākaṇa and descendant of Nārāyaṇa" (Vide page 40 of Chatterji's ' Kashmir Shaivism.') is the author of the "Sarvatobhadra," a Kashmirian commentary on the Bhagavad-Gīta, because it is so stated in one of the concluding verses of the "Sarvatobhadra" itself, published by the University of Madras in 1941. In the colophon of this edtion the author' s name is mentioned as "Rājānakarāma." Some similarity, in language and style, between the "Sarvatobhadra" and the "Kiranāgama-vṛtti" may also be found, though such internal evidence must be used with much caution. In a verse at the very beginning (of the Manuscript) of the "Kiranāgamavṛtti," the author Rāmakanṭha refers to his other philosophical and religious works in these words:—"Prokto *vistaratah* padārthaviṣayo yuktyāgamair nirṇayah, prayonyatra maya Kṛtārtha-vimatic-chedāya-sādharṇah" (these words are written exactly as they are found in the manuscript).Thus Rāmakanṭha appears to be a fairly prolific writer. Only the commentary on the Vidyāpāda of the Āgama is found in this Manuscript. In his introductory remarks, Rāma says that this Āgama was graciously taught at first to Garutmān (the vehicle of Viṣṇu) by Umāpati (*Śiva*) and was handed down (without any alteration and) in the original form from masters to their pupils, perhaps orally. In the "Siddhāntaratnāvaḷi" of Trilocanaśivācarya, it is said that the Kiranāgama consists of (4) four parts, viz., Vidyā, Kriyā, Caryā and yoga ("Kirankhyam mahātantram... *Vicāra*-pratipādakaṃ *Kriyā-caryā*-samopetam *yoga*-bhuti-parāvaham). But the Kiraṇāgama does not appear to be available in its entirety anywhere. In the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library only the text of the Kriyāpāda is available as an incomplete manuscript entitled Kiraṇāgama-tantram (No. D. 15265). The word pāda (one-fourth as in Kriyāpāda (vide colophon of the Tanjore Library Manusrript) is tell-tale and indicates that the Āgama consists of four parts. It is hoped that the future will bring to light manuscript material which will not only give us the Āgama in a complete form but also throw light on the question as to how many Rāmakanṭhas flourished and wrote and which of them composed the Kiraṇāgamavṛtti.

A NEW LIGHT ON THE DATE OF UMĀPATI UPĀDHYĀYA THE MAITHILI POET

Pandit Jayakant Mishra, Allahabad

Aufrecht Mentions fourteen Umāpatis in his *Catalogus Catalogorum.*[*] A careful analysis of these names reveals that the only author who can be identified with Umāpati Upādhyāya[†] the author of the the earliest Maithili Drama in Mithilā proper so far discovered, called the *Pārijāta-Haraṇa* (the Rape of the Pārijāta) is Umāpati Upādhyāya, son of Ratnapati Upādhyāya and Ratnāvati, the author of *Padārthiya-divyacakṣu.* The other sources[‡] indicate that Umāpati the author of *Śuddhi-nirṇaya* as also Umāpati the author of *Sārasaṃgraha* and *Smṛtidīpika* bore the title of Upādhyāya and were probably Maithilas...all these works are in Maithilī script, are found in Mithilā primarily,[$] and are traditionallly known to be Maithila works.

While it is difficult to assert with any dogmatic certainty, it is possible to identify all these with the one whom we are to discuss in the present article. For, tradition has it that the poet Umāpati was also the leading *dharmashāstrī* of his time; indeed, it was his authority that made the views of such a well-known figure as Gokulanātha Upādhyāya weighty in a certain assembly of paṇḍits at the capital of Mithilā.* This identification is, of course, supported by the title which is invariably attached to the poet *Mahāmahopādhyāya kavi-paṇḍita-Mukhya* at the end of his drama in all MSS available, and by the Dharmaśāstra-works referred to above.

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[*] Part I, p. 70.

[†] Other Umāpatis are Umāpati Dalapati (patron of Kecava Paṅdita), Umāpati (father of Candracuda), Umāpati (father of Premanidhi), Umāpati (father of Narsimhasen, father of Vicvanāthasen under Mahārāj Gajapati of Orissa), Umāpati of the *Karunākalpalatābhakti* MSS in Nagara characters in Oudh), Umāpati Tripathin (? of Oudh ?), Umāpati (author of Pratisthāviveka and śuddhinirnaya (?)) Umāpati (of Ratnamālātikā an Oudh Ms), Umāpati (of Hathapradipikātippana,) Umāpati Datta (grammarian, contemporary of Jumarn -nandin quoted by Gopicanda), Umāpātidhara or simply Umāpati poet (? the famous poet of the court of LaKṣmaṅa Vrtti-värttika Oudo Mss)

[‡] *Mithivā MSS Oat,* , Vols I and II *B*ihar Research Society, patna); Mita, *Noticef* and kine *History* of *Dharmashastra,* Vol. I, p. 983 " Drrlier than 1575 A. D. ?? author of pratishtaviveka, Shuddhinirṇaya, Shrāddhanirṇaya. " It is possible that the Vrhat—tithinirṅaya describing the social structure of Maithila " Kulinism " and its origin, noticed by the pandit—paṅcānana Shree Lootana jha of koilak× (vide : Mithiā—Modā Yr. 27, Udgāra4 Māgoa) may also be the work of tht ap arently this Mss is deposited.

[$] Except one copy of Suddinirnaya (noted work on its subject) which is found in Oudh notices.

If this identification is correct, then we may be fairly sure of the author's ancestral family. He is described as *Pagaṅgaulī-saṃ*, thus giving his *mūlagrāma.* A detailed corroboratin of this can be had by a direct reference to the famous *Maithila-Pañjīs* or genealogical records of Maithilas. Thus, Grierson in his edition of the *P H* traced him to the village Koilakha in Bhaur Parganna of the present district of Darbhanga.

As regards the period when the poet flourished there is a difference of opinion among scholars, Grierson held that he means Hari (-Hara-) simha Deva (Rajput ruler of Mithilā c. 1324 A. D.) when the poet calls his patron "Hindūpati-Hariharadeva." Mr. B. K. Chatterji in his essay on Vidyāpati, confirms this conclusion and adds that this king is rightly described as 'Hindūpati' and as victorious over *yavanas* because we know that Harisimhadeva was victorious over the Muslims. Some scholars have also found an internal evidence to support this view; there is a definite play, according to them, on the alternative names of *Hara-or-Hari—Simhadeva* in the following lines, on the analogy of a similar play on the name of Harisimhadeva in the Gīta-vidya-kathā of the *Puruṣa-Parīkṣā :*

सुकवि **उमापति हरि** होएत परसन मान होएत समधाने ।
सकल नृपतिपति हिन्दूपति जिऊ पटमहिषी चिरमाने ॥

There is, however, another view which found its earliest expression in the introduction of the PH published in 1917 by Pt. Chetanātha Jhā. He purports to make Umāpati Upādhyāya a contemporary of Pt. Gokulanatha Upādhyāya who is known to have flourished in Mahārāja Rāghava Simha's reign (1701, 1739) He was according to this view a court-poet of a local chieftain of a place called Mekmānī (? Kammānī) in the Saptarī parganna of present Nepal, near the Bhaptiahī Railway Station on the O. T. R.

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*The reference is to the following verse, said to have been uttered by Umāpati (not by Rāmdās Pt. Cetnātha Jhā would have us believe) when he was called by the Mahārāja of Mithilā to a grand gathering of Paṇdits, which was to discuss some dharmsshāstra topics, when floods checked him—

हम अतिवृद्ध नदी मरखाहि ।
एकठा नाओ चढ़ब नहिं ताहि ॥
गोकुलनाथ कहे छथि जएह ।
हमरो सम्मति जानब सएह ॥

(Dr. Mishra, *Hindustani*, April 1935, p. 117).

Of late, most Maithila scholars seem to have favoured this latter view. Babu Narendranatha Das discovered an old document which contains a poem by this Mekmānī chieftain. It may interest the readers to read it :

दखिन पवन तुअ जाहे
जहाँ रे बसति मोर नाहे ।
नैनि ढरकि खसु नीरे
भिजु अरु चीरे ॥
पिया बिनु दगध शरीरे
जाइन देखल पथ काने ।
मदन सजल पचत्वाने
अरि अनुमाने ॥
कलजोरि करि विनती
वर नहि तजथि पिरीती ।
राजा हिन्दूपति मखभानी
जनि देलनि पहुमानी ॥

The orthodox *Maithila-Pañji* records are said to support the second view, but I have had no opportunity to examine this evidence personally. Pt Ramānātha Jhā has, however, been examining these recently and it is hoped that he will publish his findings in this respect not very long after.

Before I submit a new approach to the date of Umāpati, it is proper to notice that there are more evidences, both positive and negative, which support the latter view. We can understand Dr Grierson's mistake in insisting in a subsequent article on the subject,* that in spite of Pt. Chetanātha Jhā's assertion, he was not able to change his view; for, as Dr. S. K. Chatterji reminds us in the introduction of the famous Maithili classic of the time of Harisimhadeva, Grierson had unfortunately no knowledge of the *Varṇana-ratnākara.* A careful reading of the P H leaves no doubt that as compared with the V R 's language the former is certainly a work of an author of a more recent date. It is, however, surprising to find Mm. Dr. Umesha Mishra† arguing for Grierson's conclusion. He finds some literary similarities between Umāpati and Vidyāpati, and having indicated some archaic features in Umāpati's language, declared the former to be the older and even superior to the latter. But all this can be easily explained to prove a case either way. It will be indeed a very partial critic of Vidyāpati who cannot tolerate the existence of a better poet in later times. Similarities may only indicate that Umāpati was fond of Vidyāpati and that consciously or unconsciously he echoed or even improved upon the lines or ideas of his predecessor. The archaic flavour of the language of the P H is in itself a very indecisive argument, for it may be the result of conscious effort on the author's part.

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* "The Date of Umāpati," *JBORS*, vol III. pt. iv (Dec. 1917).

† Mahāmahopādhyāya Kasipaṅditamukhya Umāpati Upādhyāya," *Hindustani*, vol 5, April 1935, p. 116, (Allahabad).

Grierson has many objections to the second view and before we meet them it is necessary that the following fact may be noted. In the beginning of *Vṛttimuktāvalī*, an elementary treatise on prosody by Durgādatta, the name of the patron is given as Hindūpati and his genealogy is traced in the following verses—*

राजन्यवंशाज्जनिदायुधामा भूगोऽभव**च्चम्पतिराय**नामा ।
तदात्मजो विश्वविसारिकीर्त्तिः **श्रीछत्रपालः** सुविशालमूर्तिः ॥
हृदयसाहनृपोऽजनि तत्सुतः सकलभूपगुणेन समन्वितः
समिति यो धनुषा सह सत्वरं नमयति स्म परोन्नतकन्धरम् ॥ ५ ॥
विपक्षभूभृत्करिणः **सभायां सिंहो**पमस्तस्य सुतः सभायाम् ।
अतः क्षमासिंह इति प्रसिद्धिं जगाम गन्ताखिलकार्यसिद्धिम् ॥ ६ ॥
बुन्देलाभिधराजसिन्धुशशिनः श्रीमत्सभासिंहतो ।
भूपाल्लब्धजनैरनेकवसुधासामन्तचूडामणेः ॥
श्रीहिन्दूपतिभूपते तव शुभं शौरिः सशैलात्मजा ।
नित्यं निर्मलपङ्कजाननमुदा कुर्वन्तु सम्वर्धितम् ॥ ७ ॥
ज्येष्ठः **श्रीसिरनेतसिंह** इह यः सिंहोपमः सङ्गरे ।
भूभास्वान**निरुद्धसिंह** उदितः श्रीमांस्ततो **धोकलः** ॥
देवीसिंहसहोदरेण सहितः सामन्तसिंहस्तथा ।
पञ्चैते तव बालका नृप चिरं सन्तु क्षमापालका : ॥ ८ ॥
शरीरशोभाजितमीनकेतो विद्वज्जनानन्दकदम्बहेतो ।
विज्ञप्तिरेषा मम दीनबन्धो निशम्यतां शीलसुधैकसिन्धो ॥ ९ ॥
सर्वगुणयुक्तासौ **वृत्तमुक्तावली** ।
हिन्दूभूपसदये हृदये सन्निवेश्यते ॥ १० ॥
पाणिन्यादिकृतप्रबन्धरचना दिव्याकृतिव्याहृति ।
व्याख्या सख्यतुलप्रसादकरणं संख्यातसौख्योदयः ॥
दुर्गादत्तसुधीर्विधाय रुचिरां श्रीवृत्तमुक्तावलीं ।
श्री हिन्दूपतिभूमिपालहृदये हर्षेण विन्यस्तवान् ॥

This will show that the patron of 'Maithila-Durgādatta'† was the son of Sabhā-simha (*alias* Kṣmāsimha), grandson of Hṛdayashāha, great-grandson of Chattrāpāla, and great-great-grandson of Campatirāya, a Kṣatriya ruler of Bundelakhaṇḍa (modern C. P.).

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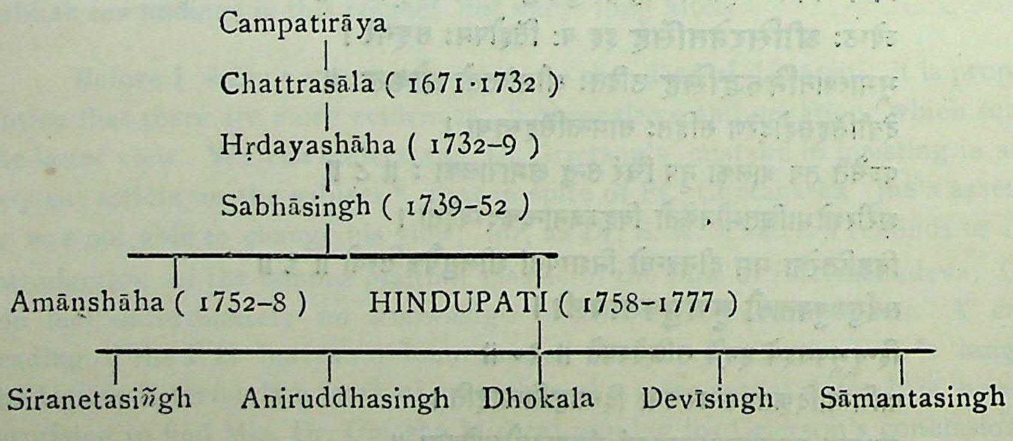
* *Mithila MSS Cat.*, vol II pp. 19-20.

† *Ibid*, colophon : इति श्रीमैथिलदुर्गादत्तविरचितायां वृत्तमुक्तावल्यां वृत्तबोधको नाम तृतीयः प्रयासः ॥

History corroborates this. A brief description of the way in which these rulers of Bundelakhaṇḍa were able to drive away the Muslims and keep themselves secure will not be out of place here. The rule of Hindūpati (1758-77) lay in Pannā Raj, The Panna chiefs are Bundela chiefs, descended from the famous Orchā House. After the revolt and subsequent death of Orchā in 1635, the whole of Bundelakhaṇḍa was plunged into anarchy. Taking advantage of this state of affairs Campati Ray, a grandson of Udot Singh the brother of Madhukara of Orchā, commenced harassing the Mughals in every possible way and established himself as the recognized leader of the Bundela cause. His son Chattrasāl was very famous and succeeded by 1671 to become the virtual ruler of all Bundelakhaṇḍa. In 1675 he moved to Pannā, and when his possessions were divided in 1731 the largest portion fell into the hands of his eldest son Hṛdaya-shāh who established himself at Pannā. Hṛdaya-shāh died in 1739. Henceforth the lands were divided but the senior raja continued to belong to Panna. Sabhāsingh succeeded his father (1739-52), and was himself succeeded by his son Amānsingh who was, however, murdered by his brother Hindūpati (1758-77). Hindūpati gave away his possessions to his younger son Aniruddha (1777-9).*



The correct identification of Umāpati's patron, Hindūpati, solves almost every difficulty in determining his date. Grierson's misgivings as to the possibility of the poet calling a petty-princeling a 'Lord paramount of other kings' and 'king of Mithilā' in face of Narapati or Rāghavasimha have now no place. For, this ruler may well claim to be the paramount lord of other kings in Bundelakhaṇḍa, ond so far as the question of his being the king of Mithilā is concerned it is not clear at all if Hindūpati was meant to he a *Maithilesha* of any denomination, the only place where the word *Maithilesha* occurs in Umāpati's drama is in the beginnig and there it can refer to Raghava Singh or Narapati all right. Another objection of Grierson was as to how could Hindūpati be a conqueror of Muslims, if we do not agree to his being Harisimhadeva; for, "if at any time there had been an opposition of the Musalmans it would have been Narapati and Raghava Simha not a local chief of Nepal. Yet of Raghava Simha we know that he accepted a *mukarrari patta* of the Tirhut Sarkâr, at a rent of one lakh rupees yearly from Alah Vardi Khan who was then Faujdar of Rājmahal." Now this point is already answered by the history of the illustrious line of the rebel Bundela chief Chattrasāla.

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* *Imperial Gazeteer*, xix, p. 401

Thus we find that it was possible for the poet to pray for the protection of the lord of Mithilā (*Maithilesha*) and for a ruler called Hindūpati in the same breath,* and to call his immediate patron Hindūpati 'the dispeller of Muslim arms' in spite of the Mahārājas of Mithilā, whose contemporary he was, submitting to the Muslim domination.

There is, however, no reason to disbelieve unnecessarily the tradition that says that there was a chieftain of this very name at Mekmāni, only let us remember that Umāpati flourished under the Hindūpati of Pannā Rāj. For, so long as the document of Mr. Das quoted above is not examined critically, nothing can be conclusive about the said chieftain.

There are even then a few points which need further investigation: (1) While it is true that Maithila scholars have lived in the Pannā Râj and the adjoining area in the Central Provinces, for ages, yet it is not clear exactly why Umāpati wrote in Maithilī at a non-Maithilī-speaking court. (2) Then though it is possible to bridge over the gulf of about eighteen years in the dates of Rāghava Simha and Hindūpati as given in the present article, by making an allowance for the possible difference in the "uncertain and unreliable" charactcr of the traditonal records of these dates in both cases, yet there is no reason why the gulf should have been so great in view of the verse quoted in connexion with Gokulanātha.† (3) Why is Umāpati not quoted by Locana the author of *Rāgatarangini* writing in about 1603–1624 *Śake* (round about 1681–1702 A. D.)?‡

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* vide Pt. Ramānātha Jha's introduction to Umāpati's poems in *Maithili-padya-saṅgraha* (Maithilī Sahitya Parishad, Darbhanga) p. 18, पारिजातहरणक प्रस्तावना मे ई "हिन्दूपति हरिहरक" संगहि संग "मिथिलेश" हुक स्तुति कएन छथि परन्तु ई...के...? " Note also that in no other place there is any hint that this Hindūpati belongs to Mithilā or even claims to be a "मैथिल" let alone "मैथिलेश"

† The verse clearly speaks of the speaker being "अतिवृद्ध" at the time.

‡ Vide—Raj Press, Darbhanga edition, introduction.

It appears probable that the basis of the assumption that Umāpati was a contemporary of Mahāraj Rāghava Simha (? 1703-39 A. D.) is that Gokulanātha Upādhyāya is said to have flourished during the reign of the latter and also during the reign of one Fattehshāh of Śrinagara (in Garhawal, U. P.) (1684-1716 A. D.)* There is therefore a possibility that either the dates for Hindūpati's reign are wrong or that he patronized Maithila scholars even while his father was ruling. It is less likely that the dates of Maithila King are not very far from true- may be a difference of about 5 years only from the actual ones.

To conclude, it seems that the poet Umāpati Upādhyāya flourished sometime in the early and even middle parts of 18th century A. D.

Finally, it may he noted that the *Mithila Mss Cat. (vol II)* notices a. Ms of Nalodaya by one Kalidasa Mishra to have been copied by Hemāṅgada (Hemāṅgada Thākura, an ancestor of the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga ?) for Umāpati in 577 La. Sam. [677 La. Sam ?] i. e. + 1119 = 1696 A. D.

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* Vide the introduction to Māsamīmāṁsā; and the *History of Tirhut* (Shyâmnârâyan Singh) p. 133; *Index to the Imperial Gazetteer*—Fatteh Shāh

TWO ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS ON DREAMS

Dr. **R. G. Harshe,** Poona.

Two Illustrated MSS.-one in the Gorhe collection* of the Deccan college Postgraduate & Research Institute, Poona, and the other in my own possession–† are unusually interesting both from the point of view of the subject–matter as well as the coloured illustrations with which they are accompanied. "Prognosticating Dreams" had been a favourite subject of the ancients and there are a lot of MSS. on "Svapnādhyāya" culled out from one Purāṇa or the other. But these two MSS. though essentially the same in thought–content, differ in the design and manner of presentation seeking no authority for their statements from some ancient sage of hallowed memory. Both of them have neither the beginning nor the end and are undated. The Ms. G is however older than the MS. H, and the latter might be a late copy of a similar work, as they come from different sources and though the topics dealt with are the same in the majority of cases, yet the verses dealing with the significance of the dreams are not always the same. G bears ample testimony to its Jain origin and the linguistic evidence places its original composition in the apabhraṃśa stage. H is a later work as its illustrations are largely dominated by Muslim and Rajput art and can be safely assigned to the seventeenth century of the Christian Era while G in comparison with H, cannot be later than the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.

G is a small Ms. of the size of 3¼"×2". It begins with the 6th folio and continues up to the 95th. The missing folios in between are : 44, 46, 56, 76, 78, 80–84, 92–93. From the arrangement of the illustrations and the signifying verses it seems that the first folio had the first picture and the second folio began with the verse under reference both presenting themselves to the view of the reader at the same time. It contains 79 drawings in all, out of which two have been completely worn out and unidentifiable viz. those of 'Mṛtaka' and 'Digambara' and it is a great loss as it would have definitely shed a flood of light on the manner of carrying the dead and the ways of the contemporary Digambar Jains. Had the 96th folio been available we could have found out whether the composition belonged to the Digambara or the Svetambara sect according to the nature of the author's remarks.

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1. A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS of the V. M. Gorhe Collection, D. C. P. R. I., Poona, 1942, No. 34 pp. 28-29. Hereinafter named as MS. G.

2. For reference purposes it might be named H.

H is a Ms. in a book form of $5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 4''$ size, having the same kind of arrangement. It begins with the 14th folio and ends with 93rd.* It contains 80 illusrations, two folios (nos 59 & 60) having been lost.

On a closer analysis of the drawings in both the manuscripts we find that out of the 79 & 80 illustrations·········deal with the common subject whereas······ illustrations in G and······in H are different.† They can be classified as follows.

1. *Mythological Personages* :-Ganesa, Adivaraha, Rudra, Vasudeva, Lakami, Dhanada, Nūrada, Yudhisthira, Vetala.

2. *Presiding Deities of the Planets*:-Aditya, Candra, Mangala, Budha, Brhaspati, Sukra, Rahu.

3. *Physical objects* :-Mountain, Lake, Fire.

4. *Human beings*:-King, Muni, Yogi, Digambara, Bhiksu, Bhadraka, Bhandaka, Saubhagya-sundari, Vyavahari, Daridra Nata, Jarajirna, Vrddhakanya, Sokapumsa, Sokastri, Pulindra, Vyadha, Kusti, Adhahpatana, Kastabhedana, Chinnapada, Mrtaka.

5. *Birds*:—Garuda, Rajahamsa, Mayura, Grukpansi (?), Svetapaksa (?) Suka, Kapota, Sarasa, Vayasa, Uluka, Kukkuta, Sincanaka (?)

6. *Domesticated animals*:—Kamadhenu, Savatsadhenu, Kunjara, Turangama, Ustra, Vrsabha, Mahisa, Sambara, Saranga, Gardabha, Svana, Sasaka. Marjara, Musaka.

7. *Wild Beasts* :—Sarabha, Astapada (?), Sinha, Vyaghra, Citraka, Rksa, Sukara, Srgala, Vanara, Nakula.

Acquatic animals :—Makara, Matsya, Kacchapa, Dardura.

Reptiles, etc:—Naga, Sarpa, Ghona, Vrscika.

10 *Trees Flowers, etc*:—Kalpavrksa, Amra, Fruitbearing Tree, Withered Tree, Lotus, Garland of Flowers.

11. *Weapons* :—Sankha, Khadga, Bow and Arrow, Shield, Mudgara Sakti, Trisula, Ankusa.

12. *Royal Insignia, etc.* :—Dhvaja, Chatra, Camara, Torana.

13. *Means of Conveyance* :—Vimana, Pleasure, Boat (Yanaka), Ship (Yana).

14. *Miscellaneous* :—Dharmacakra, Nandavarta, Kālapāṣa, Rajmandira, Nidhana, Tula, Pustaka, Darpana, Dadhibhanda, Riktakumbha, Purnakumbha.

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* It should be 95th as two numbers 62 & 63 are repeated.

† For a complete list of the illustrations, see Appendix.

These drawings cannot be said to be of extraordinary workmanship but are very important as objective representations of common-place things in a manner peculiar to them. In their crude simplicity they are still to be occasionally met with as wall paintings in the old mediaeval temples and are worthy of being reproduced for their cultural value.*

The illustrations in G are more or less pen and ink pictures in black against an ochre-coloured background sometime relieved by yellow, red and light blue colour shades or the original skin colour of the paper itself. That it is a manuscript of Jaina origin is clear enough, apart from any other evidence, from such human figures as the king, the Vyavahari, Rahu, Sokapunisa, Cchinnapada, Natavu, Muni, Yogi, Raja, Dhanada, etc. The Vrddhakanya was looked upon with displeasure and had to subject herself to all kinds of scandalous criticism, so much so, that her sight in dream even is regarded as a calamitous misfortune. All these pictures have peculiarly Gujarati faces and the Vyadha instead of using the right hand for discharging an arrow uses his left hand after the manner of the Gujarati's in general.†

The illustrations in H are more neatly drawn and with an eye to artistic effect. The pictures are set in broad square frames and deep line coloured borders. The colours used are more prominent and catching to the eye. Men and women figures represent in general the Mughal and Rajput types perhaps slightly modified in certain cases. In the typical picture of a Pulindra representing deer hunt the lefthand is used in discharging the arrow instead of the right. The drawings in some cases are not quite realistic and the composition of some might even be objected to. For instance, the sub-marine Fire is shown to be blazing out in a vessel (No. 23) and the Mudgara has two flowering plants, one on each side of it (No. 24). All human figures are almost alike irrespective of their characteristic status. But apart from such blemishes from the point of view of art, we gather important information as regards the dress and manners, articles of common use, etc. from which it would not be difficult to have some obvious deductions on the social life of those days.‡

The critical examination of these MSS. will not be complete without a general discussion of their contents and the linguistic material that is made available to us owing to the very corrupt text in incorrect Sanskrit if it can be so termed. No elaborate theory of the Dreams has been attempted in these works but empirical observations have been recorded and strung together for guidance of the general public. These, however cannot be spurned aside as something nonsensical as it is the legacy of the ancient world. and such recorded observations are available in almost all the countries alike. A comparative study of the available material supplemented by fresh data to be collected from different sources will probably enable us to formulate some basic theory and shed some new light on the Dream-Phenomenon which has been a subject of absorbing interest to modern psychologists.

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* Vide the "Remarks Column" of the Appendix I.

† In a chivalrous scene represented at the time of the All India National Education Conference at Ahmedabad in January 1930, the Gujarat heroes used their left hand more prominently in all their actions and speeches.

‡ As elaborate discussion on these points is not the subject of this paper; all these remarks have been relegated to the Appendix.

Appendix

Ms.	Folio No.	Object seen in the Dream.	Resulting Fruit.
G	5	A Pair of Conches (Sankhayugma)	Increase in wealth, auspicious love, obtaining of the best jewels, gaining of the celestial weapons of Indra (Vajra) and the Vaidurya manis.
G	6	A Dead body (Mrtaka)	Loss of money, mental worries, lamentation, dissention, loss of love, ill-health.
G	7	A Flag (Dhvaja)	Honour from the kind, success, obtaining of wealth and prosperity and all auspicious things.
G	8	A Monkey (Vanara)	Loss of money, misery, poverty, disease, wrath and lamentation.
G	9	A Jar filled in (Purnakumbha)	Joy, success, woman's friendship, prosperity, deep love.
G	10	A Crow (Vayasa)	Lamentation, wrath, violent, sorrow and ill-health.
G	11	The Regal Umbrella (Chatra)	Obtaining of woman, wealth, money and corn & immediate success.
G	12+H 15	An Ass (Rasabha)	Certain death, pain, disease, calamity, permanent feud with relatives. *

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* H. has a different verse signifying : " loss of wealth, disgust, mental worries and suppressed sorrow,"

G 13+H 16	A Lion (Simha)	Success in all actions, honour from and association with with the king, possession of woman and wealth.*
G 14+H 17	A Jackal (Jambuka)	Loss of wealth, mental worries, anger, lamentation, death to parents.†
G 15+H 18	An Aeroplane (Vimana)	possession of estate, success, son, continuous prosperity and wealth. ‡
G 16+H 19	A Dog (Svana)	Fear, lamentation, worries loss of position, loss of wealth, destruction. $
G 17+H 20	A Lotus (Padma)	Love, welfare, joy, removal of the cause of sorrow and great wealth. ‖
G. 18+21	Mungoose (Nakula)	Dispute among friends, lamentation paysical and mental disease, fear and immediate calamity¶
G. 19+2	Book (Pustaka)	Higher position, success, gain achievement, daughter.♇
G. 20	Fire (Agni)	Disease, Calamity, anger, lamentation, disgust, poverty, loss of fortune. §

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* H. Victory over the enemies, success in everything, heroic action, honoured place in the next world.

† H. "Dispute at home and at the royal court, execution, imprisonment and pain."

‡ H. has a different verse signifying : "Shelter continuous happiness, obtaining of a rich garment and the possession of the desired objects.

$ H—"Hunger, Fear, lamentation, worries, obstacles in one's duty, immediate quarrels:"

‖ H—has a Lotus-lake (Padmakasara) instead: "Success in every thing, meeting of friends, obtaining of food things'.

¶ H—"Great exertion, dispute among friends, failure in work, disputes and rent burning discussions."

♇ H "Health, joy, obtaining of money and corn, achievement of the most desired object.

§ H has "submarine Fire" (Vadavanala) instead : "Anger, dispute, going to the place of lament, loss of money and mental worries.

G. 20	A Disc of Religion (Dharmacakra)	Success in all actions, gain happiness, wealth and prosperity.
G. 21	An old Maid (Vrddhakanya)	Loss of wealth, mental worries, immediate fear, death, disease, lamentation.
G. 22+H 26	The Elephant (Hasti)	Success in all actions, honour from the kind, obtaining of wealth, great happiness and victory.*
G. 23+H 27	A Buffalo (Mahisa)	Execution, imprisonment, lamentation, immediate death and utter failure in all undertakings.†
G 24+H 36	A Bull (Vrsabha)	Increase in wealth, wellbeing, fields and richess, gaining of religious merit, objects of desire, money.‡
H 24	A club (Mudgara)	All desires nullified, disgust, defeat, great torture.
G 25+H 37	A camel (Karabha)	Execution, imprisonment, lamentation terrible disease, insult, great sorrow. $
H 25	A Happy woman (Saubhagyasundari)	Continuous enjoyment, fulfilment of desire, dalliance, health and gain.
G 26+H 39	A Businessman (Vyavahari)	Gaining of wealth, success, happiness, increase, great satisfaction. ||

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* H has "Royal Elephant" (Rajakunjara)" : King's favour, great wealth corn, continuous success".

† H "Great exertion, many troubles, separation, loss of wealth, death and disputes."

‡ H "Obtaining of a great position, prosperity and happiness, wealth and victory."

$ H has "Ustra"-Loss of wealth in immediate future, failure in action, defeat, mental worries"

|| H "Learning, prosperity, meeting of sons and grandsons, all desires answered",

G 27+H 38	Rahu.	Execution, imprisonment, repeated agony, loss of fortune, continuous sorrow and ill-health.*
G 28+H 28	The Goddess of Wealth (Laksmi)	Honour from the king, wealth, kingdom, end of disease and lamentation, continued well-being.†
G 29	A Scorpion (Vrscika)	Obstacles in wealth, restlessness, fruitless endeavours, great physical troubles.
H 29	The Sun (Aditya)	Prospect of coming wealth and welfare, a son and continued happiness.
G 30+H79(81)	A Fruit bearing Tree (Phalivrksa)	A successful execution of an undertaking, wealth, continued prosperity, success in all actions.‡
G 31	An Empty jar (Riktakumbha)	Dispute, loss of position, frustration of all attempts, great exertion and mental worries.
H 31.	A pot full of curds (Dadhibhandam).	Gaining of wealth and continued happiness, success in contemplated actions, all-sided prosperity.
G 32 + H 32	An Auspicious Figure (Nandavarta)	Gaining of woman, wealth and son, health, happiness and prosperity.$
G 33 + H 33	The Scales (Tula)	Loss of money, mental worry, exile, quarrel with wicked persons ‖

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* H has for title : " Rahugrastacandra "-Loss of fortune, mental worries, disease, continuous trouble, failure in action. "

† H " Granting of desires, satisfaction from the wealth gained and mental happiness owing to the possession of all that is dear to one's heart "

‡ H has " Saphalavrksha " as a title plenty of wealth and corn, perfect health, fulilment of desires. No. 30 is "Kalpavrksha" which may be taken along with it. "Unique success in all actions, festival of birth of a son, fulfilment of all desires. "

$ H. " Joy, transportation, fulfilment of desires, perfect peace & anxiety among the people.

‖ H has " Trajuka " (cf. Taraju in Marathi) as the title. Its significance is quite to the contrary "Gaining a friend and mental satisfaction, wealth, heroic action, fulfilment of desires ".

G 34 + H 34	A Parrot (Suka)	Happiness, wealth, son, continuous prosperity and joy.*
G. 35 + H 35	A Sword (Khadga)	Fight, separation, loss of the wife, physical trouble.†
G. 36 + H 40	A Peacock (Mora)	All kinds of happiness, contentment, health, fulfilment of desires regarding religious ambition, wealth and prosperity.‡
G. 37 + H 41	Breaking of the Regal–Umbrella (Chatra–bhanga).	Dispute, fighting, great calamity, misery and mental worries.$
G. 38 + H 42 also 67 (69)	A Horse (Turangama)	Increased wealth, auspicious love, welfare estate for progeny.‖

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* H designates it as " Sukaraja " : " Happiness, landed estates, meeting with friends, fulfilment of desries ".

† H has a group of weapons (Sarva Sastrani)—" Restless to the enemies rise of friends and the fulfilment of all desires ".

‡ H-Love, happiness, prosperity, meeting of friends and relations

$ H has " Bhagnachatra-imprisonment, quarrels, disgust, death and failure in the undertakings.

‖ H "A higher position, victory, purity, courage to destroy the enemies, unique success in all actions. Another prognostication is given elsewhere at, NO 67 (69): "Wealth, happiness at home, honour from the king, immediate arrival of the dear ones".

THE PROGRESS OF LOVE IN THE FIRST THREE ACTS OF THE ŚĀKUNTALA

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It has been well remarked that our great poet is above everything else a student of the human heart and is rarely excelled in his "delicate appreciation of its most refined and tender emotions and his familiarity with the workings and counter-workings of its conflicting feelings". Particularly he excels in depicting love "from the first suggestion in an innocent mind to the perfection of passion."

It is very interesting, in the light of the above remark, to analyse critically the progress of love as depicted in the first three acts of the Śākuntala. It must be granted that Kālidāsa belongs to that category of poets who believe that love is a mystic bond, and love is won or lost in the very first encounter of lovers. The first moment is more than half the battle. But—

> "Where both deliberate- the love is slight;
> Who ever loved that loved not at first sight."

And accordingly the lovers in the Śākuntala are lovers at first sight. The first three acts depict the pageant of the human heart, set alight by love, in conflict with other feelings and emotions that the very circumstances of their being evoke in their hearts. It is exactly in this picture of a struggling soul in the grip of a great and allconsuming passion that Kālidāsa's revealing and extraordinary delicate art is shown.

There is such a glaring contrast between the original story and this magical transformation of it in our play. The bare, unromantic tale is a story of sordid passion. There is very little of delicacy or grace about the love-affair straightway they go to the job; Śakuntalā feels no *qualms* in telling the king the story of her birth, and like practically minded parents who arrange the dowries and destinies of their children, she bargains with the king for the destiny of her offspring, and only after she has secured the promise does she yield to his importunities. How drab, how prosaic is this tale of the wooing and winning of the bride! And how wonderfully has Kālidāsa transfused it into the very quintessence of romance and poetry! Their meeting, the story of her birth, the rapid growth of a mutual passion, the rapturous confession of their mutual love and the final winning -how the minds of both are followed through passion, despair to exultation and intense love! And yet the ardour of love is not allowed to go beyond aesthetic bounds. The story of Śakuntalā's birth is most skilfully woven into the conversation of the king with her two friends, and the promise as to Śakuntalā's future destiny comes spontaneously from the King and is not extracted from him as the condition of their union. And both these have been managed with absolute delicacy and grace, Śakuntalā, with a maiden's exquisite modesty and shyness, playing the part of an interested listener.

It is interesting to note that the story of love begun in the first act and reaching its consummation in the third act unconsciously reveals most of the ten stages of love as given by Vātsyāyana. These are—

(१) चक्षुःप्रीतिः (२) मनःसङ्गः (३) संकल्पोत्पत्तिः (४) निद्राच्छेदः (५) तनुता (६) विषयेभ्यो व्यावृत्तिः (७) लज्जाप्रणाशः (८) उन्मादः (९) मूर्च्छा, and lastly (१०) मरणम्.

II

Let us see how this progress is reflected in the thoughts and actions of the lovers. Let us consider the hero. Already as he enters the hermitage he feels along with the exquisite peace of the place– what the throbbing of his arms intimated to him– the presence of Beauty that takes all peace away. (शान्तमिदमाश्रमपदं स्फुरति च बाहुः कुतः फलमिहास्य) When he sees the lovely maidens, he realises how the wild-wood bloom outglows the garden flower. (दूरीकृताः खलु गुणैरुद्यानलता वनलताभिः) And now he is smitten and fascinated by Śakuntalā's beauty--and the first phase is there (चक्षुःप्रीतिः)—and passion for her, desire to possess her, is roused in him. His eyes note her artlessly charming form (अव्याजमनोहरं वपुः) and they derive a sensuous pleasure in observing her youthful prime that gives her bosom such a lovely swell (पयोधरविस्तारयितृ यौवनम्). With the bark garment tied with delicate knots upon the shoulder and covering the expanse of her twin breasts, she looks like a flower enfolded by a pale leaf. (कुसुममिव पिनद्धं पाण्डुपत्रोदरेण); and yet what indeed is not an embellisment of sweet forms? (किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम्). Youth with all its magic charms blossoms within her blood... (कुसुममिव लोभनीयं यौवनमंगेषु संनद्धम्)

The next phase (मनःसङ्गः) when the mind is so bewitched and influenced that the beloved dominates it, is reached when after having lost his heart to her he feels that there is no impropriety in his entertaining a longing for her, as in matters besect with doubt the promptings of the heart are to the good as an authoritative guide. (सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः) And as the bee assails her and she casts her rolling eyes in his direction, arching her eyebrows, she seems to be learning coquettish play of her eyes through fright only and not from love (विवर्तितभ्रूरियमद्य शिक्षते भयादकामापि हि दृष्टिविभ्रमम्) and while the bee gains his wish, the lover stands disappointed through his search after the truth !

(वयं तत्त्वान्वेषान्मधुकरहतास्त्वं खलु कृती) Next when he learns the story of Śakuntalā's birth from her friends, all his doubts are dispelled, for how can any woman give birth to such a lovely form? The light that sparkles with tremulous beams does not rise from the surface of the earth. (मानुषीषु कथं वा स्यादस्य रूपस्य संभवः। न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिरुदेति वसुधातलात् ॥) He feels his desire is not difficult to obtain: what he dreaded as fire is the jewel of his desire. (आशंकसे यदग्निं तदिदं स्पर्शक्षमं रत्नम्) He next feels the hope that his love is requited, for although she mingles not her speech with his, yet when he speaks she turns her ear in his direction, not even when she does not turn her face towards him, are her eyes turned to any other object. (भूयिष्ठमन्यविषया न तु दृष्टिरस्याः) And after the alarm of the elephant, when they have to bid leave of one another he confesses that he cannot in truth divert his mind from occupying itself with thoughts about Śakuntalā; for, his body moves onward, but his heart, as if unrelated with it, runs back like the silken cloth of a banner borne against the wing. (गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः। चीनांशुकमिव केतोः प्रतिवातं नीयमानस्य ॥)

This is succeeded by the phases निद्राच्छेदः and तनुता, loss of sleep and wasting away. For the Vidusaka complains that as his ill luck would have it, a hermit's daughter named Śakuntalā was presented to the king's view when the day before he entered the grounds of the religious domicile, so that now he has not even a thought of going back to the city; and that day, while his friend was thinking only of her, the light of dawn broke upon his eyes. (अम्हेसु ओहीणेसु तत्तभोदो मिआणुसारेण अस्समपदं पविट्ठस्स तावसकण्णआ सउन्दला णाम मम अधण्णदाए दंसिदा। संप्रदं णअरगमणस्स मणं कहं पि ण करेदि। अज्ज वि से तं एव्व चिन्तअन्तसु अच्छीसु पभादं आसी।) The friends of Śakuntalā too have observed how the king has shown himself to be enamoured of Śakuntalā, and Priyaṃvadā remarks in the Third Act that during all those days he has been observed to be wasting away through sleeplessness.

णं सो राएसी इमस्सिं सिणिद्धदिट्ठीए सूइदाहिलासो इमाइं दिअहाइं पजागरकिसो लक्खीअदि।

This also suggests the next stage तनुता, for the king remarks how he has to push back the golden bracelet which slips every now and then from his wrist without touching the scars of the bowstring on his forearm; and how tears nightly flow from the corner of his eye that rests upon his arm, as he suffers keenly from the pangs of love.

निशि निशि भुजन्यस्तापाङ्गप्रसारिभिरश्रुभिः।
अनभिलुलितज्याघाताङ्कं मुहुर्मणिबन्धनात् कनकवलयं स्रस्तं स्रस्तं मया प्रतिसार्यते।

As suggested by the Vidūṣaka, the king is full of thoughts of Śakuntalā, he feels she requites his love—(अकृतार्थेऽपि मनसिजे रतिमुभयप्रार्थना कुरुते) but perhaps his hopes are those of a fond lover who judges of the state of his beloved's feeling by his own desire, and discovers his own every where. (कामी स्वतां पश्यति) When the Vidusaka whose limbs are aching in consequence of the violent exertions of the chase, entreats the king to favour him with his permission to repose for a single day, the king remarks how he too when he thinks of Kanva's daughter, has little relish for hunting. (ममापि काश्यपसुतामनुस्मृत्य मृगयाविक्लवं चेतः) This is the stage known as विषयेभ्यो व्यावृत्तिः a disgust for all other pleasures; and when the Senāpati announces that the beasts of the forest are tracked (गृहीतश्वापदमरण्यम्) the king countermands the chase saying how his ardour was damped by his friend the Vidūṣaka who had been preaching against it. (मन्दोत्साहः कृतोऽस्मि मृगयापवादिना माढव्येन) And when the Senāpati and the Yavana girls have left and the stage is cleared (किदं भवदा निग्मच्छिअं) he once more speaks to his friend about Śakuntalā, showing how his mind has nothing else to think of (मनःसङ्गः); he describes her charms: she appears to him like a matchless creation of the loveliest woman (स्त्रीरत्नसृष्टिरपरा प्रतिभाति सा मे). He has moreover this in his mind: that immaculate form of hers is like a flower not yet smelt (अनाघ्रातं पुष्पं) a delicate shoot not torn from its parent stalk by the nails (किसलयमलूनं कररुहैः) an unperforated diamond (अनाविद्धं रत्नम्) or fresh honey whose sweetnss is yet untasted (मधुनवमनास्वादितरसम्) the full reward of meritorious deeds (अखण्डं पुण्यानां फलम्). Although she was so reserved by nature (निसर्गशालीन) yet she averted her eyes when he looked at her and smiled as it were from some other cause than love; hence love, whose course was checked by modesty was neither fully displayed by her nor yet wholly concealed. (विनयवारितवृत्तिरतस्तया न विवृतो मदनो न च संवृतः) And at their mutual parting she did betray her feeling towards him though with modesty; for, when she had proceeded a few steps she stopped saying "My foot is hort by the points of kuśa grass" and then turned back her face towards him while pretending to be occupied with disentangling her bark-dress from the branches of the shrubs in which it had not really been caught.

दर्भाङ्कुरेण चरणः क्षत इत्यकाण्डे तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा ।
आसीद् विवृत्तवदना च विमोचयन्ती शाखासु वल्कलमसक्तमपि द्रुमाणाम् ॥

He would once more visit the hermitage–could his friend suggest a pretext for his entering into it ? चिन्तय तावत्केनापदेशेन सकृदप्याश्रम वसामः । And when the hermit lads request him to be master of the hermitage for a few days–as they were being molested by evil demons–the request is readily granted. This is संकल्पोत्पत्तिः setting about for means for the attainment of one's desire. When the queen–mother sends him word that she was observing a fast and that on that occasion he ought not to fail to honour her with his presence, he finds himself in a quandary; but observes that as the queen-mother regarded the Vidūṣaka as a son, he should return and tell her how the king's mind was intent on the commission of the hermits (तपस्विकार्यव्यग्रमानसं मामावेद्य) and that he should have the goodness himself to perform the office of a son. (तत्रभवतीनां पुत्रकृत्यमनुष्ठातुमर्हति) Thus he dismisses his large retinue and his friend the Vidūṣaka, but fearing lest the chatterbox (चपलोऽयं वटुः) should disclose his present pursuit to the ladies in the palace, he asks him not to think that he has any real inclination for the hermit girl Śakuntalā; " Let not, therefore, the light words spoken in jest be taken in earnest " (परिहासविजल्पितं सखे परमार्थेन न गृह्यतां वचः)

The king has already driven off the powers of evil, and dismissed by the hermits he seeks his love who spends those hours of midday heat with her friends on the vine-wreathed banks of the Mālinī; for his heart can no more turn back from her, than water can from a slope.

न च निम्नादिव सलिलं निवर्तते मे ततो हृदयम् ।

He has reached a stage of intense passion; he is intoxicated with love (उन्मादः). He reflects how the flower-armed love and the moon who seem so worthy of confidence, deceive the whole company of lovers (त्वया चन्द्रमसा च विश्वसनीयाभ्यामतिसंधीयते कामिजनसार्थः) The moon sheds fire on him with her dew rays, and love makes his flowery darts as hard as adamant (विसृजति हिमगर्भैरग्निमिन्दुर्मयूखैः त्वमपि कुसुमत्राणान् वज्रसारीकरोषि) and yet the god gives him real delight since he strikes him because of her whose eyes are large and bewitching.

अनिशमपि मकरकेतुर्मनसो रुजमावहन्नभिमतो मे ।
यदि मदिरायतनयनां तामधिकृत्य प्रहरतीति ॥

He feels it is possible to embrace closely, with limbs inflamed by love, the breeze fragrant with the lotuses and cooled by the spray from the waves of the Mālinī.

शक्यमरविन्दसुरभिः कणवाही मालिनीतरंगाणाम् ।
अंगैरनङ्गतप्तैरविरलमालिङ्गितुं पवनः ॥

And how he discovers his beloved reposing on a couch of flowers, seriously disordered, and yet she looks exquisitely beautiful. It could not be the heat of summer, for the disorder brought about by the hot weather does not affect maidens in such a charming manner. (न तु ग्रीष्मस्यैवं सुभगमपराद्धं युवतिषु) Now he listens to the conversation of Śakuntalā and her friends, and there comes a moment of intense relief. Śakuntalā confesses her passionate love for him and when in her love message she charges him with cruelty and neglect (निर्घृण) he hastily advances to her pleading that if love inflames her incessantly, love almost consumes him. (तपति तनुगात्रि मदनस्त्वामनिशं मां पुनर्दहत्येव) The tempo of love quickens to a high pitch of intensity. With rare skill the poet makes Śakuntalā jealously remark to her friends that they should not tax the great king's courtesy; for is he not separated from the fair eyes that long await his return to the palace ? Upon this comes the confession of his passionate love for her: "Already killed by the shafts of love, I feel doubly killed if thou takest my heart to be otherwise."

इदमनन्यपरायणमन्यथा हृदयसन्निहिते हृदयं मम ।
यदि समर्थयसे मदिरेक्षणे मदनबाणहतोऽस्मि हतः पुनः ॥

But they have heard that kings are prodigal of their love to many says Anasūya where upon the king assures them that inspite of many a wife in the palace courts (परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि) hence forth this dear friend of theirs shall be the chief glory of his throne. The friends now make excuses and leave, and the lovers are left to themselves. How delicately, how gracefully is the love scene drawn ? " A kiss unkissed is the climax beyond which the affair does not pass." The poet does not allow love to go beyond aesthetic bounds. The scene is ended by the arrival of Gautami, who comes to take away Śakuntalā to the hermitage.

III

And with what reserve and yet how fully does the poet depict the struggle in Śakuntalā's heart ? Her love for him is also a love at first sight. She feels an emotion scarce consistent with the holy retreat of the hermitage devoted to piety.

किं णु क्खु इमं पेक्खिअ तवोवणविरोहिणो विआरस्स गमणीअम्हि संवुत्ता ।

This is चक्षुःप्रीतिः When Anasūyā asks Duṣyanta about his family, his country and the reasons for undertaking that weary journey to the forest, she finds that her heart is in a flutter. She remarks to herself, " O my heart, be not uneasy. Anasūyā speaks your very thoughts. "

हिअअ, मा उत्तम्म । एसा तुए चिंतिदाइं अणसूआ मन्तेदि

And when after observing the demeanour of both (उभयोराकारं विदित्वा) Śakuntalā's friends remark to her that if father Kaṇva were there, he would make the ditinguished guest happy even if it took the most valuable possession of his life.

इमं जीविदसव्वस्सेण वि अदिधिविसेसं किदत्थं करिस्सदि

" Go to, " she cries in mock anger, " You form some absurd notion in your mind and speak; I will not listen to you. "

तुम्हे अवेध ! किं पि हिअए कदुअ मन्तेध। ण वो वअणं सुणिस्सं ।

When, after the story of her life is told by Anasūyā, the king inquires if Śakuntalā was meant to observe the monastic vow (वैखानसं व्रतं) for life or only temporarily, ; Priyaṃvadā observes that it was her father's intention to give her to a suitable bridegroom. Śakuntalā in feigned anger remarks that she would go and tell the venerable Gautami how impertinently Priyaṃvadā was talking. Her friend playfully suggests that she could not leave before she paid her the debt she owed her--the watering of two trees-the king gallantly offers his ring ot redeem her debt, and Priyaṃvadā tells Śakuntalā that she could leave if she liked. Now, Śakuntalā says to herself "If I have power over myself" (जइ अत्तणो पहविस्सं) and asks her friend "who are you to send me away or hold me back?"—this is a clear indication that her mind was wholly dominated by her love for the king (मनःसङ्गः) and the latter too feels that Śakuntalā felt towards him as he did towards her (किं नु खलु यथा वयमस्यामेवमियमपि अस्मान्प्रति स्यात्) Then comes the alarm of the elephant and when they have to part, Śakuntalā finds excuses to linger on: her foot is cut by the point of Kuśa blade, and her bark-dress is caught on a Kurabaka twig. All this the king has observed, who in his exchange of confidences with his friend, the Vidūṣaka, tells the latter, when he inquires what kind of feeling did her eyes betray towards him,

अध भवन्तं अन्तरेण कीदिसो से दिट्ठिराओ ?

how love, whose course was checked by modesty, was neither fully displayed nor yet wholly concealed. But at their mutual parting she did betray her feeling towards him, though with modesty.

In the third act we discover Śakuntalā to be seriously indisposed (बलवदस्वस्थशरीरा). When the friends ask her "Is the breeze from lotus leaf refreshing to you?" (अवि सुहेदि दे णलिणीपत्तवादो) She asks in return: "What! are my friends fanning me?" Whereupon her two friends look sorrowfully at one another. She has reached the stages of विषयेभ्यो व्यावृत्तिः as well as those of मूर्च्छा and उन्माद. The king observes how she had wasted away (शोच्या च प्रियदर्शना च मदनक्लिष्टेयमालक्ष्यते) and Priyaṃvadā, while importuning her to tell them what ailed her, remarks that her limbs are wasting away every day, though her exquisite beauty has not forsaken her.

किं अत्तणो आतङ्कं उवेक्खवसि। अणुदिअहं क्खु परिहीअसि अङ्गेहि।
केवलं लावण्णमई छाआ तुमं ण मुञ्चदि।

This is तनुता. Long has Śakuntalā struggled, and in her maiden shame has not revealed her passion even to the friends of her bosom: it is only now when importuned by them, that she conquers all qualms of conscience and mastering courage, she talks to them of the desparate state to which she has been driven by love. "Then if you approve of it, so contrive that the good king takes pity on me; otherwise most certainly you will sprinkle for me water with sesamum seed"

तं जइ वो अणुमदं ता तह वट्टह जह तस्स राएलिणो अणुकम्पणिज्जा होमि।
अण्णहा अवस्सं सिञ्चध मे तिलोदअं। This is लज्जाप्रणाश.

Now they propose that she should write a love-letter. Let her think of a pretty composition in verse beginning with an allusion to herself.

तेण हि अत्तणो उवण्णासपुव्वं चित्तेहि दाव किं पि ललिअपदबंधणं

Śakuntalā agrees but fears lest the king should despise her love (अवहीरणभीरुअं वेवई मे हिअअं) But she should not disparage herself so : for who would ward off with the edge of his garment the moonlight of autumn which allays the fever of the body?

अत्तगुणावमाणिणि, को दाणिं सरीरणिव्वावत्तिअं सारदिअं जोसिणिं पडन्तेण वारेदि

And she writes the letter : "Thy heart I know not : but Love, O cruel one, fiercely inflames both by day and by night my limbs, whose desires are centred on thee"

तुज्झ ण जाणे हिअअं मम उण कामो दिवा वि रत्तिं पि।
णिग्घिण तवेइ बलिअं तुइ वुत्तमणोरहाइं अंगाइं ॥

This is संकल्पोत्पत्तिः. And when the king appears and the lovers are left to themselves Sakuntalā is still struggling with her maidenly modesty, and warns the king that though she was inflamed by love, yet she would not offend against those whom she was bound to respect; for she knew she had not the power of disposing of herself (मअणसंतत्ता वि ण हु अत्तणो पहवामि) Her objections are overborne; for the king proposes that they can marry by the Gandharva form of marriage, and that was not forbidden by law. The love scene is disturbed by the arrival of Gautami who like the light separtes the chakrawāka birds--the loving hearts, but there is a rich promise in Śakuntalā's parting remarks "O bower of creepers that removed my suffering, I bid you farewell, hoping to be once more happy under your shade."

लदावलअ, संदावहारअ आमन्तेमि तुमं भूवो वि परिभोअस्स।

Thus, Kālidāsa has depicted the progress of love and we feel that he has unconsciously followed the teaching of Vātsyāyana giving the successive stages of the course of love although his accuracy is that of a poet, and not that of a scientist: for in actual life the stages may not always succeed in the sequence mentioned by the teacher of *Ars Amori*; nor is it any where insisted in the *Kāmasūtras* that this order is a rigid one; he only mentions them in that order as being the most probable sequence in a large number of cases.

Section : Philosophy and Religion

Presidential Address

Dr. **T. R. Chintamani,** Madras

॥ ओम् ॥

नमस्सदसे । नमस्सदसस्पतये । नमः सखीनां
पुरोगाणां चक्षुषे । नमो दिवे । नमः पृथिव्यै ॥
ओं नमो ब्रह्मादिभ्यो ब्रह्मविद्यासंप्रदाय-
कर्तृभ्यो वंशर्षिभ्यो नमो महद्भ्यो गुरुभ्यः ॥

Brother Delegates and friends,

My first duty is to express my deep gratitude to you for asking me to preside over the Indian Philosophy section of the Oriental Conference this year. I am sensible of the great honour that has been bestowed on me. My awareness of it is excelled only by the conciousness of my incapacity to fill the chair in keeping with the tradition set by successive Presidents who have occupied it with conspicuous ability and distinction. Recalling their names and thinking of the learning and scholarship that they represented, I realise my limitations very acutely and plead for a generons measure of your indulgence if I am not able to pull myself up to their stature.

We are living in anxious times. The terrible carnage of six long years that we witnessed in every quarter of the globe has made mankind relapse into barbarism, into a negation of spiritual values in human hearts and heads. It is sad to contemplate that the tragedy of the World War No. 2 had to be finalised by the use of a weapon which converted a smiling country into a bleak desert, destroyed its people and devastated the whole land. The Frankenstein monster is ever hovering about ready to throw its pall on the fair lands that it frowns upon and threatens us all with complete and merciless anihilation. The aftermath of the war has not led to peace anywhere in the world. Broken by the war, everybody, victor and vanquished, wants peace. The root causes of this war, as of every war at all times, were hatred and fear, intolerance and deceit. The cessation of war has not banished these causes; but they have been aggravated a hundredfold in the hearts of men. Peace can be secured and maintained, not by force of arms, not by treaties and formulas, not by flamboyant speeches and majority of votes, but only by mutual love and confidence, trust and joy. One misses these in the gatherings of international statesmen, who are united only in name and no more. The desire for peace, if it exists, is prompted only by the dread of war and it dwindles proportionately to the increase in preparedness for war. While the cost of war is to be measured in dollars and dead bodies, the cost of peace is to be reckoned in a different currency, in the throbs in human hearts and the smiles on human lips.

The allied warriors have won the war; but the allied statesmen are losing the peace. This shows that peace, and with it the prosperity of the world, cannot be won or retained by these classes of people. And it is amusing to hear general Smutts claiming spiritual leadership for Europe. So long as men will not trust and be trusted, so long as they will not give up their fears and hatreds diplomacy and deceit, think in terms of themselves and not of the other fellow, divide themselves into power groups ethnically, economically and otherwise, there will not be peace anywhere on the globe.

Thanks to the discoveries and inventions of Science, the inhabitants of this planet have been brought close together and none can remain apart from any other. This unity acheived by science has not succeeded in bringing about a union. Forces of disruption which proclaim differences are more potent than those which make for amity and concord. In the result, the common man is harassed by the sufferings and privations of the present hour and haunted by dismal forebodings about the future. Confusion, fear and despair are writ large on humanity's brow and real peace is eluding the grasp of men.

Verily, the world is out of joint. Looking at the posture of affairs in the world today, it is crystal clear that modern civilisation which is synonymous with western civilisation has failed woefully. It has lost all its polish; the silk glove has been rent to shreds and the destructive sword stands forth in all its naked and unabashed savagery. If the world is to be made safe for humanity, that task, imperative in its urgency and imponderable in its magnitude, must be undertaken by the nations of the East where now, as many times before, light must dawn and travel due west. Luckily, not all the battlefields of the world have extinguished the eternal suns that contain warmth and carry energy and life to all things of the universe, great and small. Never in human history have we heard of soldiers or diplomats who came to build. They personify forces of destruction. They cannot create. For this, one must turn to poets, philosophers and prophets who think, speak and act in terms of the spirit. They alone can rescue the world order from its moral bankruptcy, revitalise it and convert our homes from a graveyard of our hopes and aspirations into a flower garden where grow in colourful profusion all things which are great, holy and of good report.

I belive that Conferences such as ours are intended to bring about this consummation by gathering together the cream of our country's intellect soaked in the culture of the past, who can think wisely, and direct the mind and hearts of men along the paths of truth, beauty and virtue. More than others, we who are votaries of the arts and letters, the philosophy and religion of this ancient land, have a special mission to discharge. That is to carry India's; mssssage of hope and good cheer to the distracted countries of the west, to take India's torch to illumine the dark caverns of western intolerance, to salvage the western world from its slough of despond. This mission pertains in a pre-eminent measure to us assembled in this section of the Conference as exponents of India's philosophy, the understanding of which and translating it into practice is the only way to restore the world to its sanity.

In many ways Indian philosophy is distinct from the philosophies of the West. Every point of its distinction invests it with a superiority. It is no exaggeration to observe that philosophy in the west was largely theoretical in interest and had rarely, if ever, any practical application. More often than not, every variety of it represented but a fashionable view rather than a way of life exemplified in the daily lives and actions of its votaries. That is because in the west philosophy was divorced from life for the generality of mankind into whom it did not soak and for whom it did not make so universal an appeal as in India. Here, whatever be the school of thought, philosophy was wedded to religion; for, it was realised long long ago that there is no fundamental incompatibility between them and, what is more, that one is the fulfilment of the other. Philosophical ideas and religious experiences have ever been intertwined in the east whether in the sacrificial hymns of the Vedas, or the philosophical disquisitions of the Upaniṣads and the Brahma sūtras or the liturgical and ethical literature of the Dharma Śāstras. That intellectual quest must fulfil itself in spiritual conqnest, that mental outlook must be educated itno mystic intuition, that empirical duality should give place to transcendental union where one does not see another, does not hear another, does not know another, that has been for ever the longing of the Indian seekers. To them philosophy as a view is the sign-post of a way leading to a vision.

The people of the west, though they thirst for peace, are preparing for war. But the nations of the east have always laid the emphasis on peace in their thoughts and actions. To the Indian philosopher, Vedantin, Buddhist or Jain, the quest has ever been for attaining peace without and peace within. The insistence on Śānti, the determination of its nature and the training of the body and mind to endeavour to attain it have been the main purpose of the Indian Philosopher towards which all his energies were directed. No wonder that we in the east have ever held war with abhorrence and are generally pacifist in temper, outlook and action. It is worthy of note that every Upaniṣad begins and ends with an invocation for Śānti anh every karma enjoined on the Hindu is intended to realise it for oneself and for humanity at large.

The nations of the west and the people of the east who have imbibed western ways of ordering their social, economic and political institutions know no rest from the anxieties of statecraft and are playing a perpetual game of chess on the political board. They are divided into opposite camps with shifting alliances dictated by the expediencies of the passing hour. By the assertion of differences, individual and national, by the barriers of various kinds that they place between themselves, the western people are creating permanent cleavages which are aggravated by arrogance and make for untold misery. Universal happiness does not lie that way. It is the affirmation of affinities rather than the detailing of differences that will knit humanity into one and do away with the cause of conflicts. 'तत्र को मोहः ? कः शोकः ? एकत्वमनुपश्यतः' says the Upaniṣad. To Indian philosophy belongs the credit of having voiced forth down the ages the message of this abiding unity of all things, living and nonliving by their being pervaded by the same vitalising principle. ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम् । The whole universe is pervaded by God. If this fundamental truth is realised and acted on by every one, where would conflicts arise ? Where would be the need for the gnashing of angry teeth or for shedding futile tears ? As Prahlāda of old observed to his sire,

सर्वभूतात्मके तात जगन्नाथे जगन्मये ।
परमात्मनि गोविन्दे मित्राऽमित्रकथा कुतः ॥ १

When one sees that duality and plurality are fictitious and illusory, that what ultimately remains as the real is One, मायामात्रमिदं द्वैतमद्वैतं परमार्थतः One will not be lost in the bewildering multiplicity of the world. It is only when one forgets one's unity with the universe, limits oneself by name and form in space and in time, that one acquires a separateness distinguishing oneself from the other and lives in continuous hope of enveloping it or in constant dread of being encompassed by it. But, where there is no other, and all is one and one is all, there is no one and an other, no *meum* and *tuum* no acquisition or deprivation, no anger or sorrow. For, द्वितीयद्वै भयं भवति. The survival of Indian culture and the Indian way of life down the corridors of time despite the many and powerful onsloughts made on them is to be accounted for by the fact that this lesson of all-pervading unity took stronghold of the minds and hearts of men among us. If today, peoples of other lands and we too of late in our own country are torn, by strife and turmoil, it is because they never learnt that lesson and we have now forgotten or ignored it.

The other day, the American Commerce Secretary, Henry Wallace observed ; "Far too often, the law of the nations has been the law of the jungle; and the constructive spiritul forces of the Lord have bowed to the destructive forces of Satan." Wise words these uttered by one anxious to remove every barrier and weld all countries into one world. But such a task howsoever eagerly desired, can never be accomplished by peoples whose philosophy of life is based on acquisitive instincts, who have made grab and carry it into a fine art. Indians are reproached as being idealistic, other-worldly, with no realistic sense. If all human endeavour is to be directed to eliminate sorrow and acquire happiness, that result can be achieved, not by accumulating the goods of the world which have nothing of lasting good in them, not in seeking them as the goal of existence. A realisation of their instrumental value, that they are means only in a limited measure to other ends and that what has abiding value ultimately is something else called *Paramārtha* to distinguish it from the ephemeral arthas of fugitive value, is alone the way to enduring happiness in the true sense. Indian thought and Indian life were actuated by a realisation of this fundamental *truth*. That is why though the Indian seers lived in the jungle, they never acted on the law of the jungle. The summum bonum to the Indian seer was not हीनार्थ but परमार्थ. Of the fourfold objectives of human endeavour, dharma, artha, kāma, and mokṣa, the primacy is given to dharma and it is insisted that the quest for the rest must be in consonance with the principles of righteousness. For, dharma sustains the universe.

धारणात् धर्ममित्याहुः धर्मो धारयति प्रजाः ।

The study of metaphysics or Vedānta in Indian thought is called uttara-
mīmāmsā and as is proper, is postponed to the study of the canons of right
conduct known as pūrvamīmāmsā. Dharmajijñāsā generally precedes Brahmajijñāsā
and be foundational to it. One looks in vain in the philosophies of the west for this
rational and spiritual order in courses of instruction and study. Their counterparts
in Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina systems affirm the connection between dharma and
jñāna and show the futility of any knowledge divorced from dharma or righteous-
ness. Broadbased on eternal principles, (sanātana dhrama,) which are immu-
table by transient consideration of expcdiency, the metaphysics of the eastern
thinkers made a universal appeal. The knowledge so gained was not the result of
dailectical skill, but was the illumination of a vision, as insight into the core of
things born of intuition. It was wisdom *par excellence*. The philosophers were
seers, *draṣṭārah*, and each system that they propounded was known as a darśana.

The wisdom or jñāna sought is not mere knowledge of the external world,
mere *bhautika* jñāna. It is knowledge of oneself or ātmajñāna which alone is the
truest wisdom. It is knowledge of the essence of things, of their true nature and
import. It goes by the name of *parā vidyā* or *brahma vidyā*. For, in it all other

species of knowledge are based and are intended to lead to it as the ultimate goal. While on this we may recall to our minds the spiritual orientation given amongst us to every variety of *vidyā*, how every kind of learning, art and skill was made to serve a religious purpose, was sublimated to noble ends freed from any taint or tendency to serve unholy or destructive aims. While scientific advance in the west has outstripped the development of moral consciousness in the modern man, Indian thought has always contributed to the education and enrichment of human personality such that amongst us knowledge and goodness were never at war with each other.

Ātma vidyā is *sui generis*. It is different from all other *vidyās*, yet, it comprehends them all. It is superior to them since it can invest a man with the greatest good that he can or ought to aspire for, namely *mokṣa* or liberation. Super-excellent as it is, it is not to be got for a song; but it has to be striven for and can be acquired by strenuous endeavour arising from discrimination, detachment and discipline. The qualifications of a seeker after wisdom are many. To the Indian, philosophy is not an abstract quest, but a live issue determining his outlook and conduct. One need not wonder at the insistence on mental and moral qualities for the *jiñāsu* who in the last resort is also a *mumukṣu*. Such wisdom is not as husk to be thrown about in promiscuous profusion but is an invaluable diamond to be zealously guarded and handed over in secret initiation only to the deserving and earnest pupil. It is transmitted by *upadeśa*, attained by *tapas*, understood by contemplation and realised by reverent study. It is a Śāstra to be received from the guru by the pupil who has stood the test, who has been found to be the uttamādhikāri, deserving of the confidence of the receptor by reason of his intelligence, industry and integrity.

आचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद । श्रद्धावान् पुरुषो वेद । तपसा ब्रह्म विजिज्ञासस्व ।

are expressions characterestic of our way of philosophic thinking. These marks invest it with a sacredness for which one searches in vain in western thought. It is these that relate Indian wisdom to problems of life in a more real sense than the speculations of the west. While every school of philosophy in the west is associated with one specific individual and has rarely influenced others, Indian philosophical systems are adhered to in drofession and practice by communities and groups, by large bodies of common men into whose daily life and conduct each system has permeated in diverse ways.

A distinguishing feature of Indian thought is that every orthodox system owns allegience to Veda and accepts the authority of the Śruti. This adherence to Śruti and acceptance of it as a pramāṇa or source of knowledge, superior even to anumāna is likely to be misunderstood and discounted as of little value. The Indian philosophers always realised that in matters spiritual, which is only another word for what is super--sensuous, reason cannot be a guide but one should trust only to revelation which is articulated experience of great seers. The primacy of Śabda pramāṇa over the other instruments of knowledge is the foundation of all great religions. The old Testament starts with saying : " In the beginning was the Word, the Word was with God and the Word was God. " The prophet of Arabia got his spiritual inspiration and the command to teach his gospel from a voice which spoke to him from afar. To the Hindu philosopher the Veda is eternal and self-existent. Its absolute validity arises from its *apauruṣeyatva.* It forms the touchstone by which all theories are tested. Each school of Hindu philosophy claims vedic sanction and the high water mark of Indian philosopher is aware that mere sensible experience or intellectual disputation will not reveal the nature of Reality. नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यः । Intellect cannot comprehend nor can utterrence describe it. It has to be intuited, experienced by super-sensuous processes. The eyes of the flesh are not equal to its sight. To see it one has to be vouchsafed divine eyes. दिव्यं ददामि ते चक्षुः said the Lord to Arjuna. Such knowing is to be equated with Being. ब्रह्मविद् ब्रह्मैव भवति. The realisation of oneness with Brahman or better, the consciousness of oneself as Brahman is the end of philosophical quest. This identity of the Individual with the Supreme is proclaimed by śruti, proved through inference and perceived in *anubhava.*

To say this does not mean that the Indian philosopher goes by faith alone. No one is more rationalistic than the Vedāntin. Every Vedāntic treatise is a marvel of relentless logic. The classic method of dialectics, of *pūrvapakṣa* and *siddhānta* exalts the canons of proof to a high pedestal. In fact, the preliminary training which every student of Vedānta is made to undergo in Nyāya śāstra is a recognition of the place of reason in Indian thought. The inquiry into the nature and forms of reasoning is an essential introduction to metaphysical search; for, true to their name, the pramāṇas provide the 'measure' of knowledge and the criterion of its truth.

Indian philosophy is both speculative and spiritual. It includes theory and practice. It involves both apprehension and aspiration and is intended to lead to attainment. Arising intimately and immediately out of the problems of life, its purpose is to provide a solution for the aching ills of humanity and free it from its travails. It was in such a crisis that the greatest philosophic poem that the world has known was born, a work that provides in brief an encyclopaedic account of all the extant philosophic theories of the land. In this sense, Indian philosophy is intensely practical. To the protagonist of every school, it claims to solve his immediate problems and invests him with knowledge of how to overcome them and attain the deathless happiness that he longs for. It points the way to mokṣa or release from bondage in this vale of tears.

The urge for philosophic thinking in our land has always been the desire for this release and the longing for eternal happiness. A consciousness that one's nature is limited in knowledge, action and enjoyment, a discontent with the present and a longing for transcending those limitations and to attain infinitude in form and being has been the motive in all lands for metaphysical search and particularly so in ours. The vedic sacrifices promise unalloyed and undying bliss in svarga. The Upaniṣads discribe the Absolute in terms of ānanda and one of them narrates a calculus of pleasure which will baffle the boldest arithmetic. The Supreme is a compound of existence, knowledge and bliss which defies description. The sūtras refer to a bourne from which no traveller ever returneth and end with the aphorism: अनावृत्तिः शब्दादनावृत्तिश्शब्दात् । This is the greatest attainment that one can aspire for. It is the summum bonum of life.

यं लब्ध्वा वा परं लाभं मन्यते नाधिकं ततः ।
यस्मिम स्थितो न दुःखेन गुरुणाऽपि विचाल्यते ॥

This divine discontent and the longing for release have for their corollaries certain intellectual and moral attributes which alone will qualify one for the inquiry into Brahman. An awareness of the distinction between the true and the false, detachment from mere sensuous pleasures, denial of them to oneself, and a rigorous course of bodily and mental discipline leading to concentration are the fundamental requisites of metaphysical study. This feature makes ours a living philosophy; for, to know it is to live it in every aspect of it. Our philosophy did not exist between the covers of a book, but was embodied in the thoughts, attitude and activity of its teachers. Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī, Bhṛgu and Varuṇa, Yama and Naciketas, Buddha and Mahāvīra, Gauḍapāda and Bhagavatpāda, Rāmānuja and Mādhva, Deśika nnd Dīkṣita were personalities that portrayed in their daily life and conduct the systems that they propounded.

This world is not a vale of tears; it is a vale of soul-making. Indian philosophy is not pessimistic by any means. It promises that every one can overcome his finiteness and partake of the Infinite whose content is supreme bliss. An examination of the source of finitude indicates the way of its solution. All schools of Indian thought are agreed that the root of all evil is ignorance which is the enemy of light. *Anādyavidyā* and *anādikarma* are both *duhkhamūla* the samāsa is of course different. The latter invests man with his bodily life in the present incarnation. The former warps his intellect leading him to confuse his true nature with his body and enmeshes him more and more in the coils of karma perpetuating his bondage for life beyond life. The way to liberation is by breaking the shackles of karma and by tearing the veil of avidayā. When these are accomplished, the illusion of finitude disappears, the cosmic causal series is terminated and the individual realises the truth of the mahāvākya, *Tattvamasi* Knowing सर्वं खल्विदं ब्रह्म he feels अहं ब्रह्मास्मि and is soon engulfed in the joy of that realisation. आनन्दो ब्रह्मेति व्यजानात् । विज्ञानं आनन्दं ब्रह्म This summum bonum, the parama puruṣārtha of human thought and endeavour is replete with supreme bliss which passeth comprehension and communication.

The path to this consummation has been differently laid by philosophers in this land. No physician of bodily ills ever prescribed with greater regard to the needs and capacities of the flesh than these mental healers had for desire and desert when they dealt with the sickness of the soul. Knowing that the purpose of philosophy is to harmonise human personality with the eternal principle, it was recognised that the triune aspects of man's nature as one who knows, feels and acts must be pressed into service to attune the Finite to the Infinite and ultimately to make him one with it. From this recognition arise the philosophies of Jñāna, Bhakti and Karma each intended to help to achieve the same goal and suited to the powers and potentialities of the individual aspirant. Each system is built on the postulates that it starts with and is a logical developement of its first principles. To the Buddhist whose Nirvāṇa is passing into contentless cosmic vastness, the ideal is to be realised by negating everything leading to affirmative existence, the chief and greatest of them being activity or *karma*. The karma mīmāṃsaka tried to shed the taint of karma by turning it to spiritual ends, by sublimating it. By external purity of the body and internal purity of the mind and heart, it attempts to transform man into a celestial being. The Sāṅkhya philosopher, acquiring *ātmānātma viveka* places his finger on *prakṛti* as the arch villain of the cosmic drama. And he tries to isolate the self from her blandishments. The yogī gathers his vital airs from all parts of his being and giving them an upward urge, concentrates them in contemplation, and losing himself in samādhi, discovers his self in siddhi. The bhakta starts with a painful consciousness of his separation from the Deity. He soon draws himself to it by ceaseless *kainkarya*. He gradually shortens the distance that separates him from the divine by kainkarya and qualifying himself for admission into the realms of God, he enjoys the beatitude of living in God's world, the ecstasy of *unio mystica*, and loses himself in the thrills and throbs of divine pulsation. Once in that transcendental region, he does not return. न पुनरावर्तते.

The man of intellect treads a different aud lone path. He sees the futility of *karma*, evil or good. The one binds you with iron chains; the other chains are of gold. Ignorance is the cause of karma. It leads to a false identification of the subject with the object and arouses attachments that cling and bind. The cause will disappear only with the dawn of true konwledge.

मिथ्याज्ञानं सर्वसंसारबीजं ।
मिथ्याभूतस्य अज्ञानस्य अद्वितीयतत्त्वसाक्षात्कार एव निवर्तकः ।

And so, the fire of jñāna should destroy the dross of karma and produce brahma-sākṣātkāra which is equated with salvation or mukti. While other thinkers hope for salvation only after the present life is over, the last believes that it is possible even in this life and hopes to attain it by *atmajñāna* here and now तमेवं विद्वान् अमृत इह भवति says the śruti and the Gītā explains इह as प्राक्शरीर विमोक्षणात् i. e., before the dissolution of the body.

In all schools of Indian philosophic thought, the highest criterion of truts is personal verifiability. The seeker becomes a seer. Rational exploration fulfils itself in individual experience. Vedāntic knowledge is not merely a matter of faith, nor a dialectic deduction, but a spiritual realisation. While trying to interpret the cosmos rationally, it helps to draw the Finite towards the Infinite and endow the individual with a vision of the Supreme. The very first aphorism of the Brahma sutras, अथातो ब्रह्मजिज्ञासा is an essay in cosmology and in religion; for, it describes the source of the universe and its goal. What is true of the Vedānta as a school of thought applies to the other schools as well, the *vaidika* and the *avaidika* systems. Every one of them expounds a view and unfolds a vision and details a path leading to that cosummation, howsoever, it may be connoted.

The variety of Indian philosphic theories only points to the catholicity of the Indian mind which seeks to provide for all grades of the intellect and all shades of individuality. The schools of Vedānta which trace their source to *prasthāna traya* express differences of standpoint and interpretation not unjustified by varieties of scriptural texts. The vast volume of śruti is abridged in the sūtras. The cryptic character of the latter calls for mīmāṃsaka rules for understanding their import and differences of interpretation lead to the formulation of rival theories. Every system lays hold on texts germane to itself and endeavours to explain or explain away those not in accord with it. The bheda śrutis seem to indicate a dualistic metaphysics. The monistic texts deny plurality or duality and *mahāvākyas* like *Tattvamasi*, *aham brahmāsmi unequivocally* proclaim absolute non-duality. The advaitin relies on these as the *paramatātparya* of the Vedānta sūtras. One may wonder what this bewildering variety means and may feel perplexed by it. Māyāvāda and the theory of *nirguṇabrahman* on the one hand, the theory of *viśiṣṭaikya* and the idea of *saguṇabrahman* on the other and the view of the permanent distinctness of the triad of Īśvara, jīva and *prapañca* seem to strike discordant notes militating against Vedāntic symphony. But, the trouble arises only if one adopts the method of exclusion and not of inclusion in philosophic criticism. Distinctions and differences have significance and are important only in debates and disputes. But the purpose of vedāntic study does not lie merely in vākyārtha and verbal dialectics. The śrutis are systematised in the sūtras and the Gītā expounds them in picturesque language. The purpose of the Gītā was to guide humanity personified in Arjuna in the ways of spirituality and to provide the equipment for the pilgrimage. By the same token, the śruti and the sūtra must be understood to have a like purpose, to serve the practical ends of human aspiration. Since such aspiration must be influenced by predilection and as attainment must be determined by capacity, many roads are sketched forth in the realms of the spirit and freedom is given to each aspirant to choose the way that he will pursue. Speculation without realisation is mere वाचारम्भण Vedāntic experience is more important than Vedāntic expression.

Each school may be said to be a response to the vital needs of the age which gave birth to it. Each philosopher from the vedic times, (if one may speak of vedic 'times' at all), has outlined in his thought and portrayed in his being the spirit of the age in which he lived. The varieties of vedantic speculation gave utterance to the same varieties, but in different words. All of them aim at the progressive realistion of Brahman. Starting with dualistic externality and differentiation, they all end with unity howsoever that unity may be understood. It may be one only and *not* many; or, it may be One-*in*-many; or, it may be one *and* many. The content of spiritual experience is determined by the qualities of the *adhikāri.* The vidyās are various; they are identical in purpose, namely, in the words of the invocation, to lead one from falsehood to truth, from darkness to light, from death to immortality. That is what the Ṛgveda asserts in the well-known saying एकं सत् विप्रा बहुधा वदन्ति. The Gītā guarantees the same truth in the proclamation : "Whoever worships Me in whatever form, finally reaches Me." Ultimately the needs of the mumukṣu and his moods determine the manner of the approach to the divine and the content of the life in it. Whether mukti is loss *of* personality or loss *in* personality may be disputed on the way; but, it does not trouble the mukta for whom the problem is dissolved in the nectar of Brahmānubhava. The main purpose is to attune the Finite with the Infinite and make it one with it. Whether it is done by meditation or by devotion or by service is a matter of detail. Brahman is the centre from which all spiritual facts and ideas radiate and in it all experiences must meet. Brahmasākṣātkāra may take the form of discovery of the self as God, or of dedication of it to God, or remain in consciousness of perpetual dependence on God.

देहबुद्ध्या तु दासोऽस्मि, जीवबुद्ध्या त्वांशकः ।
ज्ञानबुद्ध्या त्वमेवाऽस्मि इति वेदान्तडिण्डिमः ॥

But howsoever realised, the motive of all philosophical quest is to understand and attain what is at once the ground of the cosmic process and the goal of human progress. The way of wisdom lies, not in adopting the path of exclusion, but in trying to find points of affinity in different schools of thought and in cultivating a sympathetic and synthetic understanding of different points of view. One must see merit in every system and use it for one's spiritual education. As a teacher of old would have it,

श्रोतव्यः सौगतो धर्मः कर्तव्यः पुनरार्हतः ।
वैदिको व्यवहर्तव्यः ध्यातव्यः परमशिवः ॥

meaning that constantly hearing about the kṣaṇika vāda and śūnya vāda of the Buddhist will train one in vairāgya, that action in accordance with Jaina precepts will fill him with the saving grace of tenderness to man and bird and beast, that constant discourse about the all-pervading Brahman will ere long make him see all things with the eye of Brahman and then the mind will dwell forever in the Divine with whom it will be always *en rapport*. The following quotation from the Nyāyakusumāñjali of Śrī Udayanāchārya is significant :

शुद्धबुद्धस्वभाव इत्यौपनिषदाः । आदिविद्वान् सिद्ध इति कापिलाः । क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टो निर्माणकायमधिष्ठाय सम्प्रदायप्रद्योतकोऽनुग्राहकश्चेति पातञ्जलाः । लोकवेदविरुद्धैरपि निर्लेपः स्वतन्त्रश्चेति महापाशुपताः । शिव इति शैवाः । पुरुषोत्तम इति वैष्णवाः । पितामह इति पौराणिकाः । यज्ञपुरुष इति याज्ञिकाः । सर्वज्ञ इति सौगताः । निरावरण इति दिगंबराः । उपास्यत्वेन देशित इति मीमांसकाः । यावदुक्तोपपन्न इति नैयायिकाः । लोकव्यवहारसिद्ध इति चार्वाकाः ।

And so, may we not sing together in heart and voice and pray with the poet :

> यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदान्तिनः
> बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः ।
> अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः ।
> सोऽयं वो विदधातु वाञ्छितफलं त्रैलोक्यनाथो हरिः ॥

I shall now pass to consider some criticisms of Indian philosophic thought. I have already referred to the fact that, in India, philosophy and religion are wedded together and are never kept apart. This is sometimes pointed out as a defect of Indian thought. To my mind, this is an especial excellence of Indian genius that the relation was looked upon as a natural consummation of philosophy. The highest knowledge, *ātmajñāna* is intended to produce *ātmasākṣātkāra* and has no significance apart from that purpose. In the last resort, what matters really is behaviour, not mere belief. Activity is more important than apprehension. Understanding of Reality must lead to the realisation of the perfection which is God.

The criticism most often made against Indian philosophy is that it is otherworldly and this feature coupled with the doctrine of *māyā* serves to condemn it as negative in outlook and unethical in content. Barring the Cārvāka view which could not develop a complete and convincing philosophy, every school of thought eastern or western, has to recognise that the material order does not exhaust Reality. Physics grows into metaphysics. The borderland between the two has vanished. An ethics based on pure materialism, and the shifting phantasmagoria of the perceptual world cannot satisfy the hankerings of the spirit. The material basis, though necessary, is still incomplete. Man is not merely a body to be fed, clothed and housed. He is a spirit also. The intimations of immortality that he gets from the unseen forces of the universe invite him to the fellowship of a transcendental realm aud seeks to transform him into a superior being. This alchemy is wrought by the aspirant by a process of self-noughting which leads to self-discovery. True, it is negative in method which cuts across the natural order and the historical process from which one wishes to obtain release to enter the transcendental goal which can be described only in negative terms as what it is not, and not as what it is. To one lost in the vortex of the historical process, spiritual drives must appear other-worldly and negative in content. To those accustomed to the chains of samsāra the freedom of nirvāṇa appears a vacuity. But, if ethics is to have any meaning, it must take note of a procession of events different from the process of matter. The world of things may be the environment of our bodies, but God is the environment of our soul. We feel, every one of us,

> Whether we be young or old
> Our destiny, our being's heart and home,
> Is with Infinitude and only there.

(*Wordsworth* : Prelude VI. Of somthing etc.)

Not infrequently are we conscious of a sense sublime

> "Of something far more deeply infused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,
> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

(*Wordsworth* : Extension, Book IV)

A system of ethics is intended to give depth and fervour to moral life, solace in its sufferings, courage in its obstacles, light in its bewilderments and confidence in its frustrations. All this can be vouchsafed only by a philosophy that speaks of a universal order that is not exhausted by the world of sense. Right conduct cannot be expected from men groping about as 'in a darkling plain swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight when ignorant armies clash by night.' In the words of the poet,

> "..................One adequate support
> For all the calamities of moral life
> Exists—one only; an assured belief
> That the procession of our fate, howe'r
> Sad or discontented, is ordered by a Being
> Of infinite benevolence and power."

So, cut away from its philosophical moorings, ethics can have no existence or justification. Far from being unethical in character, Indian philosophy is supremely ethical in foundation and in fulfilment. The moral education of the individual insisted on as preleminary to qualify him for metaphysical quest and the life of social dedication or *lokasaṅgraha* in which the realised soul spends the remainder of his days affirm beyond doubt the importance of ethics in Indian philosophical schools. To say that Indian thought is individualistic and unsocial is to miss the peculiar differentian of Indian genius. Each man must conduct the search for the spirit in himself and for himself. The Indian Ṛṣi was a recluse who betook himself to inaccessible caves dark as Erebus to court the company of the Supreme to illumine the recesses of his being. The intimations of immortality are received only in the solitude of meditation. The finite reaches the Infinite only by *tapas* exacting as it is exclusive and not in the ferment of the forum or the din of the market place. Spiritual education and spiritual graduation must be an individual affair and it can never be a reproach on the Indian thinker that he pursues a lone path. The soul's pilgrimage is not a railway journey.

The other charge that, if the reality of the world is denied, ethics ceases to have any importance is more powerful, but none the less untenable. The problem-situation which prompts reflection and demands solution arises only in a world rent by conflicting interests prompted by the view that multiplicity is ultimate and final. The sense of the many is the root of diversity and distinction. Where there is division there is conflict. Separateness breeds opposition. The theory of *māyā* only asserts that this multiplicity is not real, that it neither is nor has value as it seems. It is under its influence that one thinks of oneself as isolated, as one of many existents. We forget नेह नानाऽस्ति किंचन, that unity alone is the truth. The solution of the moral problem cannot arise unless the unity underlying the diversity is perceived and realised. That will be only when the veil of *māyā* is torn from the soul's eye. Then, entering into eternal life, one will lay little store by the doll-play of the material world. He will be in the world, but not of it. He will not abstain from work; for, says the Lord नहि कश्चित् क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत्; but his work will be worship. His look becomes a benediction. His words are wisdom. His every act is a consecration. Autonomous as he is, being a svarāṭ, he goes about as an automaton and his life is a continuous affirmation of the True, the Good and the Beautiful. He is a सर्वभूतहिते रतः Intensely holy, he sheds happiness about him. The Jīvanmukta, though bound in flesh, is free in spirit. He

Can crowd eternity into an hour
Or stretch an hour into eternity.

I am afraid that I have tired you by a recital of what must be obvious to all. Let me hasten to add स्मारये वो न तु शिक्षये. I must crave your indulgence for a few minutes longer while I let myself make two reflections. I have heard said that Indian philosophy is not progressive, that it does not keep pace with the times and has developed no new theories. In this it is likened to Samskṛt language which is not alive today in the tongues of men. It is contrasted with western philosophy which is ever on the move expounding fresh views like evolutionism, humanism, holism etc. Even the old theories bearing the labels of idealism and realism are making new incarnations as neo-idealism, neo-realism, surrealism and such like. It is asked : Has Indian thought become sterile after the founders of the Vadāntic schools ? Is theirs the last word on the subject ? In fact, even the modern philosophers of our land are found to be interpreters and expositors of ancient theories and not originators of new ones. In my view, we do not suffer by this contrast. On the other hand, it shows the degree of perfections which our philosophical systems have attained that they cannot be supplemented or supplanted. Indian philosophic thought is like the waters of the holy Ganges flowing from the ancient and eternal springs of the Himalayas. The best that can be said about man and his Maker has been most beautifully expressed in the sacred texts. The Indian thinkers, interpreting those words help to irrigate those life-giving waters to minds unborn to dispel their confusions and dower them with knowledge. The Vedic sun shines through the age with its undying beacon and our great thinkers take us in hand to tread the bright paths to reach that glorious Light from which the lesser lights derive their illumination. Not so the western thinkers who, since the days of recorded history, from the days of Heraclitus and Protagoras have been groping in the dark with nothing to guide them save their own intellectual powers subject to the limitations of their finitude. New theories are woven out of their minds as new vistas open forth to their gaze and they feel the need and the urge to revise their old notions unsuited to changing demands. We in India are heirs to an inheritance while they in the west are continuously minting their coins of disputed currency and for ever re-casting their dies. We are content to conserve our heritage, keep it alive in our head and heart, trasmit it whole and entire to those who come after us and extend its benefits to people of other lands who are apt to receive it.

Along with this sense of satisfaction that we derive, goes a great duty. Of late, the study of philosophy has fallen on evil days. In the glamour for foreign things, Indian philosophy too has lost prestige and it is sad to cotemplate that the study is not popular in our universities. It is particularly tragic that it should be so little in favour especially in south India, the home of the three great ācāryas.

It should, however, be admitted that both in the past and in the immediate present orientalists of repute have been bestowing a good deal of attention on Indian philosophical texts. Several publications of great merit have appeared during the period that has elapsed between this meeting and the last. But it should be observed that very much more has to be done by way of unearthing valuable texts like those of Bhartṛmitra, Bhartṛprapañca, Upavarṣa, Bhavadāsa etc. and publishing critical editions of the philosophic texts and presenting authorised and correct English renderings thereof. If I am permitted to make a suggestion, I would welcome the formation of societies like the Pali Text Society—a society for the publication of Vedāntic texts, another for the publication of Mīmāmsā texts and so on. Several texts on Vedānta and Mīmāmsā have been published till now, without any pretence of being critical. Such works ought to be edited with care and critical acumen. Several works of rare merit have not yet seen the press at all; and there are quite a lot of them; a serious attempt should be made to make them available to students of Indian philosophy in scholarly editions. Mention may be made in this connection of works like *Puruṣārthānuśāsana*, *Nāyacandrika*, available commentaries on important works like the *Iṣṭasiddhi*, *Brahmasiddhi*, Bhāskara's *bhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtras which has to be reedited with the aid of fresh manuscripts, the works of the great dialecticians of the 10th to 14th centuries, i. e. of Ānandabodha, Ānandānubhava etc., the Bṛhatī with *Ṛjuvimalā* and the *Nayaviveka* with commentary, of which a fragment alone has been published till now, a re-edition of the *Prakaraṇapañcikā* with the aid of new manuscripts—which have to be taken up at an early date with a band of competent Pandits and other scholars well trained in the traditional methods of Samskṛt scholarship. Most of our philosophical texts have to be rendered into English on the model of the translations of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Sir Ganganatha Jha, Suryanarayana Sastri and others.

This section of the Oriental Conference has a special duty laid on it, namely to restore the study of philosophy to its proper and ancient prestige and to gather more and more scholars and savants to its fold. To do that will be to render a great tribute to the mighty minds of old for the service that they rendered to humanity by the masterly way in which they mapped out the path to Perfection. We are met here to dive deep into these hoary fountains of the spirit to tell the people of the world after the manner of the Tamil poet that the flood-tide of supreme bliss is surging forth and to blazon the call to every सुधी, to drink again and yet again of the अमृतं महत् vouchsafed to us by our great forbears. Our debt to them is irredeemable. We must keep aglow the torch that they have lit from the eternal Light and carry it aloft into the expanses of other lands and future times. The two-fold duty is cast on us to conserve and to communicate this pricelss treasure and it is my proud privilege to invite you to discharge this sacred task with understanding and with fervour. Let us always keep in mind the ancient admonition स्वाध्याय-प्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम्. May the blessings of our great Teachers descend on us and on our labours !

॥ ओं तत् सत् ॥

CORNER-STONES OF RASA-IDEOLOGY AND THE ŚAIVA DARŚANA OF KASHMIR

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It is widely recognised that the two outstanding contributions in point of principle of the Indian poeticists are the acceptance of rasa as the essential ingredient of poetry and that of the importance of dhvani (suggestion). Navya Alaṃkāra—the new school of poetics that has ousted the older and formal thinkers on the subject dates from the period when these two currents of literary appreciation were commingled and coordinated through the labours of Ānandavardhana (cir. 850 A. C.). While the first won a practical recognition, as is evidenced from the work of the ādikavi Vālmīki, its implications and ramifications, involving, as they do, speculations on its variety and multipli-

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The following abbreviations are used in this paper:—

A. P.—Agnipurāṇa.
Ap. S.—Apohasiddhi.
Am. S.—Amaruśataka.
I. P. K.—Iśvarapratyabhjñānikā.
R. V.—Ṛjuvimalā.
K. K.—Kāvyakautuka.
K. P.—Kāvyaprakāśa.
Kāvya. Pr.—Kāvyapradīpa.
K. A.—Kāvyālaṃkāra.
G. S. S.—Gāhāsattasaī.
D. R.—Daśarūpaka.
Tan. S.—Tantrasāra.
Dh. A.—Dhvanyāloka.
N. D.—Nāṭyadarpaṇa.
N. M.—Nyāyamañjari.
P. P.—Prakaraṇapancikā.
M. Bh.—Mahābhāṣya.
R. G.—Rasagangādhara.
V. J.—Vakroktijīvita.
Siva. D.—Sivadṛṣti.
S. R.—Sangītaratnākara.
S. D. S.—Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha.
S. D.—Śāhityadarpaṇa.
A. V. S.—Advayavajrasaṃgraha.
A. Bh.—Abhinavabhāratī.
A. K.—Alaṃkārakaustubha.
U. N.—Ujjvalanīlamaṇi.
A. V. C.—Aucityavicāracarcā.
K. M.—Kāvyamīmāṃsa.
K. P. (Can)—Kāvyaprakāśadīpikā
Kāvyād.—Kāvyādarśa.
K. K. A.—Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta.
T. A.—Tantrāloka.
Tak. S.—Tattvasaṃgraha.
Tark. S.—Tarkasaṃgraha.
Dh. Loc.—Dhvanyālokalocanā.
N. S.—Nāṭyaśāstra.
P. T.—Parātriṃsika.
Br. Up.—Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.
Y. D.—Yogadarśana.
R. P.—Rasapradīpa.
V. P.—Vākyapadīya.
S. P.—Śṛngāraprakāśa.
S. K. A.—Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa.
Sahr. D.—Sahṛdayadarpaṇa.

city* as well as on its proper presentation, the second was comparatively late in acceptance. It was over Bharata's formulation of rasa in his well-known rasa sūtra,† which, nonetheless, is the earliest type of alamkāra thought that has been handed down to us, that much controversy has gathered. Bharata's work was conceived at least in its nucleus–certainly in the first centuries of the Christian era, if not earlier. It is clear that early discussion on the subject had for its direct objective the gramatic literature, the specific purpose for which Bharata's *Nāṭya-Śāstra* came into being, but it is almost a certainty that it did not take a long time‡ to establish that all poetry is within the purview of rasa. Still it is a fact worth noting that the formal exposition of the rasa–sūtra as handed down to us could not have risen before the 9th century A. C. and the universally accepted mode of its interpretation, which has formed the pivot of Alaṃkāra–nibandhas was certainly not less than a century later––couched as it is in technology and phraseology which is not broached in the *Dhvanyāloka* even.

This difference in mode of interpretation, or, to be precise, the emergence of a new outlook which came as an inevitable reaction, can not be regarded as an unaccountable fact if we look to the loopholes of investigation$ let open to us through literature and in the Alaṃkāra works of the intervening period that are now extant. Moreover, it has got to be conceded that such discussions are not the direct outcome of efforts to understand the terms *bhāva*, *vibhāva*, and *anubhāva* occurring in the sūtra and not germane to the subject as it appears in *Nāṭya-Śāstra*. The term *rasa-niṣpatti* which has been the apple of discord opens a floodgate of controversial topics, which were fast coming into prominence because of the inevitable difference in outlook for arriving at the real source of literary enjoyment. The earlier investigations veered round the framing and fashioning of aids which can inspire poetic attainments, and, at their worst, serve as tips for second-rate or third-rate talents and for the analysis of aesthetic pleasure from dramas (as they were very widely represented) and took their stand on literature as a living commodity, a current coin. Even Dandin[*] (in the close of the 7th century) and more clearly Ānandavardhana[†] about 150 years later had to realise that literature worth the name was slowly but surely decaying and the *role* of poets growing obsolete. The earlier theorists—it is a pity that nothing more than their mere names, as in the fairly long list of obsolete writers traceable from citations in the *Kāvyamīmaṅsā*[‡] of Rājaśekhara has been left to us—had their days, and we shall presently refer to the root-cause why their investigations were not considered as fruitless and purely of academic interest by later thinkers, who lived and thought in a different atmosphere. This inevitable change was the straightforward and direct appreciation of the fact that poetry had passed its creative stage[$] and that the real and substantial help which alṃkārikas could render was the development on the proper lines of the really critical and appreciative spirit, which alone could preserve and conserve the literary monuments of the age-old masters.

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* The four (primary) rasas and the eight (including derivative) rasas, are noted in the *Nātyasāstra* (VI. 39. 41.). We read also of six rasas in the *Ram.* Adikānda (IV. 9.) an enumeration envisaged as plausible in the first ānana of the *Rasagangādhara* -(P. K. M. edn ननु...न तथा ऱ्हासे जुगुप्सायां च...सत्यम्)

† विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिसंयोगाद्रसनिष्पत्तिः ॥ (*Nātyāsāstra.* Chap. VI. under 32.)

‡ काव्ये च नाट्यायमाने त एव रसाः... काव्येऽपि च लोकनाट्यधर्मिस्थानीये...विभावादि योगादियमेव रसवार्त्ता ।

$ In the language of an earlier theorist (as cited in the *K. M.* Chap. IV.)

प्रथयति पुरा प्रज्ञाज्योतिर्यथार्थपरिग्रहे तदनु जनयत्यूहापोहक्रियाविशदं मनः ।
अभिनिविशते तस्मान्नूनं तदेकसुखोदयम्...
गुरूपदेशादध्येतुं काव्यं जडधियोऽप्यलम् ।
काव्यं तु जायते जातु कस्यचित् प्रतिभावतः ॥ (*K. A. I* 5)

This is borne out by the gradually receding interest in speculations about *prajñā* and *pratibhā* or the *Kārayitrī* and *bhāvayitrī* aspects thereof, traces of which linger in works (Alamkāra-nibandhas) like the *Kāvyakautuka* of Bhaṭṭa

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[*] तदस्ततन्द्रैरनिशं सरस्वती श्रमादुपास्या खलु कीर्तिमीप्सुभिः ।
कृशे कवित्वेऽपि जनाः कृतश्रमाः विदग्धगोष्ठीषु विहर्तुमीशते ॥ (*Kavyād. I.*)

[†] अस्मिन्...संसारे कालिदासप्रभृतयो द्वित्राः पञ्चषा वा महाकवयः इति गण्यन्ते (*Dhva. I. 6*) ध्वनेर्यः...कवीनां प्रतिभागुण : (IV. 1) and प्रतायन्तां वाचो निमितविविधार्थामृतरसाः । (IV. 17)

[‡] As in Chap. IV. *K. M.* beginning with द्विविधं शिष्यमाचक्षते C. f. the extracts from earlier authorities काव्यकर्मणि कवेः समाधिः परं व्याप्रियते इति श्यामदेवः । अभ्यास इति मंगलः । शक्तिकर्तृके हि प्रतिभाव्युत्पत्तिकर्मणी । शक्तस्य प्रतिभाति शक्तस्य व्युत्पद्यते ।

[$] Is criticism lower than creation ? Cannot criticism and creation go together ? May not criticism itself be creative ? These are vital issues in the history of literary criticism in modern literature in the West. Ānanda styles these two different viewpoints (दृष्टि) as रसयित्री and परिनिष्ठितार्थ-विषयोन्मेषा in his wellknown verse या व्यापारवती (*Dh.* III. 44) another in a set of different imagery puts it thus:—एकः सूते कनकमुपलस्तत्परीक्षाक्षमोऽन्यः (K. M. chap. IV.) a third in a still diffrent manner.

लीनं वस्तुनि येन सूक्ष्मसुभगं तत्त्वं गिराकृष्यते निर्मातुं प्रभवेन्मनोहरमिदं वाचैव यो वा बहिः ।
वन्दे द्वावपि तावहं कविवरौ वन्देतरां तं पुनर्यो विज्ञानपरिश्रमोऽयमनयोर्भावावतारक्षमः ॥
(*V. J.* p. 129 , Second Edn.)

Tauta (cir 975 A. C.)* The new dispensation, which had been ushered in before that time (say about the middle of the 10th century), approached the *rasa-sūtra* of Bharata, from a totally different angle– an approach which was but the logical outcome of the patent fact noted before, that it was the reader or the *sāmājika* on whom the centre of gravity of investigations should be shifted. Broadly speaking their conclusions—which may aptly be styled as the corner-stones of Rasa-ideology—may be summarised under the four following heads:—

(i) *Rasa* is the very essence of ānanda† (आनन्दमय), the one unalloyed source of which is to be traced in *Kāvyas* and is self-illumining (स्वप्रकाश).‡

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* The contents of these terms are discussed there (Vide citations in the gloss to the *K.P. Dip*—with Candidāsa's commentary as edited by the writer of this paper in the Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Series; Benares 1933) The कारण, कार्य, सहकारि-भाव, equations of विभाव, अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिन् appearing in the *rasasūtra* by previous thinkers Lollata etc. relate to this.

† रसे सारश्चमत्कारः (The view of Dharmadatta as cited in the *S. D. III* of Viśvanātha); The phrase अलौकिक चमत्कारकारी रसास्वादः in the expression of Abhinava in his exposition in the *Abh–Bh.* (p. 286) alone with the eloquent phrases पुर इव परिस्फुरन् ब्रह्मास्वादमिवानुभावयन् (as in the summary of Abhinava's exposition cited in the *K. P.*) serve to bring out the nature of *ānanda* as known from the earliest speculations starting from the *Upanisads.* And this is furnished by poetry. As Kavi Karṇapura puts it in the *A. K.* (p. 19) in his vaiṣṇava theological way:—चित्तस्याभिनिवेशेन सान्द्रानन्दलयस्तु यः । स एव परमो लाभः ।

‡ ननु सुखात्मक आत्मेति न रसस्य व्यक्तिरिति चेत्, न, स्वप्रकाशनये स्वाकाशदिवदभिन्नस्यात्मनो विषयीकरणात् । (*Kāvya. Pr.* under IV 5) The form of exposition यथा हि शरावादिना विहितो दीपस्तन्निवृत्तौ सन्निहितान्पदार्थान् प्रकाशयति स्वयं च प्रकाशते एवमात्मचैतन्यं विभावादिसंवलित इत्यादीन् । व्यक्तिश्च भग्नावरणचित् । in the *R. G.* (p. 22 Kāvyam Edn. 1916) has been attacked by Prabhākara in the R. P. (p. 36) as अविवेचितसिद्धान्ततत्त्वस्याभिधानम् on the part of the 'आधुनिक' 'आलङ्कारिकमान्य.' Prabhā kara's own view is thus expressed in the Kārikā form:– योऽयं रसः स्वप्रकाशसुखात्मकधिया यथा गृह्यतेचर्वणासौव कार्यासैव च सम्रता । As the S. R. of Sārngādara tersely puts it :– सुस्वरूपा स्वसंवेद्या संविदास्वादनाभिधा (अभिधा not of course its technical sense) । रसः स्यात् । To take शक्ति as contributing to the विघ्नापसारण of the विभाव s is to subscribe blankly to the view of Bhattanāyaka (A. P. 281)

(ii) Śṛngāra is the *rasa et esse* or rasa *par excellence.**

(iii) The realisation of *rasa* involves and is predetermined by *vāsanā.*†

(iv) Its locus is the *sāmājika* or the *sahṛdaya,*‡ in whom no less than in the poet is embedded the essence of the muse poetry$.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka|| (cir. 950 A. C.) in his monumental work, the *Sahṛdaya-darpaṇa,* in spite of his professed affiliation to a different system of philosophic thought, for which he has been held up to ridicule, touched the fringe of the subject more than in the fashion of the *taṭastha* (the indifferent third party), and was responsible for the formulation of two cardinal principles¶ which

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* As in DHA. II. 8. शृंगार एव मधुरः परः प्रह्लादनो रसः । or as in the *Sahr.* D of Bhattanāyaka स्वादः काव्यार्थ सम्भेदाद्धृव्यानन्द (दात्मानन्द in the D.R) समुद्भवः । where ānanda and rati are almost identified. Abhinava suggests this unity and essence of rasa in the *Abhinavabhārati.* p. 273. पूर्वत्र बहुवचनमत्रैकवचनं प्रयुञ्जानस्यायमाशय एक एव तावत् परमार्थतो रसः सूत्रस्थानीयत्वेन रूपके प्रतिभाति । तस्यैव पुनर्भागदृशाविभागः ।

† सामाजिकानां (सूक्ष्मतया वासनात्मया स्थितः) । (*A. Bh.* & *K. P.*) रसाः प्रतीयन्त इत्योदनं पचतीतिवद् व्यवहारः ।... चित्ररसनाविशिष्टत्वाच्चेतसः । यदाह- 'तासामनादित्वञ्चात्मनो नित्यत्वात् जातिदेशकालव्यवन्हितानामप्यानन्तर्यं स्मृतिसंस्कारयोरेकरूपत्वात् ।' (*locana* p. 69. 70) वासनाचेदानीन्तनी प्राक्तनी वा द्विविधा......

All this just brings into a line with the ideology referred to hereafter in this paper. It is worth noting that Ānanda does not use वासना in this technical sense. In his use (P. 86) the word has got its usual sense.

‡ अधिकारी चात्रविमलप्रतिभानशालिहृदयः (*Sahrs* to cited in the *A. Bh.* P. 280) Dharmadatta puts this tersely :— सवासनानां सभ्यानां रसस्यास्वादनं भवेत । *D. R.* IV. 38 has:— रस स एव स्वाद्यत्वाद्रसिकस्यैव वर्तनात् । R. P. (P. 1) सामाजिकास्तु विवृते रसम् ।

$ The ābhāṇaka (adage) आचार्यात्पादमादत्ते दं शिष्यः स्वमेधया ।...... brings into prominence the role of the pupil in the imparting of knowledge and its consequent indivisible and continuous character. So also is *rasa* in the exposition of the new school dependent on the Sahrdaya. काको रसयिता सर्वो नः बोद्धा न नियोगभाक् says Bhattanāyaka refuting the views of those who posit *rasa* in the poet, the actor or even in the academic student (the ज्ञानपरायणशिष्य in the language of anot r metaphor.)

|| भट्टनायकस्तु भावनोपनीतो रामादिरत्यादिः सामाजिकां द नन्दारब्धसाक्षात्कारविषयो रसः । (*R. P.* P. 26) ...तदुक्तम्- स्वादः काव्यार्थसम्भेदाद्रत्यानन्दसमुद्भवः !

¶ Viz. the principles of साधारणी कृति (reduction to the common denominator) and स्वाद or साक्षात्कार (direct taste as the *sina qua non of* रसनिष्पति. The first was the outcome of the भावना view of the Mīmānsā philosophy, the second that of भोगीकृति । भावना च विभावादिनामा साधारणीकरणात्मा भावकत्वारब्धः कश्चन वासनापर संस्कारः ।... (*R. P.* P.26) भावनासन्निहितस्य इत्यदिः साक्षात्कारोपपत्तौ न यत्रात्तरजोरवमास्थराम । ...... (*R.* . P. 27) stemmed the tide of earlier infractuous academic controversies, and in a sense paved the way for the acceptance of such ideas as the axioms of *rasanispatti.* These were finally given their form, shape and direction by the great Ālaṃkārika philosopher of Kashmir, Abhinavagupta, who is to be regarded as the real pioneer of the new School* and whose commentaries on the *Dhvanyāloka,*† (which flashed its searchlight on some forms of poetic composition like the lyric poems where the analytic and practical (mechanical) side of *rasa*-presentation received its seal of sanction and) on the *Nāṭya-śāstra*‡ with its illuminating wealth of views and visions gave them wide currency.

The analytic and practical,-one may say mechanical and representative aspect of the interpretation of the rasa-sūtra, which appeared there as the only inevitable sequel to the line of thinking propounded in the *Nātya-śāstra* had its utility in as much as it tended to the assessment of literary values of poetic composition and was like the throes preceding the birth of the real aesthetic spirit. It had a handy pendant in the profuse outturn of lyric poetry, especially in the Prakrits, at least from the period of the *G. S. S.* right up to the *Amaruśataka* which have received their meed of praise in the *Dhvanyāloka*$ the book of revelation with the new school and which served to blunt the edge of the monotonous, stereotyped and artificial mahākāvya-stuff of thought that was becoming stultified, 'a fen of stagnant waters.' forfeiting all the characteristics of the limpid self-poised poetic stream of old India. Ānandavardhana's efforts in introspective study were in course of time fruitful in diverting the attention of the *Sahṛdaya* away from niceties and details of *bhāvas*, their modes and moodalities, from what was at best a psycho-analysis of the denotation of poetry, rather than the ethereal essence of its ingredient of bliss. The consummation of this aesthetic emergence came not much after and in this unveiling of the प्रातिभ चक्षुस् * (as different from the gross interpretation of words and their meanings,) in the felicitous expression of its staunchest and best spokesman, Abhinavagupta, reached at the unique, unprecedented (*apūrva*) essence of Sarasvatī (सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वम्). †

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* The honorific appendage *pādāh* to his name by a near in-time ālamkārika (Mammata) of the same country shows his influence in shaping the views of the school. His credit lies in directing the attention to the feeling side of aesthetic appreciation. विभावत्वानुभावत्वव्यभिचारित्वानि जातिविशेषा एव चित्तवृत्तिविशेषसमवेता अभिनवगुप्ताचार्यमते (*R. P.* P. 89)

† e. g. Under I. 5 :—तेन रस एव वस्तुत आत्मालङ्कारध्वनी तु सर्वथा रसं प्रति पर्यवस्यतः । स एव हृदयसंवादनतन्मयी भवनक्रमादास्वाद्यमानतां प्रतिपन्नो रसः...... and under II. 3 स च रसादिध्वनिर्व्यवस्थित एव । न हि तच्छून्यं काव्यं किञ्चिदस्ति । यद्यपि च रसेनैव सर्वं जीवति काव्यं तथापि तस्य रसस्य...अधिकोऽसौ चमत्कारो भवति ।

‡ In his exposition Abhinava as in the statement of an earlier author hits at the very basis of *rasa*-realisation-- आस्वादनात्मानुभवो रसः काव्यार्थ उच्यते ।
(A. Bh. I. p. 279)

$ The analytic bias was responsible for the one-sided difinition of kāvya proposed by some:- अनुभावविभावानां वर्णना काव्यमुच्यते । मुक्तकेषु हि प्रबन्धेष्विव रसबन्धाभिनिवेशिनः कवयो यथाहि अमरुकस्य कवेर्मुक्तकाः शृंगाररसस्यन्दिनः प्रसिद्धा एव (Dh. under III. 7). This brought into eminence the practice of relishing *rasa* in individual verses followed to a degree of nicety in works like the *V. J.* of Kuntaka specially in chap IV *A. V. C.* pp. 24-34 (K. M.) Ksemendra. From this standpoint *G. S. S.* I. 4, 16, 25, 92, '101I. 25 VI. 99 and *Ams.* 4 (अलसवलितैः), 57 (बाले नाथ) (कपोले पंचाली) are apt instances. This आस्वाद theory was later brought into prominence in the definitions proposed by writers for *Kāvyas* -cf. एतदुक्तं भवति आस्वादजीवातुः पदसन्दर्भः काव्यम् । (Candidāsa's K. P. *Dipikā* p. 13)

It is noteworthy that this father of a new critical thought, who was one of the greatest exponents of the Saiva Darśana of Kashmir (in its Prayabhijñā or Pratibhā school) has systematically invoked the aid of this Pratibhā‡ in his literary excursions in the domain of Alaṃkāra-śāstra. To him Śiva and *rasa* $

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* In the language of the Saiva darśana and in the happy phraseology of Bhavabhūti in relation to the creative aspect of peots:- (U. R. C. Act. II).

† अपूर्वं यद्वस्तु प्रथयति विना कारणकलां जगद्ग्रावप्रख्यं निजरसभरात्सारयति च ।
क्रमात् प्रख्यौपाख्याप्रसरसुभगं भासयति तत्सरस्वत्यास्तत्त्वं कविसहृदयाख्यं विजयते ॥

(the opening verse in the *Locanā*) where प्रख्यौपाख्याप्रसर has implicite reference to the psychological basis of rasa by its preference to अर्थ शब्द (vide. V. S. P. 24.)

‡ e. g. in the verse यदुन्मीलनशक्त्यैव विश्वमुन्मीलति क्षणात् । स्वात्मायतनविश्रान्तां तां वन्दे प्रतिभां शिवाम् ॥ (at the end of the *Locana* in Dh. I. This relates to the अलौकिकत्वं of rasa and the distinctiveness and independence of its emergent flavour. Says one author:- न चैवं रस एव विषयविशेषस्फूर्तिप्रसङ्गः । निर्विषये रसे विषयेणाकारसमर्पणात् वैषयिके तु सुखे विषयेणाकारसमर्पणविषयस्फूर्तिः (Locana, p. 70) The Spanda school would put it in a slightly different manner:-- निरापादानसम्भारेमभित्तावेव तन्वते । जगच्चित्रं नमस्तस्मै कलाश्लाघ्याय शूलिने । (*Stavacintāmani* by Utpaladeva).

$ cf. इति शिवरसं पातुं येषां विपासति मानसम् in Abhinava's commentary on the P. T. (p. 63 Kashmir S. Texts & Studies Series no. XVIII.) also:-

स्थायी प्रबुद्धहृदये व्यभिचारिभूतः कामाकुलासु जनतासु महानुभावः ।
अन्तर्विभावविषयो रसमात्रमूर्तिः श्रीमान्प्रसन्नहृदयोऽस्तु मम त्रिनेत्रः ॥

(*Abhinavabhārati* VII opening verse) One is irresistibly reminded of the similar characterisation of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the dissertations of poets and thinkers of the Bengal Vaisnava rasa-school

शृङ्गारसर्वस्वम्...आश्रये भुवनाश्रयम् ।
आशंसया रसविधिरवतारितानां कंसारिणा रसिकमण्डल शेखरेण ॥

are convertible terms and it is not at all strange that in his exposition of the rasa-sūtra, which, by the bye, became the standard exposition to later thought on the subject, he utilises materials from the philosophical system most to his liking and the dearest to his heart. In a benedictory verse* found in one of the manuscripts utilised by the editor of the Kāvyamāla text of the *Dhvanyālokalocana* which presumably was the introductory verse of a subcommentary on the Locana, we meet with certain epithets of Siva, the Supreme principle in this school of philosophy–स्वानुभवैकवेद्य स्वच्छन्द, आनन्दसमुद्र and a characteristic expression वासनासञ्जनन which cannot but remind us of the characterisations of *rasa* and of the the way to its realisation as propounded by him and as noted by us above as the corner stones of *rasa*–ideology. In Bhaṭṭanāyaka's estimation† of the relative importance of the sources of aesthetic pleasure and in his well-known statement,‡ including it in the same category with brahmāsvāda, we have tangible approach to the introspective realisation of Kāvya, while in Ānanda's assertion as cited in the Alamkāra section of the *Agnipurāṇa,*$ though in the line of earlier and more conservative thought in the subject as is evident from the emphasis placed on the poet, (a line followed by Bhoja|| in the *Sarasvatī Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the S. P.), we have the crux of the problem laid on the importance

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* उपास्महे स्वानुभवैकवेद्यं स्वच्छन्दमानन्दसमुद्रमीशम्... । इह हि कश्चित्...निजान्तेवासि वासनासञ्जननाय च दुर्हृदयोद्वेजितसहृदयसंमुदायसमुत्तेजितः श्रीमदभिनवगुप्तपादोपदिष्टः...ध्वन्यालोकलोचने मङ्गलं विवृणोति ।

† तत्तु (काव्यात्मनि शब्दे) अभिधायकत्वं वाच्यविषयं भावकत्वं रसादिविषयं भोक्तृत्वं सहृदयविषयमिति त्रयोंऽशभूता व्यापाराः । (Bhattanāyaka's views as cited and discussed in the *Locana* p. 68)

‡ sic (p. 70) परमब्रह्मास्वादं स्वब्रह्मचारित्वं वाऽस्त्वस्य रसास्वादस्य (Abhinava's अभ्युपगम of Bhattanāyaka's views). It is however, not the self same thing (Cf. p.268 *A. Bh.*) cf. Emerson:–The supreme critique is that unity, that Over-soul within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all others.

$ Ānanda's verse (Dh. A. under III. 43 शृङ्गारी चेत् कविः काव्ये जातं रसमयं जगत् is cited in later *nibandhas* and popularly ascribed to the *Agnipurāṇa*. Abhinava notes-- शृङ्गारपदं रसोपलक्षणम् । (*Locana* thereon) cf the statemant cited in the R. P. (p. 17.) स्वादुपाकेऽप्यनास्वाद्यं भोज्यं निर्लवणं यथा । तथैव नीरसं काव्यं स्यान्नो रसिकतुष्टये ॥

|| S. K. A. V.^{1} रसोऽभिमानोऽहङ्कर शृङ्गार इति गीयते ।
योऽर्थस्तस्यान्वयात्काव्यं कमनीयत्वमश्नुते ॥
अभिमानोऽहङ्कारः (Sāmkhya Kārikā 24)

and S. P. I. 4 सर्वात्मनाममलधर्मविशेषजन्मा जन्मान्तरानुभवनिर्मितवासनोऽन्यः ।
सर्वात्मसम्पदुदयातिशयैकहेतुर्जागर्ति कोऽपि हृदि मानमयो विकारः ॥

and S. P. I. 5d शृङ्गार एव हृदि मानवतो जनस्य ।

of Sṛngāra. But Abhinavagupta's approach is on another basis; and this leads us to the relevant items of the Śaiva Darśana.

Ānanda (bliss) has been accepted as an eternal and indivisible mark of the Supreme Principle from the Upanisadic period in Indian thought; but the Śaiva Darśana goes a step further. Like the doctrine of līlā advocated in the Vaiṣṇava thought as promulgated in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, the Lord Śiva is self--content and ecstatic in the manifestation of this aspect of His being-He is स्वानन्दैकरसाल्हादी[*]. It is in the exuberance of His Will that delight reigns over His manifestations (स्वप्रकाश) and clothes this our phenomenal world[†] with vitality and beauty. The ephemeral objects induce this spirit of bliss, in the mind properly poised and trained in the regime of Śaiva[‡] meditations. The masters of Alamkāraśāstra beginning with Abhinava have taken their stand on this characteristic of *rasa*, which is but another name for Śiva, and have spared no pains to drive home[$] this fact to its readers and the reflections in a contrary vein, in the works of the Jaina authors (e. g. in the N. D. of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra[||]) serve only as a jar to the sweet and concerted harmony of the śāstra as a whole. That *rasa* is an independent entity co-ordinating all other entities and that is self-illumining is the burden of what Ānandavardhana himself has tried to emphasise with the hep of the maxim of the jar and the lamp[¶] in the DhA. Later thought served to clothe it only in terms of religio-philosophical content. The *Ś*aiva-darśana has dilated on the unison of the Lord with the Bhagavati *Ś*akti as the reigning principle[*] behind the spectacle of worldly order. Earlier Buddhistic thought[†] has styled this as the युगनद्ध प्रकाश and the Tantra-literature in its various ramifications has espoused it to the length of its being propounded as a monopolistic doctrine. The Alaṃkāra counterpart of this is tantamount to the recognition of शृङ्गार as the primary rasa, while this fact was vaguely recognised from early times in poetics[‡] (and in its setting in Buddhistic epistemology[§]) and was later developed into a thesis in Bhoja's *SP.*,[‖] it was given its distinctive code and credence only in post-*Ś*aiva-darśana Alamkāra contributions,[¶] as will be evident from Ānandavardhana's mere mention as distinguished from the implications brought to bear on it by Abhinava.[♆] The *vāsanā* theory which Abhinava requisitions for this purpose is the third principle noted in this paper and presuppoes a form of aesthic consciousness inherent in the reader and brought into action by acquired tastes and studies. It is this which marks the turning-point in the evolution of Alāmkāra thought—an evolution that was but the logical outcome of Ānanda's वैपश्चिती दृष्टि* hastened into acceptance because of its philosophical bias. *Vāsanā* is a familiar term in the philosophical parlance of India and whether in its technical presentation in the Buddhistic dialectic,† or in Yoga‡ and Śaiva systems,$ it is essentially the same idea. It is quite likely that this weapon of philosophy forged in other circles was imported by poeticists like, Abhinava out of their urgent outlook for their 'first priority' critical literature, as distinguished from creative impulse conveyed by the word *bhāvanā* smacking of its time-worn associations in the Śāstra itself,‖ no less than of its Nyāya-cum-Mīmānsā germ¶ brought into prominence by Bhaṭṭanāyaka.

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[*] See in the T. A. (पञ्चमान्हिक) p. 211 K. S. T. & Studies Series Vol. 33.

[†] तस्येच्छास्पंदनं पूर्वसद्भावोऽह्लादसङ्गमः (Do) सर्वे भावाः स्वमात्मानं जानन्तः सर्वतः स्थिताः ॥

[‡] In the commentary on the *Sivadrs* (K. S. T. & S. Series NO. LIV) by Utpaladeva, a noted philosopher of the school we read-(p-12)

आनन्दे महति प्राप्ते दृष्टे वा बान्धवे चिरात् । आनन्दमुद्गतं ध्यात्वा तल्लयस्तन्मना भवेत् ॥

[$] Vide the elquent and long passage in the P. T. (pp. 46-49) एकेनैव रूपाद्यन्यतमेनोद्रिक्तप्राक्तनबलोपबृंहितस्य...सर्वजगन्मनोगतानन्तशब्दादिबृंहणवशाज्जायत एव क्षोभः । न त्वपूर्णं नापि क्षीणं सुखप्रसवभूः...। दुःखेऽप्येष एव चमत्कारः । cf. similar ideas in the माधुर्यचिन्तामणि of Visvanātha Cakravartin and a parallel passage निखिलपरमानन्दचन्द्रिका चन्द्रमसि...भगवति प्रीतिस्त्वमुपसेवमाना विराजते । (PP. 730-31) in the प्रीतिसन्दर्भ of Jīvagosvāmin.

[||] यत्पुनः सर्वरसानां सुखात्मकत्वमुच्यते तत्प्रतीतिबाधितम् ।...भयानकादिभिरुद्विजते समाजः । ...अनेनैव च सर्वाङ्गाह्लादकेन कविनटशक्तिजन्मना चमत्कारेण विप्रलब्धाः (It is to be noted how the author misses the real resceptacle of the चमत्कार) परमानन्दरूपतां करुणादिषु सुमेधसः प्रतिजानते । with a fling at the word सुमेधसः Vāmana in the *K. S. V.* (under III. 1. 8.) lays down:- करुणप्रेक्षणीयेषु संप्लवः (N. D. P. 159) सुखदुःखयोः । यथानुभवतः सिद्धः...॥

[¶] e. g. under the Dh III. 33. Vide *K. P. IV.* in the exposition after Abhinava of the rasa sūtra and the comments of Rucaka, Srīdhara and Candidāsa thereon.

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[*] *T. A.* (K. T. & S. Series N0. 23 p. 31) भगवत्या सह शम्भुनाथ एकः उमासहायं परमेश्वरं प्रभुम् । Kaivalyopaniṣad

[†] In the *A. V. S.* (G. O. S.) p. 49. The Buddhistic metaphysics in महासुखप्रकाश is applied *mutatis mutandis* in the domain of रसनिष्पत्ति ।

[‡] The conception of माधुर्य in the Ritī-cum-guṇa school has, according to Ānandavardhana, in a manner led to the recognition of शृङ्गार as the rasa *par excellence* [D. A. II. 8] from their veiwpoint.

[§] नैः स्वभाव्यादजातत्वं प्रत्यग्राहनिस्निह्यता । भावाभाववतो न स्तोयुगनद्धं तु भासते ।
[*A. V. S.* P. 49]

[‖] The distinctiveness of शृङ्गार as the rasa is nowhere so clearly recognised as in the following statement:-

वीराद्भुतादिषु च येह रसप्रसिद्धिः सिद्धा कुतोऽपि वटयक्षवदावभाति ।
लोके गतानुगतिकत्ववशादुपेतामेतां निवर्तयितुमेष परिश्रमो नः ॥ [S. P. I. 7]

[¶] In Abhinava's commentary on the *P. T.* [p. 47] we read:-

यदुक्तं भट्टनायकेन—नपुंसकमिदं नाम परब्रह्म फलेत् कियत् ।
तत्पौरुषनियोक्ता चेन्न स्यात्तच्छक्तिसुन्दरी ।

[♆] Dh. under II. 8 शृङ्गार एव रसान्तरापेक्षया मधुरः प्रह्लादनहेतुत्वात् । प्रकाशनपरः शब्दार्थयोः काव्यस्य स माधुर्यलक्षणो गुणः । परप्रह्लादन इति । रतौ हि समस्तदेवतिर्यङ्नरादिजातिष्व विच्छिन्नैव वासनाऽस्ते । [*Locana*]. While it is true that कविभावकभाव्यमानं तन्नास्ति यन्न रसभावमुपैति लोके । [D. R. IV. 85], the विभावs etc. by themselves are not sufficient for रसनिष्पत्ति just as the mere presence of objects is not sufficient for their comprehension. Like the curse of Durvāsas in the drama of Kālidāsa which stands in the way of Abhijnāna, there are factors in the realisation of rasa which are produced by and are accountable only because of vāsanā. Rasa or aesthetic emotion is different from simple feeling i. e. it is अलौकिक cf. Bain's theory, according to which aesthetic emotions are "a sublimation of the simpler feelings of our daily life", and the Vaisnava view प्राकृते रस एव नाऽस्ति ।

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* दृष्टिर्या परिनिष्ठितार्थविषयोन्मेषा च वैपश्चिती । (Dh. A under III. 44) The Locanā comments या चैवंविधा दृष्टिः परिनिष्ठितोऽचलोऽर्थविषये निश्चेतव्ये विषय उन्मेषो यस्याः । तथाऽन्येन परिनिष्ठिते विषय उन्मेषः सम्यगवबोधकारी अपूर्वप्रमाणलक्षणो यस्याः सा ।...एवं प्रथममेव परमेश्वरभक्तिभाजः कुतूहलमात्रावलम्बितकविप्रामाणिकोभयवृत्तेः पुनरपि परमेश्वरभक्तिविश्रान्तिरेव युक्तेति मन्वानस्येयमुक्तिः । सकलप्रमाणपरिनिश्चितदृष्टादृष्टविषयविशेषजं यत्सुखं यदपि वा लोकोत्तरं रसचर्वणात्मकं तत उभयतोऽपि परमेश्वरविश्रान्त्यानन्दः प्रकृष्यते । तदानन्दविप्रुण्मात्रावभासो हि रसास्वाद इत्युक्तं प्रागस्माभिः । लौकिकं तु सुखं ततोऽपि निकृष्टप्रायं बहुतरदुःखानुसङ्गादिति तात्पर्यम् । cf also the verse in the V. I (p. 129):- वन्देतरां तं पुनर्यो विज्ञानपरिश्रमोऽयमनयोर्भावावगाहक्षमः ।

† *A. V. S.* p. 41 यथा भवेत् स्फूर्तिः...द्वैताद्वैतमनो यच्च तत्र तद्वासनाफलम् in the section called महासुखप्रकाश । एकसन्तानवर्तिनामालयविज्ञानानां तत्तद् प्रवृत्तिजननशक्तिर्वासना । vide also Cowell's apt translation in *the S. D. S.* under बौद्धदर्शन).

‡ *Y. D.* II. 7, 8, 9 and the bhāsya of Vyāsa and the vrtti of Aniruddha thereon. The Advaita Vedānta system as ordinarily known has dealt with it in its reference to संसार and its cessation, whereas in the predesposing complementary Pūrva Mīmāmsā system Ajnāna is due to Vāsanā and itself produces vāsanā [cf. P. P. & R. V. on the *Brhatī*]:- वासनातो व्यामोहो व्यामोहाद्वासनेत्यनादित्वाद् बीजाङ्कुरदोषः । (R. V. P. 55).

$ T.A. Chap. V. p. 211 and यस्यां (रत्यां) स्वात्माऽपि तद्वासनाबलादनुप्रविष्ट, अतएव न तटस्थतया इत्यवगमः । (Abh. I. p.247)

‖ *K. M.* Chap. IV. सा (प्रतिभा) द्विधा कारयित्री भावयित्री च ।... भावकस्यैवोपकुर्वाणा भावयित्री । सा हि कवेः श्रममभिप्रायञ्च भावयति । तथा खलु फलितः कवेर्व्यापारतरुः अन्यथाऽवकेशी स्यात् ।

¶ अनुभवजन्यास्मृतेर्हेतुभावनाऽऽत्ममात्रवृत्तिः [*Tark. S.*] प्रयत्न एव भवितव्येऽपूर्वं उपरञ्जकभूतस्य भावयितुरात्मनो व्यापार इति भावनाशब्देनोच्यते [*P. P.* p. 197] and in Bhattanāyaka's utilisation thereof, he being a Mīmānsaka by affiliation we read:- भावना हि विभावादि शरीरकरणीकरणात्मा भावकत्वापरपर्यायः कश्चन संस्कारः ।

All this implies the unity of the supreme Being recognised in the Śaiva-Darśana of the *svātman** the only coherent connection, noumenal entity through phenomena being at the root of all ultimate realisation.† Apparent variety vanishes in the Ultimate Reality when संविद्‡ functions and sets in action अनुभव or उपलब्धि$ which completes the cycle. In the domain of literary art this has determined the *role* of the critic-it is he as the सहृदय or the सामाजिक who is the locus of the process of realisation and round whom aesthetic pleasure radiates.||

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* स्वात्मा सर्वभावस्वभावः स्वयं प्रकाशमानः स्वात्मानमेव स्वात्माविभिन्नेव प्रष्टृप्रतिवक्तृ-स्वात्ममयेन...अहन्तया चमत्कुर्वन् विमृशति ।...Abhinava's commentary [cited in P. 89 I. A.:- स्फोरयस्यखिलमात्मता स्फुरन् विश्वमामृशसि रूपमामृशन् । [P. T. p. 14-15].

† एवमात्मन्यसकल्पाःप्रकाशस्यैव सन्त्यमी...जडा । in the [*Is Pr.* by Utpaladeva] and in the P. T. p. 33 ...यत् स्वयं निजरसेन धृतासि तत् समुल्लसति भावमण्डनम् । [I. P. K. cited in T. A.] and the gloss thereon:- शाक्तोल्लासमयी ब्रह्मभूमिरहमिति विश्वामर्शमयी पूर्णाहम्भावमयी पर्यवसानभूमिरित्यर्थः ।

‡ संविदधीनं सर्वं वस्तु [*T. A.* Kashmir S. T. & S. Series XXXVI p. 152] संविदधीनमेव सर्वमेतत्कालीयं वैचित्र्यम् । The *modus operandi* is hinted at in the following Kārikā of the Saugatas cited in the *Tattvaviveka* [p. 108]. नान्योऽनुभावो बुद्ध्यास्तु तस्यानानुभवः परः । ग्राह्यग्राहकवैधुर्यात् स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते । and the eloquent citation from the Saivāgama [P. T. p. 258-259] [साक्षात्पश्यत्यसन्दिग्धमाकृष्टी रुद्रशक्तिभिः ।]... इयमेवामृतप्राप्तिरयमेवात्मनो ग्रहः । इयं निर्वाणदीक्षाच विश्वसद्भावसाधिनी ॥ (इयं संविदिति यावत् ।)

$ Cf. the *ābhāṇaka* attributed to Dharmakīrti:- युक्त्या पर्यनुयुज्येत स्फुरन्ननुभवः कथम् । (cited in ABH. I p 275). अतीन्द्रियञ्च यद्वस्तु तत्राप्यनुभवो न किम् । (*T. A.* Chap. I p. 160) Cf. सर्वासां विद्यानां हृदयमेकायतनम् (*Br. Up.* II. 4 & IV. 5) and हृदयं सर्वभावानां स्थानं प्रतिष्ठाधाम । (*P. T.* p. 86)

|| सैव च संवित् परमार्थतो रसः...सामाजिकस्य च तत्प्रतीत्या वशीकृतस्य पश्चादावापोद्वापबुद्ध्या विभावादिप्रतीतिरिति प्रयोज्ये नाट्ये काव्ये सामाजिकधीः । अतएव मूलबीजस्थानीयः कविगतो रसः ।...कविर्हि सामाजिकतुल्य एव । वृक्षस्थानीयं काव्यं फलस्थानीयः सामाजिकरसास्वादः । तेन च रसमयमेव विश्वम् (A. Bh. p. 290. The printed text is corrupt and defective.) cf. वैकटिका एव रत्नतत्वविदः सहृदया एव हि काव्यानां रसज्ञाः । (*Dh. A.* under III. 53). The fling in the orthodox *S*aiva-Darśana at the वैयाकरण साधु (e. g. in p. 36 *Siv. Dr.* of Somaṇanda) who is none other than the स्फोटवादिन् Bhartṛhari, the author of the *V. B.* held in high honour is to be justified from this standpoint of emotional realisation in its philosophical counterpart of प्रत्यभिज्ञा. Even Abhinava inspite of his reference to this author as, भगवान् भर्तृहरि (I. 16) is not very charitably disposed to his views as evidenced by the following remarks in his *Locana* (I. 4):- येऽप्यविभक्तं स्फोटं वाक्यं तदर्थरूपञ्चाहुस्तैरप्यविद्यापदपतितैः ।... passage utilised *verbatim* in the *K. P.* (Chap.V)

It may be urged this conscious utilisation of philosophical groundwork was an after-thought for the śāstra. It is not difficult to realise that such an assumption is invalid when one takes note of the fact that in the course of evolution of its doctrines and practical aids, Alamkāra-śāstra had to import tenets and principles from other śāstras. Moreover, philosophical ground-work is a veritable basis, the very life-breath of all śāstras in the east. The Sāhitya-vidyā in its eighteen diverse departments* is a curious mosaic, while *śabda* and *artha* formed the main objects of discourse, we meet with extensive application of honoured maxims of grammar†-rather the philosophy thereof-of logic‡ aud Buddhistic metaphysics,$ of Mīmāṅsā and semantics.|| Even the Dha. indulges in argumentative study of these items. No wonder then that in the development of rasa, an entity more subtle and ethereal, the abstruse concepts of the śaiva Darśana were laid under requisition. The rasa under current of a suggestive verse hinting at the analogy of rasa-tattva with the cardinal tenets of the Pratyabhijnā school, culled

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* As in the semi-legendry account in the opening section of the *K. M.* where रूपकनिरूपणीय and रसाधिकारिक are regarded as two different अधिकरणs lending support to the view that rasa-ideology might have had an independent origin apart from the view-point of dramaturgy.

† As in the *K. A.* (I. 1. 4) Kavyād II. 227. नोपमानं तिङन्तेनेत्यतिक्रम्याप्तभाषितम् । refer to न वै तिङन्तेनोपमानमस्ति (p. 28. V. III. N. S. Edition M. Bh. under III. 1. 7. महाभाष्यकृतः कोसावनुमान इति स्मृतेः S. K. A. (V. 70) मां माने इति धातोः कृत्यल्युटो बहुलमिति कर्तरि ल्युट् । Dhv. I. 16 प्रथमे हि विद्वांसो वैयाकरणाः व्याकरणमूलत्वाद् सर्वविद्यानाम् ।

‡ Though Dandin in *kavyad* III. 127 opines प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदृष्टान्तहानिर्दोषो नवेत्यसौ विचारः कर्कशः प्रायस्तेनालीढेन किं फलम् । and means to keep logic apart from poetics Bhāmaha whom he criticises treats of हेतुन्यायलवोद्यय (*K. A.* V. 2.). In later day discussions about alaṁkāras and their hair—splitting distinctions this influence of logic is felt aggressively.

$ e. g. The अपोहवाद as established in the *Ap. S.* of Ratnakīrti the अनिर्देश्यत्ववाद as referred to and refuted by Ananda in Dha. III. and the स्वाकारवदभिन्नत्ववाद resorted to in Abh.'s interpretation of the Rasasūtra (आकारसहितबुद्धिर्योगाचारस्य सम्मता। S. D 'S. under बौद्धदर्शन)

|| e. g. The appositeness of आकाङ्क्षा and अपेक्षा as treated in the *V. P.* and in later grammatical *nibandhas* (vide the section शब्दार्थपरीक्षा in the *Tat. S.*) The introduction of *sphoṭa-vāda* as established in the *V. P.* and as discussed in the शब्दब्रह्मपरीक्षा of the *Tat. S.* of the अभिहितान्वयवाद and अन्विताभिधानवाद which are introduced as basic principles to be studied by the side of the principle of suggestiveness in *Loçana* (under I. 4.) and in the *K. P.* there after.

from a pre-Abhinavagupta work in the *S.D.S.** is apparent on the first reading and throws a flood of light on the interconnection between the two systems of thought.

An interesting parallel in the development of this aspect of the rasa śāstra is to be sought in the contributions of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava of the 16th and 17th centuries-specially in the works of Rūpagosvāmin, Jīvagosvāmin, Viśvanātha Cakravartin and Baladeva Vidyābhūsaṇa (e. g. the *U. N.*† the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, the *Locana-rocanī* the *Ānandacandrikā*, the *Aiśvarya-cintāmaṇi*, the *Mādhuryacintāmaṇi*) taking their clue from the *Bhāgavatpurāṇa* and basing their tenets on the example and precept af Lord Caitanya of Nadia who was like Lord Kṛṣṇa शृंगाररससर्वस्व and‡ रसिकशेखर they enunciated the following principles which have dominated the rasa cum Bhakti-śāstra thought marking the pitch of such speculations in their bearing on religious mysticism and theology :-

(i) Rasa is experienced eternally by Lord Kṛṣṇa and by none other$

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* तैस्तैरप्युपयाचितैरुपनतस्तस्याः स्थितोप्यन्तिके कान्तो लोकसमान एवमपरिज्ञातो न रन्तुं यथा। लोकस्यैष तथाऽनपेक्षितगुणः स्वात्माऽपि विश्वेश्वरो नैवान्तं निजवैभवाय तदलं तत्प्रत्यभिज्ञोदिता । The printed text reads wrongly in the sixth line तदर्थं for तदलं. This principle of *rasatattva* based ou realisation as apart from intellection (युक्ति, ज्ञान or बोध is missed in one alternative explanation thereof in the *R. G.*, which has consequently been ridiculed in a later work (R. P. p. 37):- किञ्च चर्वणाया रसानन्यतया तद्द्वारा कार्यत्व-ज्ञाप्यत्वाधानं हृदयशून्यतामेवावेदयति द्वारद्वारि-भावस्य भेदगर्भत्वात् । (in the reference to the views of the Rg.) The verse is worth study along with the vehement denunciation of *sphoṭa* and consequently of व्यञ्जना by Jayantabhaṭṭa in his *N. M.* (Kāṣis. Series edition p. 45) where he concludes with the innuendo:- अथवा नेदृशी चर्चा कविभिः सह शोभते with a sting on the word कविभिः. Fechner's theory in experimental aesthetics according to which aesthetic enjoyment implies the revival or recognition of pleasurable experience.

† As we have noted in' 'The *Psychological Basis of Alamkāra Literature with Special Reference to Rasa*' (In Sir A. Mukherjee S. J. Commn. Vol. Orientalia III.)'this work along with the N. S., and the *Dh. A* (with the *Locana*) are the three interesting landmarks in the study of rasa.

‡ As in a verse of Līlāśuka Vilvamangala (K. K. A. verse 93 S. K. De's edition) and in the *Bhaktirasāmrtasindhu.* (P. 86). The भागवतरस (Bh. Pur. I. 1. 3.)…! निगमकल्पतरोर्गलितं फलं पिबत भागवतं रसमालयं मुहुरहोरसिका भुवि भावुकाः is the main tenor of the Bh. Pur.

§ लघुत्वमत्र यत्प्रोक्तं तत्तु प्राकृतनायके । न कृष्णे रसनिर्यासस्वादार्थमवतारिणी (U. N. P. 11—12) प्राकृते रस एव नास्ति । Vide the views of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas as they appear in the *A. K.* and the comment ine the *Mauktikāvali* there on (pp. 133-35 V. R. S. edition) by the writer of this paper and in the closing verses to that gloss on Kirana V (P.236.)

(ii) The cream of rasa is माधुर्य as that of रति is समर्था रति*

(iii) The राधाभावद्युतिशबलितत्व (saturation in the spirit of Rādhā)† is the predisposing condition of rasa realisation; and

(iv) This rasa is realisable only by the initiated (by the Bhaktas),

These principles are worth a close study by the side of the concepts which are treated in this paper. But that is to go beyond the limits of this discussion.

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64. Cf. Re. in the A. K. (pp. 128-133) and treatment in detail in the U N. (p. 414. K.M. Edition) विभावाद्यैः स्वाद्यतां मधुरा रतिः । ...रतिर्भावान्तिकां सीमां समर्थैव प्रपद्यते । नाना भक्तिरसः प्रोक्तो मधुराख्यो मनीषिभि : ॥ For समर्था रति as an extra item of *rati* other than that treated in the *S. K. A.* V. 84.

65. As in the verse:-

राधाकृष्णप्रणयविकृतिह्लादिनी शक्तिरस्मादेकात्मानावपि भुवि पुरा देहभेदं गतौ यौ ।
चैतन्याख्यं प्रकटमधुना तद्द्वयञ्चैक्यमाप्तं राधाभावद्युतिशवलितं नौमि कृष्णस्वरूपम् ॥

(in the *Kadacā*, a biographical sketch by Svarūpagosvāmin) and in Rūpagosvamin's statement in the *Vidagdhamādhava* (I. 2):-अनर्पितचरीं चिरात् करुणायाऽवतीर्णः कलौ समर्पयितुमुन्नतोज्ज्वलरसां स्वभक्ति श्रियम् ॥ leading logically to the fourth specification about *rasa*realisation as noted above.

KAUMĀRILAYUKTIMĀLĀ OF PAYYŪR VĀSUDEVA II.

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(1)

To the celebrated family of Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris belonged Vāsudeva, the author of the five works : *Kaumārilayuktimālā*, *Acyutalīlā*, *Devīcarita*, *Satyatapaḥkathā* and *Śivodaya*. Two more works *Vākyāvalī* and *Cakorasandeśa*, are also attributed to his authorship. It is known from the colophon of Kaumārilayuktimālā that he was the son of Maharṣi (or Ṛṣi) and Gopālikā belonging to the Śrutikāntāra—forest of the Vedas (the modern Vellākrātu village in the Cochin State) Cf. श्रीमच्छ्रुतिकान्तारावस्थितवृषावितृ (?) भूतार्यानन्दायिभास्वच्छवरार्यंकृष्णनतमहर्षिगोपालीनन्दनकृतिः कौमारिलयुक्तिमाला ।

In the colophon to his Devīcarita he calls himself the son of Gopālikā and a great devotee of Devi Kātyāyanī. Cf. इति श्रीमत्कात्यायनीपादाम्बुजमधुव्रतेन श्रीमद्गोपालीसुतेन श्रीवासुदेवेन विरचिते श्रीमद्देवीचरिते काव्यरत्ने षष्ठ आश्वासः ।

His other works also contain eulogistic references to his parents. Cf.

श्रुतिकृतमज्जनकायस्स्वान्तगुच्चतुरनुजदीप्तिमज्जनकाय ।
समधीमज्जनकाय ज्ञाने स्वस्त्यृषिपदे नमज्जनकाय ॥
यैति हृदा गोपाल्यैश्वर्यंकृतं हितमजं मुदा गोपाल्यै ।
अपि विशदा गोपाल्यै मात्रे स्वस्त्यस्तु मे सदा गोपाल्यै ॥
(शिवोदयः at the end)

These Ṛṣi and Gopālikā had another son Parameśwara who is the reputed commentator on Maṇḍanamiśra's *Sphoṭasiddhi* and *Vibhramaviveka*, and *Vācaspatimiśra's Tattvabindu* and Cidānandapaṇḍita's *Nītitattvāvirbhāva*. It is on the identity of the parentage that our author Vāsudeva is believed to be brother of Parameśvara mentioned above. This Parameśvara refers to a Bhavadāsa in *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* in the verse—

इति गोपालिकासूनुः ऋषेः पितुरनुग्रहात् ।
अन्तेवासी पितृव्यस्य भवदासस्य धीमतः ॥
(*Nītitattvāvirbhāva-vyākhyā*, end)

Probably the same Bhavadāsa, one of the three uncles and teacher of Parameśvara referred to in the verse above, is the same as the one referred to by our author in his Devīcarita—

यस्येहाभवदास स्वर्गीयों: (?) भक्तितो महाभवदासः ।
येनेहाभवदासस्स्वान्ध्यं मे जयतु ससुमहाभवदासः ॥

The verse

अक्षैश्चेतस्सहितैः पञ्चभिरात्मैव यस्सुचेतस्सहितैः ।
भाति समर्थापत्यै श्रुतिगोस्तु पितुष्पितायमर्थापत्यै ॥

अच्युतलीला आश्वास ४

may suggest that this Vāsudeva had five brothers all of whom were great *sahṛdayas*, just as his father Ṛṣi had at least four brothers, Bhavadāsa, Vāsudeva, Subrahmaṇya and Śankara, the first three of whom are referred to by Parameśvara in his commentary on *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* with great respect as his paternal uncles.

This Parameśvara II had a grandson Parameśvara III, son of Ṛṣi and Āryā and the author of *Mīmāṃsā-sūtrārtha-sangraha* and commentary on Sucaritamiśra's *Kāśikā*, and he refers to one Vāsudeva as his Ācārya. It is not definitely known whether this Vāsudeva is his uncle referred to by him or our author, his grand-father's brother.

All members of the family of Payyūr Bhaṭṭatiris are known as great poets and Philosophers and many of them are reputed authors of good poetic compositions and original works or critical commentaries on Pūrva-mīmāmsa. It is worthy of note that nine scholars of repute in their family had adorned the court of Zamorins of Calicut and were prominent among the famous 'Eighteen and a half poets' (18 poets in Sanskrit with Punam Nampūtiri, a great Malayalam poet counted as half). It is also worthy of note that all members of this family are great students of Mīmāṃsā-śāstra and that they had made a point of studying all the works of Maṇḍanamiśra. Cf.

मण्डनाचार्यकृतयो येष्वतिष्ठन्त कृत्स्नशः तद्द्रंश्येन मया etc.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Parameśvara I, son of Ṛṣi and Gauri has written two commentaries on Vācaspatimiśra's *Nyāyakaṇikā* and an independent treatise *Nyāyasamuccaya* on pūrva-Mīmāṃsa, and that Parameśvara II, son of Ṛṣi and Gopālikā has written elaborate commentaries on Maṇḍanamiśra's *Sphoṭasiddhi* and *Vibhramaviveka* and Vacaspatimiśra's *Tattvabindu* and Cidānandapaṇḍita's *Nītitattvāvirbhāva*.

One Ṛṣi and one Parameśvara of Payyur family are mentioned in highly eulogistic terms by Uddaṇḍa Śastri, the great poet and controversialist and one of the eighteen Sanskirt poets of the court of the Zamorins of Calicut in his drama *Mallikāmāruta** and *Kokilasandeśa.*† It is an accepted fact that Uddaṇḍa Śāstri adorned the court of the Zamorin Mānavikrama along with Cennas Narayanan Namputiri, the author of *Tantrasamuccaya*, Kakkasseri Bhaṭṭatiri the author of *Vasumatīvikrama-nāṭaka* and nine members of the family of the family of Payyur Bhaṭṭatiris. In all probability, Parameśvara II was one among these nine members, the others being seven brothers and the father Ṛṣi II. The date of birth of Cennas Narayanan Namputiri is given by him at the close of his work *Tantrasamuccaya*, in the verse :

कल्यब्देष्वतियत्सु नन्दनयनेष्वम्भोधिसंख्येषु य-
स्संभूतो भृगुवीतहव्यमुनियुङ्मूले सवेदोऽन्वये ।
प्राहुर्यस्य जयन्तमंगलपदेद्धं धाम नारायणः
सोऽयं तन्त्रमिदं व्यधाद् बहुविधादुद्धृत्य तन्त्रार्णवात् ॥ (XII 215)

The date above works to A.D. 1426.‡ If Paramesvara is a contemporary of Cennas Namputiri, we have to believe that our author Vasudeva also would have been their contemporary and have lived in the middle of the fifteenth century A. D.

Vāsudeva, our author, is more a poet than a mīmāṃsaka. He has written the yamaka poems : *Acyutalīlā*, *Devīcarita*, *Śivodaya* and *Satyatapaḥkatha.*$ His only mīmāmsā-work so far known is the metrical *Kaumārilayuktimālā.* An incomplete manuscript of this work is available at the Government oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and a transcript of this has been got down by the Travancore University Manuscript Library. This manuscript does not contain about a hundred verses towards the middle. Each verse in this work begins with one of Vararuci's jyotiṣa-vākyas. " गीर्नश्श्रेयः, धेनवः श्रीः " etc. and the work attempts to elucidate the mīmāṃsā doctrines of interpretation according to Kumārila-bhaṭṭa. It refers to certain adhikaraṇasiddhāntas here and there, but does not keep the order generally followed by authoritative works on pūrva-mīmāṃsā system.

The opening verse :

गीर्नः श्रेयस्करीह श्रुतिरिति पठनीयेति पित्रादिवाचा
विप्रं साङ्गश्रुतीतं गुरुनिलयनतः स्नानतो यातुकामम् ।

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* Cf. " कथितमप्येतन्मीमांसकचक्रवर्तिना महर्षिपुत्रेण परमेश्वरेण (Calcutta Edn. p. 15

† Cf. किञ्चित्पूर्वां रणखलभुवि श्रीमदध्यक्षयेथा-
स्तन्मीमांसाद्वयकुलगुरोः सद्म पुण्यं महर्षेः ।
विद्वद्वृन्दे विवदितुमनस्यागते यत्र शश्व-
द्व्याख्याशालावलभिनिलयस्तिष्ठते कीरसङ्घः ॥ Verss 78

‡ *Vide* my preface to the T. S. S. 151

$ A detailed study of these works of Vāsudeva is contemplated by the present writer.

आपातज्ञातधर्मश्रुतिविषयमृषिर्मागमस्या विचारे
वैधे धर्मस्य रूपादिषु च विविदिषुस्सूत्रआहेत्यथेति ॥१॥

explains the meaning of the *Pratijñā-sūtra* प्रतिज्ञासूत्र–अथातो धर्मजिज्ञासा । अथ means after the study of the Vedas with the help of the six Vedāṅgas which the Vedic student is expected to study in order to understand properly the Vedic texts in a general manner (आपातज्ञातश्रुतिविषयम्). The sūtra enjoins the विचार–the investigation of the texts–by the study of the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā Śāstra in instances of doubt or ambiguity. The Vedic student who is anxious to know the different interpretations (धर्मस्य रूपादिषु च विविदिषुः) should not leave the residence of his teacher immediately after he has finished the study of the Vedas, for the performance of the *snāna* or *samāvartana* as enjoined by the *smārta-vidhi* : अधीत्य स्नायात् he should remain till he has finished the study of the vicāraśāstra, which contains the rules of interpretation to be applied in cases of doubt in the meaning of the Vedic mantras. Cf गुरुकुलान्मा समावर्तिष्ट, कथं नु वेदवाक्यानि विचारयेदित्यर्थेऽयमुपदेशः ।*

The second verse :

धनयःश्रीरितीदृक्फलोऽर्थो न तु श्येन वज्रादि नौ चैत्यपूजादि च ।
वेद उक्तो न ह्यागमे धर्म इत्यर्थतश्चोक्तितश्चोदनेत्युच्यते ॥

points out the significance of the second sūtra–चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्मः, which gives the definition of and authority on dharma. Dharma is that which is enjoined by codanā, viz., vidhi or Vedas, and not by bāhyāgamas–the āgama texts of the Bāhyas like Buddhists; and dharma is the artha in that it produces good and auspicious fruits like cows and wealth and so it is to be understood as different from sacrifices like *śyena* and *vajra* and other karmas like caityapūjā which produce only inauspicious and evil effects on the performer.

Verses three and four :

रुद्रस्तु नम्यो भगवान् पुरेदं चतुर्विधप्राणि जगत्ससर्ज ।
प्रकाशकं वेदमतीन्द्रियस्य चार्थस्य चक्रे स च सर्वदर्शी ॥
भवो हि याज्यस्स फलस्य दाता स्वर्गादिकस्याप्यमला (?)
स नाशयित्वा सकलं सलीलं स्रष्टा तथा स्यादिति केचिदाहुः ॥

speak of the creation of the world and of the Vedas by Īśvara. The Vedas are of divine origin in that they explain the nature of super-normal things like dharma and mokṣa that cannot be understood by ordinary means of knowledge like *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. Some people, for instance, the Advaitins, go to the extent of saying that karmas give the performer their fruits only through the agency and control of Īśvara, who creates and destroys this world at His will and pleasure.

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* Cf. Śābarabhāṣya on I. 1. 1. :

The validity af the Vedas on the super-normal matters is beyond question and they are independent of any other pramāṇa. The knowledge of the Vedic contents, particularly the upaniṣadic Ātman, removes the innate darkness *avidyā* or *māyā* (v. 5 & 58). Pratyakṣa speaks of objects that exist and the time of cognition वर्तमानबोधीनि; so that codanās like चित्रया यजेत पशुकामः enjoinig *citrā* sacrifice for the fruit of *paśus* (cows) cannot be explained by Pratyakṣa (since they are going to be produced only on a future occasion). Other *pramāṇas* like *anumāna* that are based on *pratyakṣa* also cannot be authorities on these *alaukika* matters like dharma (v. 6). This is what is explained by the fourth sūtra :[*] सत्संप्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म तत्प्रत्यक्षमनिमित्तं विद्यमानोपलम्भनत्वात् ।

Incidentally the author discusses the *Prābhākara* view whether *kārya* (or *niyoga*) is the sense of the *liṅ-pratyaya* in Vedic texts and dismisses it with the remark that this is not based on the Pūrva-mīmāmsā sūtras and the bhāṣya thereon (v. 8–13).[†]

Verses 14–24 speak of the infallibility and greatness of the Vedas. Karma which is understood properly with the help of the vicāra-śāstra would help one to free oneself from bondage of *Saṁskāras*.[‡] The Vedas, particularly the jñānakānda, explain the true nature of Ātman and the māyā and the illusory characteristic of this phenomenal world. They also proclaim the importance of śravaṇa, manana (and nididhyāsana) to attain the knowledge of the supreme Ātman. In these matters, also of super-norman character, pramāṇas like Pratyakṣa and anumāna are of no value and importance; and the Vedas just like the Divine tree reveal all truths which are of great help to mankind for its eternal bliss.

In this connection the duties of the four castes as prescribed by the Vedas are given :

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[*] Vide also Verses 56-7.

[†] Cf. श्रुत्यर्थोऽत्र कार्यत्वेन मेयत्वेन वा नाप्युक्तो धर्ममात्रं यच्छ्रुतं सूत्रे च भाष्ये ।
अतो वेदार्थः कार्यात्मेत्ययं नार्थस्सूत्रस्यास्य ।

[‡] To say that karma creates new bondages is not always true since nitya and naimittika kārmas and kamyakarmas performed without a motive, never create bondages; on the other hand, they help the performer to attain the knowledge of the supreme by purifying his mind--चित्तशुद्धिः Cf. तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणा विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन ।

स्वं रक्षा राज्यस्य क्षात्रं ह्यपि पठनयजनदानरणाः ।
अवनरणोनं त्रितयं तत्कारयितृत्वमपि च विप्रस्य ॥ (V. 27)
क्षेत्रजशाल्यादीहा वाणिज्यं तत्त्रयं च वैश्यस्य ।
त्रैवर्णिकपरिचरणं शौद्रमिति श्रुतिषु वर्णधर्मोक्तिः ॥ (V. 28)

Karma shines especially when it is performed by a Brahmin with proper vidyā just as damsels shine with their pretty eyes especially when collyrium has been applied to the eyes.* So each karma when it is performed by its proper adhikārin bears its fruit and as such shines very well; otherwise it will bring only discredit to the performer.† The various samskāras to be performed in connection with the birth of a son to a brahmin are enumerated, viz., *annaprāśana*, *caula*, and upanayana. Cf.

अन्नं गोत्रस्त्रीभुवो नामकर्मण्यस्यातीते विप्रसूनोः सहाद्रे (?) ।
देयं षष्ठे मासि चौलं तृतीये वर्षे कार्यं चाष्टमे तूपनीतिः ॥

The duties of the brahmacārin are mentioned next; कामचारवादभक्ष is particularly to be avoided.‡ The study of the Vedas under the Ācārya is the most important. This is enjoined by the vidhi स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः or by the अध्यापनविधि (आचार्यकरणविधिः)—अष्टवर्षं ब्राह्मणमुपनयीत, तमध्यापयीत, the latter enjoining adhyayana necessarily for the sake of adhyayana on the part of the Ācārya. Whether adhyayana has its fruit अर्थज्ञान or आचार्यकरण is a matter of dispute. The Bhāṭṭas hold the view that adhyayana is svavidhi-prayukta, i. e., enjoined by the adhyayanavidhi–स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः and it has its direct fruit अर्थज्ञान (besides the अक्षरग्रहण), while the Prabhākaras assert that *adhyayana* is not *svavidhi-prayukta* since it does not give the adhikārin but is अध्यापनविधिप्रयुक्त and as such, has its fruit–आचार्यकरण. These ideas are discussed in verses 36–45. Whatever may be its direct fruit, the importance of *arthajñāna* for the performer of karmas cannot be overestimated, and so the Vedic student is forced to remain in the residence of his teacher for investigation (विचार) even after the study of the Vedic texts along with the Vedāṅgas. Cf.

……………अधीते
वेदे स्नानं कीर्त्तितं च स्मृतौ सत् ।
मा कुर्वीरन् सन्त आचार्यगेहे
मीमांसेरन् वेदवाक्यानि तस्मात् । (v. 48)

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* Cf. नीले नेत्रे यथा स्त्रीणां प्रकृत्या रुचिरे सती ।
सुशोभे स्तोऽञ्जनात्तद्वद्विद्यातः कर्म विप्रगम् ॥ (v. 29)

† Cf. स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः । (Gitā)

‡ Cf. प्रागुपनयनात्कामचारवादभक्षः—गौतमस्मृतिः I. ii. 1.

The smṛti-vidhi अधीत्य स्नायात् is, therefore, to be set aside when it is in conflict with its superior अध्ययनश्रुति स्मृतिस्स्वतोऽपि प्रामाण्ये न मानं श्रुतिबाधने (v. 51)* अधीत्य in the smṛti means अधिगम्य having well understood the meaning, then there is no conflict between the smṛti and the śruti (v. 53).

Verses 55 and a few following contain a glorification of the Vedas as self-revelations and the infallible authority on dharma and other super-normal matters in contrast with other *pramāṇas* like pratyakṣa, as explained by two sutras 'सत्संप्रयोगे' and 'औत्पत्तिकस्तु' I. 1. 4 and I. 1. 5.

ग्रामस्तस्य न धर्मस्य ग्रहेक्षायामलन्त्विति ।
सत्सूत्रेणाह तस्येति प्रतिज्ञाय परीक्षणम् ॥ (V. 57)
मुनिस्त उग्रचित्ता ये बौद्धाद्यास्तैरपह्नुतम् ।
औत्पत्तिकस्त्वित्याम्नायं प्रमाणं साधयत्यदः ॥ (V. 61)
कार्या हानिर्नार्थायास्तु प्रामाण्यस्य श्रौत्या वाचः ।
शब्दस्यार्थैं नायं नित्यस्सम्बन्धो यत्नान्येन कृतः ॥ (V.105)

The authoritativeness of the smṛtis and kalpa-sūtras on the basis of the pratyakṣa śruti is spoken of in the verse :

गृह्यस्थात्सूत्रवक्तृाद्वा मानवादिमुखाच्च यत् ।
श्रुतं दृष्ट्वैव तद्वेदं निबबन्धुर्महर्षयः ॥ (v. 83)

The greatness of the vaidika-mārga as explained by vedas, smṛtis, etc., is emphasized by the verse :

मान्यो लोके न निन्द्योऽसौ वेदमार्गे मनीषिभिः ।
तस्मिन् हि निन्दिते स्वात्मैवात्मना निन्दितो भवेत् ॥ (v. 84.)†

The verse which concludes the pramāṇadhyāya runs thus—

भद्रकरोऽर्थी नित्यो दोषापेतो हितस्सतां मान्यः ।
वेदरसगरिकरोऽयं प्रथमेऽध्याये प्रमाणमिति सिद्धम् ॥

The next section which contains about forty verses deals with the contents of the further adhyāyas of the Mīmāṃsā sūtras, II—XII, rather very briefly. The main topic dealt with in the second adhyāya is *karmabheda* and through it, bhāvanābheda and apūrvabheda, on the basis of six pramāṇas śabdāntara, abhyāsa, saṅkhyā, samjñā, guṇa and prakaraṇāntara. cf.

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* Cf. Pūrva mīmāmsā sūtra xxx I. 3. 2. विरोधे त्वनपेक्षं स्यादसति ह्यनुमानम् ।

† Verses numbering nearly a hundred dealing with topics like लोकवेदयोश्शब्दानन्यत्वं, आकृतिशक्ति of the third pada and the whole matter of नामधेयपाद are missing in the manuscript.

प्रज्ञातो योगीत्थं भिदया शब्दान्तरेण चाभ्यासात् ।
क्रतुरपि संख्यासंज्ञागुणप्रकरणैरिहोच्यते शेषे ॥

The scope of ekavākyatva as explained by the sūtra :

अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकांक्षं चेद्विभागे स्यात् ।

is explained by the verse—

वैद्योऽसौ वाक्यानामर्थैकत्वस्य च विभागकांक्षायाः ।
स्यादेकभाव इत्थं त्वर्थैकत्वादिति ब्रवीति वचः ।

The following verses may indicate the scope of the adhyāyas III to XII

गावः प्रिया वस्तुविदां श्रुतिस्त्वतोलिङ्गं च वाक्यादि चतुष्टयं तथा ।
विधित्वमेवं प्रतिपत्तयोऽप्यनारम्भोक्तिबह्वर्थपतिस्थकर्म च ॥ III

…………………………………………………… ।

प्रधानप्रयुक्त्यादिचिन्ताचतुर्थे फलस्यापि चिन्ताजघन्याङ्गाय ? । IV

…………………………………………………… ।

क्रमः श्रुत्यादिना ह्येषां पदानाद्येन पञ्चमे ॥ V

……………………………………………………

अतश्चिन्त्यते लक्षणेनाधिकारी तदूर्ध्वं सता कर्म यस्येह कार्यम् ॥ VI
प्रकारवचो यथातिदेशात् विनाङ्गवचो मखे विहिते ।
श्रुताङ्गमखात् तथातिदिशेत् प्रसिध्यति हीति सप्तमतः ॥ VII

……………………………………………………

षड्विधं पदमिहाङ्घ्रियुगं सच्चातिदेशेन विशेषवचोऽर्थे ।
अष्टमे पदचतुष्कमितीदं नामलिङ्गजनितावतिदेशौ ॥

……………………………………………………

योग्यस्संयुद्धमहारम्भी तदुपकरणैर्भवेद् भूतः ।
पद ऊहारम्भोऽतोस्ताद्य उपोद्घातकथनतो नवमे ॥

The author concludes his work with the following verses in which he refers to his parents and his family deity.

कवेश्शक्यं प्राप्तुं परमभिलषन् ग्रन्थकृतितो
यशो मन्दो हास्यो भवति हि विशेषेण महति ।
इह श्रीमत्कौमारिलपरमशास्त्रेऽथ च मया
व्यधायीदं दुर्गागुरुजनमहानुग्रहजुषाम् ॥
भवेत्सुखं वर्यगुणेह गोपाल्यसौ मत्प्रभवत्वगेता ।
दिव्यव्ययमेयर्षिवराहृता सन्नुता नमःश्रुत्यटवीशिवायै ॥

THE PROBLEM OF REALITY IN INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

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An outstanding feature of almost all the various branches of Indian Philosophy is that they definitely start to map out a path of perfection once for ever from the morbid state of mundane existence—the perpetual scene of appalling miseries, relieved and sweetened only occasionally by the so called pleasures. It is a fact undeniable that human beings in this world are helplessly caught up in the vortex of unending deeds and their inexhaustible consequences and are inextricably involved in the cycles of alternatively recurrent in births and deaths. Human life with its innumerable varieties and invidious gradations, adverse forces and uncontrolable circumstances and unceasing dissatisfactions and ever increasing cravings presents a sickening spectacle to any serious thinker.

An absolute end of this unhappy life and its accompanying evils is the fundamental necessity whether one feels it or not. To satisfy this paramount need of humanity the different systems of Indian Philosophy arose which are essentially so many beacon lights showing converging path ways to one and the same goal, i. e., perfection or liberation from our empirical existence.

Not only the problem but also its solution, envisaged and elucidated by different systems is mostly common and it is that an absolute cessation of all kinds of miseries or sufferings inseparably interwoven with empirical life here or hereafter can be accomplished through. Tattva-Jñana, i. e. a true knowledge of Reality or Realities, recognised respectively by each of the different systems, of Indian Philosophy, although the conception of Reality is not exactly the same but varies in confirmity with the fundamental doctrines or basic tenets of each system.

In view of its unquestionable and colossal importance, the problem of Reality is deemed to be at the root of all other problems in Indian Philosophy. So an analysis of the true nature of Reality, a Supreme Realisation of which would result in an attainment of perfection—the Summum Bonum of human life (i. e. Mokṣa), deserves to be taken up at the very outset before delving deep into details of the different systems of Indian Philosophy. An attempt in this direction is made below in the following lines, which will serve also as nucleus to a clear understanding of other philosophical doctrines, as enunciated and explained by different schools of philosophical thoughts in India.

Commonsense and Realistic View of Reality

Ordinarily and even according to some Realistic Schools of Indian Philosophy, it is understood that all that are knowable in any way or that can serve any practical purpose in the realm of empirical exisences, commanding only pragmatic values, are real whether they exist shortly or permanently.

This view of Reality makes the sphere of Reality entirely commensurate with that of knowability or servicability. Anything that is or can be known somehow and be proved as serving any useful purpose of any kind whatsoever is existent and real as well.

According to this view, the flickering flame of a candle-stick is to be regarded as real as the inextinguishable light of the Eye of the Sphere; the rope-serpent is to be taken as real as the serpent itself. This view of Reality obviously obliterates the distinction between appearance and reality. But no one, belonging to a privileged class of thinkers, would be ready to admit reality of appearances like rope-serpent and silver-nacre etc. as well as dream-experiences.

So the question that arises pertinently on the point is whether Reality in the proper sense of the term is only that Existence, which is unlimited, unconditional, independent and interminable or any kind of existence, say for instance, even one that is terminable, dependent, conditional and limited by being related to a specified space and a particular period of time? Is Reality an Existence unchanging, immutable and invariably the same, i. e. not evolving other realities out of Itself by way of modifications or can It be subject to changes by getting modified and transformed into other realities as its various evolutes without losing Its essential nature as the original and sustained Reality? Is Reality an Existence, which is strictly static and invariably constant or a perpetual flux, appearing and disappearing every moment and arriving out of It and constituting series of momentary existences?

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika View of Reality

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems hold that existence is invariably compresent with and a conclusive proof of reality. Strictly speaking 'existence' and 'reality' are invariably coincident and consequently identical. But ordinarily they are treated as different and taken to be presentable through two distinct notions for each in common parlance. This distinction, which is only conceptual and not factual, is carried on in conformity with the common acceptance even in Philosophy, as it is useful to a clear grasp of the true nature of reality. Accordingly, by existence is to be meant that universal characteristic, which is revealed through the concept of 'isness' (अस्तित्व) and which applies to all objects of knowledge equally and unexceptionally. Existence, which is the common characteristic and inherent nature of all things (स्वरूप-सत्ता) is to be distinguished from that existence which is attributable as the greatest generality (पर सामान्य) to all objects of the three categories, namely, substance, quality and motion only (सामान्यरूपसत्ता). The former is defined 'relatedness to time' (कालसमान्यरूपसत्ता)* in distinction from the latter, accountable as the widest generality (परसामान्य). So existence, with which we are chiefly concerned here, is a fact in time and presence in space. According to these Realistic Schools. existence in a particular period of time and situation at a definite space are enough to determine the reality of any object snd whatever is real cannot but exist whether shortly or permanently.

Any kind of valid knowledge is a sufficient criterion of reality as well as existence of a thing. It is perfectly gratuitous to assume the existence of a thing, of which nobody has had or can have ever any knowledge. For had it existed, it would have been known by anyone, at least by the Omniscient Being and Sublime Yogins. To affirm existence is to affirm knowledge. There can be no possible ground for positing the existence of a thing and at the same time denying the possibility of its knowgledge; because assertion of its existence is inconceivable except through knowledge. In this system everything that we truly know does really exist and whatever may be the kind and nature of a certain valid knowledge, its object is unquestionably real.

A knowledge is classified into valid and invalid ones accordingly as its content corresponds exactly with itself, as fonnd later on is the course of an immediate contact with it, or not. In the latter case, not only reality but existence too where and when the object is known is denied of it. Consequently, this classification of cognitions into valid and invalid ones and of their objects into real and false ones respectively does not militate against existence and reality being universally and invariably co-incident. It neither affects nor demolishes the distinction between 'reality' and 'existence', since the former is real just where and when it is known; whereas the latter is not real where and when it is known but somewhere else and at some other time.

Thus, acording to these Realistic Schools of Indian Philosophy (i. e. Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika systems), whatever exists for any period of time is real so long as is exists. Existents may be eternally real or only temporarily so in consonance with the duration of their existence, but real they are in any case. Whether a thing lasts only shortly or abides eternally, it is really real while it exists.

*** Nyâya-Darśhana [Cal. Pub. III Ed.], A. 2, Ak. 2, S. 18, P. 122; S. 22, P. 124; Nyâya-Vārtika [Ben. Ed.], A. 1, Ak. 1, S. 1, P. 9 & P. 11.**

The Buddhistic View of Reality

The Realistic Schools of Buddhism, namely, the Sautrāntika and the Vaibhāṣika discard the two opposite views "उच्छेदवाद" and "शाश्वतवाद" as impossible extremities by urgiug that the fallacy* lies in taking a thing as a 'being', which is in reality only a 'becoming' and uninterrupted 'flux'.

Existence, as explained by these schools, has been often compared to the light* of a lamp or stream of a river, which appears to be steady but is really flowing in nature. There is nothing, which can be said to be existing continuously and constantly and whatever exists, exists in 'flux' or flow only, with its every successive moment or point (Kṣaṇa)—unique and self-defined—coming closely, i. e. uninterruptedly upon the heels of one another so as to allow no intervening gap or interval between any two immediately succeeding moments or points. This is the conception of the momentary uature of all existences. If it is such, there can be no real production and destruction from the true metaphysical point of view but only a succession in uninterrupted series without any continuation as stable and sustained existence. The socalled production and destruction after a constant endurance for sometime—shorter or longer—are mental constructions and suppositions to suit our practical purposes. As a matter of fact there is nothing constant and continuous in the process from the 'clay' to the 'pot' or vice versa. It is equally wrong to say that the pot was potentially present in the clay or that the former originated as de novo and quite different from the latter. Another characteristic of existence is that it is 'अनात्मा'. There is no ultimate substratum underlying and running through the flux from the 'Clay' to the 'Pot' or vice versa and consequently it is the flux only, which may be described as existence and reality.

Thus, reality, as maintained by these schools is neither eternal nor capable of being annihilated, but momentary in tne sense that it is essentially a 'flux' dynamic through and through. It is examined in two ways : (1) as it is in-it-self, i. e. from the view-pont of reality absolutely as such (पारमार्थिक सत्य) and (2) as existence or appearance, i. e. from the view-point of reality as phenomenal manifestations (सांवृतिक सत्य). The first one is the said unique moment, shorn of all its mnemonic moments, which directly presents itself to pure sensations only and is free from any kind of our mental supposition† or super-imposition (अपूर्वं) and (कल्पनापोढ) and the second one is the object, as defined and particularised in our worldly experiences such as a tree or table etc. This is the doctrine upheld by the Sarvastivadins or the realistic schools of Buddhism, including the Sautrāntikas and Vaibhāṣikas.

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* Abhidhammottha--Saṅgraha, P. 33; Abhidhammottha--Saṅgraha--Navaṅito Ṭikā, 122. Mahāvagga, Chapter 1.

† Buddhist Logic by Th. Stcherbatsky, P. 181.

The conception of the nature of existence, according to the Yogācāra school (Vijñānavāda) is a development upon the former views. It denies the independent and external or objective existence of all knowables. The appearance of an object as existing externally, i. e. independently of and apart from its cognition is only an illusion. Thus, what really exists is the idea (Vijñāna) only in its uninterrupted flow er flux, as described above. Not only the object but also the comprehending mind is a stream of momentary self-revealed ideas or conscious states, flowing in an uninterrupted succession. The momentary acts* of consciousness flowing in succession are known as Pravṛtti-Vijñānas. But what is revealed to us as the conscious subject or 'I' is only a co-ordination of the above acts in the form of a synthetic unity appearing as Self. This is known as Ālaya-Vijñāna. The appearance of various manifold objects as contents of our empirical experiences is due to residuary of reminiscent impressions of part experiences (Vāsanās), which lie, buried and imbedded or sunk into the said Ālaya-Vijñāna and are responsible for projecting various forms out of it. The self-revealed stream of ideas or conscious states is really an essentially altogether free from objective forms but in consonance of the said impressions stored up in and clinging fast to the Ālaya-Vijñāna or mind, it flows out in innumerable varieties as so many forms, which are described as objects in popular parlance. These are regarded as inherent impurities or imperfections of the Pravṛtti-Vijñāna. When the self-revealed flow or stream of ideas (Pravṛtti-Vijñāna) is purged of these impurities, i. e. objective forms, it shines in its pure radiance or refulgence and this is the highest form of Reality recognised by this school, which reveals itself in the state of Nirvāṇa, as conceived by them.

The Vijñāna-Vādins admit three kinds of existence or forms of reality; "Parikalpita", "Paratantra" and "Pariniṣpanna". In our crdinary experience, a thing cannot be conceived to exist unless it is accompanied by some characteristics or qualifications, specific signs or forms, qualities or attributes, specific signs, fixed forms and qulifying qualities are only mental constructions, impositions or suppositions. So objects thus characterised in various ways are Parikalpita in as much as they have nothing exactly corresponding to them in reality so far as objects are concerncd. Again, the whole phenomenal world is Paratantra as regarded from the view-point of its origin. External objects have only imaginary cxistence, because they are accepted as arising from the respective causes and conditions and consequently dependent on them for their origin as manifestation. But a reality always remains the same and does not depend on any cause and condition. Asaṅga analyses the nature of Paratantra in a different way. According to him, it is due to imaginary subject-object division. As pointed out above, the Ālaya-Vijñāna, though originally pure, becomes poluted and defiled by impressions and dichotomizes itself into subject and object respectively as ' I ' and 'This'. But this division is only the figment or the imaginary creation of the mind (Sva-citta-parikalpanā) which has been accustomed to think in terms of the tripartite division and thereby create imaginary appearances as external objects from beginning-less time. The absolute Reality technically called Parinispanna, however, is above these two and is pure, changeless and self-evident. It is the above mentioned pure, stream of ideas, flowing in uninterrupted succession and revealing itself only in the state of Nirvāṇa.

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* Tattva-Saṅgraha [Gāekwad Oriental Series] Prastāvanā, P. 10.

The Mādhyamika View of Reality

The Mādhyamika School of Buddhism or Śūnya-Vāda, which is regardsd as the logical culmination of the Vijñāna-Vāda epistemology, advances still further and negates the existence and reality of even 'ideas'. Its advocates argue that if ideas (Vijñānas) only are real and all external objects as such are unreal, ideas alone, that is, bereft of their corresponding objects, would prove unreal and impossible; because, being relative in nature, they necessarily presuppose and imply objects for their reference and characterisation. This school agrees with the Vijnāna-Vāda in holding that the world as it can be unanimously analysed by all, is undoubtedly constituted by relations and dependent on causes and conditions. As such it cannot but be concluded unequivocally to be unreal. For instance, heat and light cannot be held to be the essence of fire; because both the heat and light as well as their substance – fire – are the result of the combination of many conditions and circumstances and what depends on conditions and circumstances can never be true or real. That alone is ascertainable as the true nature of anything, or real substance which in no case depends on another for its origin and existence and as no such substance or nature can be established that may be proved to be originating and standing independent by itself, nothing existing can be determined as real at all.

A general misunderstanding prevails about this school on account of the Mādhyamika view being representend as identical with 'Nihilism' and now-a-days also as the 'doctrine of relativity'. This school no doubt repeatedly and variously urges and asserts that the agent (the knower), the object (the known), and the knowledge are mutually interdependent and if one of the three be proved false, the others also must be held to be so (just as if any of the three-the mover, the moveable and the movement-is proved false, the remaining two also are proved so). On the basis of such arguments one may be naturally led to think that, according to this school, nothing else is real. But this will be only a promiscuous or unwarranted conclusion. After a careful study of the original texts* of this school, the true Philosophy can be concluded to be that in the way of general acceptance, whatever is known as existing or non-existing or both (i. e., existent–cum-nonexistent) or non-both (i. e., neither nonexistent nor existent) is not real. What is real in the true sense of the word is undeterminable in thought and language and transcends all the four said logically possible alternative modes of expression and thought. What this school aims at establishing is that in view of the conditionality and relative character of all things and their natures, nothing posited in any of the aforesaid ways or alternatives can be held to be real; but the real is indeterminable and inexpressible in any of the said possible modes. This is so; because characteristics and qualities always connote the idea of dependence and thereby of unreality. Reality is devoid of all characterisations, since characterisations are limitations and calculated to bring the object within the pale of dependence, which, as shown above, is definitely deniable of and irreconcilable with reality, as recognised by the system.

The Sāṅkhya View of Reality

The Sāṅkhya system recognises two kinds of ultimate Reality, namely, Puruṣa and Prakṛti. An important point of distinction between these two realities can be shown to be that Puruṣa is transcendent and immutable Reality, whereas Prakṛti is an immanent and ever-changing Reality. While Puruṣa is absolutly devoid of any susceptibility of change or modification, Prakṛti is always subject to changes and modifications whether into homogeneous series of its constituents (during dissolution, when they are in a state of equipoise) or heterogeneous varieties of worldly manifolds (in the course of creation). Thus the transcendentally real Puruṣa is immutably ever-existent and the transformingly real Prakṛti is ever–existent but also ever–changing, evolving homogeneously or heterogeneously into various entities of the Universe. This mutation or modification of Prakṛti is conceived by the modern school of Sāṅkhya system as the inherent nature of Prakṛti itself but was considered as due to time (काल) by the old school of the system, which recognised three ultimate realities including the said Kāla as well. Not only Prakṛti—the Primordial Cause—but also its evolutes—direct or indirect—are ever–existent and real.

The Sāṅkhya system seeks to establish a complete identity between reality and existence by reducing what is known in other systems of Indian Philosophy as ' non–existence ' into mere ' non–manifestation ' and altogether dispensing with destruction of anything, that is known to exist anywhere.

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* Vide Mādhyamika Vṛtti, PP. 93-100; Bodhicaryāvatāra, IX, p. 153; Prajñā Pāramitā, parivarta 18, pp. 341 51.

According to this system, there is no production of anything de novo and the so-called production is merely the manifestation of what existed even previously in a non-manifest condition or was present implicitly and potentially even before. Similarly, there can be no destruction of anything at any time and the so-called destruction is only passing back into non-manifestation or implicit and subtle condition. The two kinds of non-existence—antecedent and subsequent (प्रागभाव and ध्वंसाभाव) by which all products are taken to be closetted and limited by the Nyāya system, are not recognised by this system. Here they are substituted by two kinds of existence: actual and potential, i. e., explicit, manifest and gross form or implicit, latent and subtle form of being. This conception of existence and reality constitutes a cardinal point of distinction between the Nyāya and the Sāṅkhya systems of philosophy; because, according to the former, which expounds 'Ārambha-Vāda', an object may be existent temporarily or permanently but real in any case so long as it may endure and unreal before its origin and subsequent to its destruction, if it is not eternal; whereas according to the latter, all entities—whether the primodial uncaused cause, namely, Prakṛti or its evolutionary causes and effects—are equally existent for ever and real absolutely.

The Advaita View of Reality

The Advaita Vedanta recognises only one absolute Reality, which is Existence—unconditional, independent, immutable and imperishable. This absolute Reality or eternal Existence is Brahman. The Advaita Vedānta does not look upon the mere fact of existence and manifestation as the inevitable guarantee and conclusive proof of absolute reality also. Reality exists independently and unconditionally, by Itself and on Its own account and is wholly self-subsistent, self-evident and self-complete. Reality must be so eternally, unconditionally and independently. It is shear anomaly to say that something is real at one time and under some conditions but not so at another time and under other conditions. That, which is not by itself and on its own account real, cannot be so with reference and in relation to other factors such as time, space, circumstances and conditions at all. What is not real and existing at any time and under certain conditions and circumstances cannot be real at another time and space and under other conditions and circumstances. So unconditionality, independence and eternality in the matter of existence are the conditions, which must be fulfilled by Reality and they are regarded as the criteria of Reality by the Advaita system. Existence and manifestation, observable in all cases of entities of the Universe, are not their own but the one fundamental and foundational Existence or Reality, Brahman, goes on appearing in and through Avidyā and its manifold modifications into those innumerably diverse empirical forms. The manifolds of the universe are only so many existences and realities, which gain appearance owing to the one absolute Reality through Its Avidyā. So the entities of the universe are only various forms of appearances but cannot be accepted as realities in the proper sense of the term. It is the absolute Reality, which apparently runs through all diversity and the diverse empirical entities are the seeming expressions and passing appearances, arising from Avidyā, that is, non-realisation and wrong realisations of that Reality.

Three Views of Advaitins on the Problem af Reality

From the Advaita point of view there is only one absolute and ultimate Reality, Brahman, no doubt and all other entities are decidedly apparent. Whatever reality (in the course of empirical existence and manifestation) objects of the universe seem to possess is derived from this Reality (Sat), the Brahman, which underlies all of them. While this view of Śankara is accepted by all Advaitins, there is a difference of opinion as regards the recognition of separate phenomenal or relative realities, which all empirical and illusory objects alike appear to partake of during their appearances in the empirical plane.

Extremists of the Advaitic outlook refrain from recognising any kind of phenomenal or illusory realities, besides the absolute Reality and hold that Reality is not only one but also admits of no degrees and differentiations. There is no need of recognising separate, discursive and relative realities of any kind or nature, belonging even to empirical objects, what to speak of illusory ones. The apparent realities, pertaining to empirical objects, can be logically explained by the one absolute Reality through the process of " अधिष्ठानानुवेद्य " that is, the superimposition of the one basic Reality upon all, arising out of It through the operations and modifications of Its Avidyā. Thus all phenomenal realities are only so many appearances of the basic, ultimate and absolute Reality with the varieties explainable by the modifications of Avidyā, through which one and the same Reality is appearing differently and diversely like the solar rays appearing in different colours. So even when we apparently comprehend the finite realities of particular objects in our various empirical cognitions, what we really apprehend is the one absolute Reality that runs identically (as an underlying current) to all the so-called real, empirical entities. This view is ascribed to those Advaitins, who show a remarkable spirit of intolerance towards the recognition of separate or empirically distinct realities of discrete objects even in the realm of relativity and who flourished long before even Śankara. This view is known as " Sattaikya-Vāda ".

The less radical among Advaitins, however, fearing no militatlion against the monism of the system, come forward with the view that besides the one absolute Reality, there are two types of apparent realities—empirical (व्यावहारिकी) and illusory (प्रातिभासिकी) respectively attributable to empirical and illusory objects of the universe. Although both of them are Āvidyaka, i. e. apparent realities, derived from and based on one and the same absolute Reality ultimately, yet they are to be distinguished from each other in as much as the former type of realities is brought about directly by the Cosmic Avidyā or any of its modifications and sublatable only by the realisation of the absolute Reality; whereas the latter type of realities arises from individual Avidyā in combination with other necessary causes and conditions of illusion and sublatable by the realisation of the said particular Avidyā. This view is known as the "Sattā-Traividhya-Vāda"

There is a third view maintained by that class of Advaitins, who are known as exponents of the theories, namely, "दृष्टिसृष्टिवाद" and "एकजीववाद". According to this school, no continued or constant existence of empirical entities, before and after their cognitions, is recognised; but they come into existence and pass away along with their cognitions. In other words, objects of creation are synchronised with their cognitions and are denied any existence apart from and irrespective of their cognitions. They exist only when they are known and not even when they are not being known by anybody. This view obviously dispenses with the distinction between the two kinds of apparent realities, as the distinguishing points thereof lose their very ground when empirical and illusory objects are acknowledged alike as having no existence beyond their cognitions or apprehensions. Thus this school maintains only two kinds of realities; absolute (पारमार्थिकी) and apparent (प्रतिभासिकी) placing all objects of the universe on equal footing.

Some general remarks may be made here to clear away a mass of prejudice, accumulated against the Advaitic view upon the universe owing to the materialistic tendencies of the modern age. This system is usually accused of announcing the world as utterly unreal and of infusing thereby a spirit of pessimism, inactivity and indifference towards the prospects and prosperities of the world, which are all imaginary and no way better than illusory objects. But it should be clearly understood that the Advaita Vedānta does not dispute and deny the acknowledged order of empirical things and their so-called realities as well as pragmatic values. It does not seek to prove and establish that the world does not exist (even apparently) or is devoid of conditioning causes and factors and practical realities and pragmatic values. On the other hand, it admits and appraises all entities of the universe with their empirical, ethical, moral and spiritual utilities, relative realities and pragmatic values. With the exception of the "Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭi-Vādins", who flourished long before and preceded Śankara, the views of Śankara and Śankarites liberally recognise and accomodate relative realities, empirical existences and practical utilities of all entities of the Universe. The exponents of "Sattā-Traividhya-Vāda" go to the extent of acknowledging and acquiescing in the difference between the apparent realities of empirical objets and illusory ones by holding the former to be of an abiding nature in comparison to the latter. Thus, according to this school, empirical entities are recognised to be even of an abiding nature though not of an absolute or eternal character.

Whatever may be the difference of opinion as regards the recognition of relative realities, all Advaitins agree so far that there is only one absolute Reality and all others are unexceptionally only appearances, arising from Its Avidyā with the two-fold power of obscuration and projection or modification. This Reality is of the nature of "सत्", "चित्" and "आनन्द" and Its Avidyā unfolds all appearances out of It. In other words, Reality is an eternal Existence, the nonrealisation of which is the cause of the appearance of limited and perishable empirical existents; It is pure Consciousness, the non-realisation of which is the source of finite and discursive empirical cognitions with the tripartite divisions of the knower, the known and the knowledge; It is unalloyed, unlimited anb unsurpassable Bliss, the non-realisation of which is responsible for our experiencing the so-called worldly pleasures and miseries etc. all alloyed, passing and surpassable. To sum up, Reality is that non-realisation of which is the sphere of Avidyā and all it entails and the cause of bondage, and the realisation of which is the sublation of Avidyā and the state of Mokṣa–the Summum Bonum of human life. On the realisation of Reality one relapses into own-self, that is Reality and thereafter there is nothing else but one absolute Reality.

VEDĀNTA AND ABSOLUTISM

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Some time ago an attempt was made by the author to show that the term Absolute was to be used not only to mean Śankara's Brahman but also the Brahman according to Rāmānuja. But on later and deeper consideration, it is felt that the Brahman according to the Vedānta in general, not only according to Śankara and Rāmānuja, but also according to the other *acāryas* who claimed adherence to the Upaniṣads, is the Absolute; so that Vedānta philosophy is to be called absolutism and the different systems of the Vedānta as only different forms of absolutism. This interpretation may appear somewhat surprising; for generally absolutism is supposed to be some sort of monism, which is advaitism, with or without a proviso, and not dvaitism or pluralism. Further, absolutism is often supposed to be idealistic and to be opposed to realism, and idealism is identified with mentalism. and most of the Vedantic schools are supposed to be realistic, and not idealistic, as they maintain that the world and the jīva are real. This paper attempts to show that a deeper consideration must lead us to a signficant modification of the usual interpretation. *

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It is easy to dispose of some of the common errors regarding Vedānta and Western philosophy. Just as idealism does not necessarily mean the unreality

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1. This opportunity may be utilised for answering a curious objection of a fundamental nature, namely, that the Absolute of Western philosophy is just the world as a whole, which is just this earth with its trees, hills, men etc., plus the sun, the stars etc., understood as an unending series of worldy things, whereas the Brahman is our innermost reality, which is through and through spiritual. To this objection, it must be pointed out that the absolutes of all the absolutists are not the worlds as wholes understood in this sense. It is to misunderstand them to say that they are so. The Absolute of Bradley, though he often calls it the world as a whole, contains so much reshuffling of the elements that the trees etc. of the world cease to be what they are. The Absolute of McTaggart, again, does not contain material things. It is only a crude way of understanding those absolutists and a definite injustice to them to say that their Absolute is just this world indefinitely extended. Hegel's Absolute is called Spirit. It is said that it contains time and matter also. The absolutes of Rāmānuja and a few others are said to contain both. One may urge that for this reason the absolutes of these *ācāryas* and not that of Śankara should be called the Absolute. However, the point will be further clarified as the discussion of the paper progresses.

of the world, absolutism is not antagonistic to dualism or pluralism. Students of Western philosophy know that McTaggart's Absolute, for instance, contains pluralism : a plurality of selves is said to constitute the Absolute. Again, idealism is not always the same as mentalism or *vijñānavāda* or *dṛṣṭisṛṣṭivāda*. Only Berkeleyan idealsim, particularly in its early phases, is such. There are other idealistic philosophies. It is true that some of the trends of thought of some of the absolutists and idealists, if carried to their logical extremes, will end as forms of mentalism or monism. But the same can be said of even Indian realism. A system may imply a particular doctrine; but it may, for some reaon, hold an opposite doctrine. Every idealism may not be monistic or absolutistic. Even materialism may be monistic or absolutistic. Hence it is very unsafe to identify an Indian system as a particular ism of the west. This practice is detrimental to a true understanding of philosophies.

Why should all Vedānta be treated as absolutism ? The first and most important reason is that the Vedānta is a search for the Absolute. What is it by knowing which everything else is known ?—this is a question posed for all the Vedāntic systems.* That entity may be the Brahman, or Śiva or Viṣṇu; but it must be the Absolute, if by knowing it every thing else must be known. The Absolute is what can be known without knowing any thing else; it is that to know which nothing else need be known and which has to be known for knowing all else. Spinoza's Absolute, which he calls the Substance, is defined so. It is what is self-subsistent and self-dependent. Matter and mind, which Spinoza calls Attibutes, as well as their Modes, are dependent so far as they are known to be derived from Substance. It is just what answers to the enquiry of the Vedānta : What is it by knowing which everything else is known ?

None of the *ācāryas* seems to doubt that by knowing the Brahman everything else is known. The *jīva* and the Brahman may be identical or different; the material world may or may not be different from both or either; yet by knowing the Brahman everything else is claimed to be known.

(2)

Now if the *jīva* and the world are different from the Brahman, how can one by knowing the Brahman know the other two ?

There is one category of the Vedānta the importance of which has not adequately been recognised by interpreters up till now. Interpretations of the Indian systems began at a time when, in European thought, particularly in England, the controversy between idealism and realism was raging high, and

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2. *Mundakopaniṣad*, I, 1, 3.

the practice developed of ranging all systems on the one or the other side. Hence it has become customary to call a Vedāntic system either idealistic or realistic, according as the interpreter finds this or that characteristic. There has been an eagerness rather to fit the interpreted system into some well-known class than to bring out its peculiarity. Many of even the Indian scholars have unfortunately been carried away by this fashion; and a very significant feature of the Vedānta has been missed.

The important category referred to is that of *Śakti*. We need not enter into the controversy between the Naiyāyikas and the Mimāmsakas about the reality of *Śakti*. Our interest now lies in the part which this category or idea plays in the different Vedāntic systems. It may be either positively or negatively or inexplicably concerned with the Brahman. This category enables us to see all the Vedantic systems in one perspective and to understand their differences as well as the general trend of the Vedantic thought.

All systems in general regard the world and the *jīvas* as a transformation of the *Śakti* of the Brahman. Śankara's Advaita is hesitant to treat the world or *Śakti* as belonging to the Brahman. For it finds it absurd to say that part of the Brahman undergoes transformation, while the rest remains unaffected. But some of the followers of Śankara feel no objection to treating *Śakti* as non-different from the Brahman, just as the burning power of fire is non-different from fire.* But whether prepared or not to attribute the *Śakti* to the Brahman, all the schools of the Advaita make elaborate use of the category. *Māyā* itself is *Śakti*; and it is of two kinds, *āvaraṇaśakti* and *vikṣepaśakti*. *Avidyā* also, sometimes as different from *Māyā*, and othertimes as identical with it, is *Śakti*. And without *Avidyā* or *Māyā*, Śankara's philosophy loses most of its interest. All the *viśiṣṭādvaita* and *dvaitādvaita* schools, whether Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva, do not hesitate to treat the *Śakti* as belonging to the Brahman. According to some, *Śakti* is of two kinds; according to the others (for instance, Jīvagosvāmi and Baladeva), of three. But somehow or other, it belongs to the Brahman according to all. Even Mādhva, who is a pronounced dualist, does not form an exception. The Brahman has control over the *jīvas* and the material world, because they are his *Śakti* or *Śaktis*; and everybody has control over his *Śakti*. Thus, whatever be the difference among the Vedāntins, the whole of reality, for all, reduces itself to the Brahman and his *Śaktī* or *Śaktis*. And the differences between them are due to the differences in understanding the relation between tha Brahman and the *Śakti*. According to the Śaiva monism of Kashmir and the *Śākta* system, the relation between the two is identity; according to

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* *Pañcadaśi*,

viśiṣṭādvaita, it is that between body and soul; according to *dvaitādvaita*, it is both identity and difference; according to Mādhva, it is a peculiarity or particularity (*viśeṣa*) it may be called the particularising principle—of the Brahman, and according to Śankara, it would, consistently with his philosophy, be *māyā* or *anirvacanīyā*, which would be neither different nor non-different from the Brahman. There are further differences between the schools and among the schools.* But in all, the same line of thought, namely of understanding the *jīva* and the world as some sort of *Śakti*, runs.

Only when viewed from the standpoint of *Śakti*, can the unity of the Vedāntic thought be clearly seen and a single perspective of all the Vedantic systems be obtained. The real interest of our ancient philosophers did not lie in differentiating between idealism and realism, but in the realisation of the Brahman; and the Brahman had to be realised within ourselves. It is within us, because we are forms of its *Śakti*; and hence the nature and working of the *Śakti* has to be understood. And because in knowing the Brahman we know its *Śakti*, and because the *Śakti* is all this world, by knowing the Brahman we know everything else. The Brahman is self-dependent and self-subsistent; and as every thing else is its *Śakti*, it is dependent upon and subsists in the Brahman. The Brahman is hence the Absolute.

There is another idea that is common to all the Vedāntic systems, and which supports the view upheld here, namely, the idea that everything finite is an *aṃśa* (part) of the Brahman. Whether the *jīva* and the Brahman are two or one, if one is an *aṃśa* of the other and as such is dependent on the other then the other is the Absolute.

(3)

This brief discussion must have brought to the forefront another feature of the Vedantic thought. The distinction between idealism and realism, and monism and dualism or pluralism, always holds, in the Vedāntic thought within absolutism. This is another peculiarity of the Vedāntic thought not yet noticed. These distinctions are developed through the category of *Śakti*, that is, by understanding it differently. The Vedānta is essentially absolutistic, and the Vedāntic search is a search for the Absolute.† It is a search for the Brahman, the highest and the greatest. The Brahman is the condition of all that is conditioned and therefore is the unconditioned. Even Śiva and Viṣṇu of the theistic systems are not regarded as conditioned; they are *svatantra*, while the rest is *paratantra*.

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* The interested reader may refer to the author's article, "Identity in difference in some Vedāntic Systems " published in *Festschrift Sir Denison Ross.*

† The reader may see the following articles, which have a bearing on the topic:— " Brahman and the Absolnte " *Triveni* July 1938; " The Absolute " *The Vedānta Kesari*, March 1944; " The Vedāntic Attitude towards Matter ", *The Hindustan Review*, 1939.

This kind of absolutism is due to the essentially spiritualistic basis of the Vedānta. Whether in monism or dualism, the Brahman has to be realised within ourselves: it has to be meditated upon as our self,* however this injunction may be interpreted. And the Brahman in all the systems is Spirit. Further, whether matter is regarded as real or unreal, it is just the *Śakti* or energy of the Brahman. It is a mode of its manifestation. Matter is therefore an expression of Spirit, according to the Vedānta in general. Only because matter is an expression of spirit, are *vibhūtis* possible according to all Indian philosophy.

Before concluding, it may be pointed out that this paper takes into consideration only the Vedāntic systems, and not the Nyāya, Vaiṣeśika, Yoga and Sāṅkhya, There is no available commentary from the standpoint of these systems, except that of Vijnānabhikṣu from the standpoint of Sāṅkhya, on the *Vedāntasūtras*. And it is an important point to note that, though, according to the Sāṅkhya, matter or Prakṛti is absolutely different from spirit or Puruṣa and is not a *Śakti* of the latter, Vijnānabhikṣu, in his commentary on the *Vedāntasūtras*, treats the world and the *jīvas* as the *Śakti* of Īśvara whom he identifies with the Brahman. This is an instance of how a philosophy, which started as rank dualism, when it turned Vedantic, became an absolutism. For, absolutism is an essential charactistic of Vedāntic thought; and Vedānta, as an all-assimilating philosophy, can find a place not only for monism, but also for dualism, pluralism, idealism and realism, and make all consistent with its absolutisms.

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* *The Brahmasūtras* IV, I, 3.

THE NOTIONS OF SOUL & BODY IN RĀMĀNUJA'S DOCTRINE

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The notion of *mode* (prakāra) synthesizes, in Rāmānuja's doctrine, the varied relations that bind the created beings to their creative principle :

Logical mode : the created beings are attributes (viśeṣaṇa) of the universal substance (dravya);

Ontological modes : the created beings are effects (upādeya) of the substantial cause (upādāna), or parts (aṃśa) of the total Brahman;

Ethical mode : the finite persons are subordinate and dependent (śeṣa) in reference to the Infinite person, their first principle and ultimate end (śeṣin).

But this idea of *mode*, however rich it may be, would still remain too abstract and too shallow in the eyes of Rāmānuja, but for another of its aspects, the aspect of *Corporeal mode*. There is no closer, no more intimate and vital relation than the relation of body and soul. No other dṛṣṭānta from our daily experience, can better express the twofold relation of transcendence and immanence that bind in *one* reality the Lord and his creation. The physical world and the world of finite selves constitute the body (śarīra) of Īśvara. He is their *Self*, their Soul (ātman).

On setting to work out this theory, Rāmānuja was confronted with a variety of more or less conflicting traditional views on the subject. Because of his synthetic mind, he strove to reconcile as many of them as he could without impairing the solidarity of his construction. He earnestly adopted the idea of a general parallelism between microcosm and macrocosm implied in the conception of a cosmic soul and body. But his sense of variety in unity urged him to insist at the same time on the different ways in which these terms and their relation had to materialize on each of the two planes.

1. So much so that, while keeping closer to the Vedāntic monism in his treatment of the relation of cosmic soul and body considered as forming together a unique and absolute substance diversified in various aspects, he decided the Sāṅkhya dualism of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* to be more suitable in the case of individual embodied beings. Though emanating both from the unity of the absolute Brahman, the soul and body of individual animals or men are dis-

tinct substances. Of course, these two substances are not such in an absolute sense, but only in a relative and finite sense; but they are real relative substances really distinct. Of course they are tightly linked together so as to constitute a man or a cow, but they do not blend into one substance on the plane of created and relative realities.

2. Since the Aupaniṣadic and Buddhist times, Indian philosophy has been urged to build up its explanation of realities and values along two different lines: the line of *ontology* and the line of *karman*. Every philosopher had either to reject one of these views or to find out a satisfactory adjustment between them. Along the first line the soul must be primarily considered as an ontological principle, and then as a moral subject. Along the second line, the soul is essentially the active subject of *karman* and the passive subject of retribution, and the body an instrument for both action and retribution.

In the present case, Rāmānuja provides us with a twofold definition. A more general one, that applies both to the universal Being and to individual beings : "Any substance which a sentient soul is capable of completely controlling and supporting for its own purposes, and which stands to the soul in an entirely subordinate relation, is the body of that soul" (Śrī Bhāṣya, II. I. 9. Thibaut's translation). The ontological stress can be easily perceived in such a text.

But in a more restricted sense, available only in the case of Sāṃsāric beings, Rāmānuja implicitly accepts an alternative definition proposed by the pūrvapakṣin : "A body in a particular aggregate of earth and the other elements, depending for its subsistence on vital breath with its five modifications, and serving as an abode to the sense-organs which mediate the experiences of pleasure and pain retributive of former works : such is in Vedic and worldly speech the sense connected with the term *body*." (Ś. Bh. II. I. 8 Thibaut's translation). The *Karmic* stress is here obvious.

3. Another traditional question concerning the soul or self is about its "measure" (parimāṇa). Is it all-pervading (sarvagata) ? Such is the view of Śaṅkara, who admits only one real infinite self, and of the Vaiśeṣikas who believe in an infinite number of all-pervading selves. Is its *atom* (aṇu) in accordance with Mu. Up. III. I. 9. ? Or of a changing measure, proportionate to each of its successive bodies, as the Jainas profess ?

Rāmānuja answers that the universal soul is 'sarvagata', the individual soul "aṇu", that no soul can be of a changing measure as this would amount to a change of its essential nature, and that the individual self cannot be substantially all-pervading on account of its created character, although the *knowledge* of the liberated soul may expand to omniscience, which is a form of all-pervasiveness.*

When metaphorically applied to a finite spiritual being, the term *aṇu* emphasizes some of its most important characteristics : (1) its very finiteness; (2) its individuality and indivisibility: (3) its immutability as a substance. (4) the fact that its substance is not sunk in the bodily substance, but is only in ontological connection with it. As the Śruti says, the soul resides in the heart only, not in the whole body.

I would like now to compare Rāmānuja's conception of soul and body with the corresponding doctrines of two or three major philosophers of the West. I fully realize how misleading such a comparison may be, if it is not carried on with great care and caution. But if it is properly understood, its utility can hardly be questioned.

I shall not dilate on Plato's view of the question. However different his philosophy may be from Indian philosophies, it so happens that in relation to our present problems some of the commanding principles of the solution he has proposed, are too similar to those that rule Indian reflection. So much so that unless we enter into more details and extend our analysis further than the restricted limits of this paper allow, the comparison is bound to be of lesser interest.

Although he does not identify it with the supreme deity, Plato believes in a cosmic Soul, as well as in individual souls and metempsychosis. And he too some how alternates ontological explanations and ethical justifications of the relation between soul and body.

Leaving aside Plato, let us then turn our attention to the Aristotelians and to Descartes. The fundamental opposition of their teachings is a well known historical fact. Nevertheless they both agree to reject the notion of a cosmic soul and the belief in metempsychosis or transmigration. And this is enough to take us very far away from the Indian circumstances and ruling principles of our problem. In such a new environment, the similarities that we are to detect between Rāmānuja on one side and Aristotelianism and Descartes on the other, should be all the more striking and enlightening.

With some of the best representatives of the Aristotelian school the soul and body are and must be considered primarily as ontological principles. Man is certainly a *moral* being, but he is a *being* first and must be explained as such. Ethical prospects and values are not intelligible but for an ontological background.

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* Cf. Śrībhāṣya II, III. 20 and following.

The notion of a "Kārmic" body, of a body that is essentially meant for the retribution of the soul's former deeds, is obviously inconsistent with such premises. In spite of Plato's pathetic utterances in the Phaidon, the body is not the prison or the tomb of the soul (soma=sema) but a means to the development and realization of the latter's dormant potencies and spirituality. The union of soul and body is not an unnatural state forced upon the former, but a congenial one.

Soul and body are not two distinct substances linked together by some extrinsic bond. They are the two components of one *and the same substance.* The soul is dominant and determinant : it appropriates the physico-chemical elements of which the body is made up and gives them a higher grade of being, namely life; it uses them as instruments of its functions of knowledge and action. The body is subservient and instrumental; it conditions the determinative and active power of the soul. There is consequently a natural proportion between soul and body.

When death occurs, the living substance actually dissolves and is no more. The *human* soul, it is true, on account of its spirituality, is endowed with the privilege of immortality. But man as such is perishable and actually perishes, whereas its material elements are assumed by new substances.

The short account of the Aristotelian standpoint is sufficieut to show how curiously similar happen to be Rāmānuja's theory of cosmic soul and body and the conception of individual soul and body in Aristotelianism. Though differentiated Brahman and the world constitute, in the former's opinion, but one unique and absolute ontological substance, just as, from the latter's point of view, the corporeal elements in man and his soul are one individual and finite substance. I might even rightly say that both doctrines are independent instances of a generalized *dvaitādvaita* or *viśiṣṭādvaita-vāda* ?

Descartes metaphysics acknowledge two kinds of created substances ; the spiritual substances which are many, and the attributes of which is thought or consciousness; and the material substance which is one, which has spatial extension as its attribute and is conseqnently divisible. Man is composed of these two sorts of substances : a soul, that is to say an individual spiritual substance, and a portion of the corporeal substance, linked together. Though a staunch supporter of the reality of the soul, Descartes is at the same time strongly mechanist-minded. This is the reason why he shuns the consideration of final causes. Even if the notion of a Karmic body were not tightly connected with the doctrine of transmigration, it would appear to him unpalatable, in as much as it is pregnant with an explanation of the world through finality. Descartes analyses separately the nature of the soul and the nature of the body. He then comes across the obscure experience of the *union of soul and body*, which is something different from the knowledge of the soul and body taken severally. He scrutinizes the psycho-physiological mechanism worked by the two substances jointly, and draws therefrom ethical consequences, but he does not venture to look for the ultimate reason or final cause of their union.

According to Descartes, life is not a higher degree of being than were lifeless existence, and there is nothing in it that cannot be explained mechanically. A living body is a pure machine–so much so that we cannot decide whether animals are endowed with sensibility and perception or not. Their visible behaviour can be accounted for without such an assumption. The case of man is different, in as much as we know the human soul from within and cannot doubt our own consciousness. But the human body too is a mere physico-chemical machine.

Now, artificial machines are controlled by being set in motion or checked. And a simple contact of the impelling or checking person with some appropriate organ of theirs, is enough for the purpose. Similarly, the soul does not control the body from within. The human will must only impel or stop a *minute* organ of the brain, the pineal gland, and the whole body obeys the command.

The analogies between Rāmānuja's and Descartes' theories of individual soul and body are now quite manifest. In both cases, soul and body are two different substances that may be linked together, but remain such in their very union. In both cases the soul is not thoroughly immanent in the body, but only connected with it. In both cases the special nature of this connection is suggested by similar metaphors : the "anurātma" the *minute* or atomic self of Rāmānuja corresponds to the *minute* pineal gland of Descartes.

In spite of the ultimate "qualified monism" of his doctrine, Rāmānuja has been seriously influenced by the Sāṅkhya philosophy. So much so that his conception of the union of soul and body *in man* is very often closer to the dualistic view held by Descartes than to what I might call the "qualified monism' supported by the Aristotelion tradition in reference ro this very problem.

And now Rāmānuja is confronted with the difficulty of passing on from a dualistic interpretation of the relation between *created* soul and body, to a *dvaitādvaita* interpretation of the relation between *cosmic* soul and body. He manages to do so through a clever elaboration of the concept of *ātman* as exemplified in the following text: (*Ś*. Bh. I. I. Thibaut's translation);

" The Viṣṇu Purāṇa relates how Maitreya, wishing to have his knowledge of Vedic matters strengthened by the holy Parāśara, who through the favour of

Pulastya and Vasiṣṭha had obtained an insight into the true nature of the highest divinity, began to question Parāśara–" I am desirous to hear from thee how this would originate and how it will again originate in future, and of what it consists[*], and whence proceed animate and inanimate things; how and into what it will in future be resolved ? " etc. (Vi. Pu. I. I.). The questions asked refer to the essential nature of Brahman, the different modes of manifestation of its power, and the different results of propitiating it. Among the questions belonging to the first category, the question "Whence proceed animate and inanimate things ?" relate to the efficient and the material cause of the world, and hence the clause "Of what the world consists " is to be taken as implying a question as to what constitutes the self of this world which is the object of creation, sustenance and dissolution. The reply to the question is given in the words– " And the world is He." How the identity expressed by this clause is founded thereon that he (i. e. Brahman or Viṣṇu) pervades the whole world as its self in the character of its inward Ruler; and is not founded on unity of substance of the pervading principle and the world pervaded. The phrase " consists of " (–maya) does not refer to an effect (so that the question asked would be as to the causal substance of which this world is an effect), for a separate question on this point would be needless. Nor does the *–maya* express, as it sometimes does–e. g. in the case of prāṇa–maya (prāṇa only,) the own sense or the word to which it is attached; for in that case the form of the reply "And the world is He" (which implies a distinction between the world and Viṣṇu) would be inappropriate; the reply would in that case rather be " Viṣṇu only. " What "–maya" actually denotes here is abundance, prevailingness, in agreement with Pāṇini V. 4. 21. and the meaning is that *Brahman Prevails in the world in so far as the entire world constitutes its body.*[†] The coordination of the two words "the world" and "He" thus rests on that relation beween the two, owing to which the world is the body of Brahman, and Brahman the Self of the world."

The true purport of Rāmānuja's conception of the soul and body appears very clearly from this text.

The individual soul does not cooperate in bringing its body to the ontological dignity of a *substance;* the body derives its being and its substantiality directly from the universal Brahman. The individual soul is not the principle of the physical life of its body; *prāna* is one of the superior grades of *prakṛti;* it is not a property of *puruṣa.* The individual soul does not infund sensibility and consciousness into the body, as *prakṛti* is essentially *jaḍa, acit.*

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[*] Yanmayaṃ ca Jagat......

[†] The Sanskrit text reads as follows : kṛtsnaṃ ca jagat taccharīratayā tatpracuram eva; that should rather be translated; "and the whole world is full with the abundance of the Brahman in so far as it constitutes its body. "

What the individual body receives from its soul is a certain sort of *prācurya*, of "abundance"; it becomes, in a way, participant in the soul's excellence (tatpracuram). Though its being linked to a cartain soul by the working of the law of *Karman*, through its becoming intimately and closely instrumental in the soul's actions and experiences, it is raised to or associated with the higher dignity that belongs to the plane of spiritual substances and that is beyond its proper and constitutive possibilities.

The cosmic body. which is composed of all sentient and insentient creatures, derives its being, its life, its sensibility, its consciousness from the infinite substance, the Brahman. This absolute Brahman is at the same time the universal Self, and it is also the divine person, the supreme Deity.

The world therefore derives from the same fundamental principle its natural being and capacities, either material or spiritual, as an effect of the Brahman, and, in addition, a "*prācurya*" a "superabundance" a participation in the exalted excellence of the personal life and experiences of the highest Deity, in as much as it is the body of the universal *ātman*.

PROBABLE SOURCES OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ

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Introductory Remarks

1. The references made by the author of a work to other works and views constitute one of the most reliable pieces of internal evidence for determining the place of the work in the history of the literature of the subject with which it deals and the most probable date of its composition. It could not have escaped the notice of any critical student of the *Bhagavadgītā* that though itself a work of authority it refers at several places to previous authorities. To collect together, classify and appraise all such references with a view to draw definite and reliable conclusions therefrom constitutes a study by itself and is bound to yield valuable results. Several European and Indian Scholars have tried to fix the position of this work in the philosophical and religious literature of India and the probable date of its composition on taking into consideration the views expressed therein. But So far as I have been able to ascertain, none has exhaustively dealt with the subject of the previous works and views found referred to in this work and tried to ascertain to what extent the philosophical doctrines and religious creeds in India had become developed prior to the time of the author, what prior literature, if any, existed in his time, what influence it had exercised on the minds of his contemporaries, whether there was only one School of thought and action in his time or more, what had been the effect of their views on the Indian social structure, how far he agreed with or differed from them and what means he has suggested for counter-acting the evil effect thereon which he had noticed, while at the same time assuring his readers that the object aimed at can be equally and easily achieved thereby. Mine here is an attempt to fill up that gap by making an exhaustive study of the side references and drawing inferences from them in the light of the materials gathered from other sources with a view to fix the place of the work in the philosophical literature of India.

Classification of References

2. The references to the previous works and views of predecessors and contemporaries and to their activities are indeed many and have been made in diverse ways in this work. I therefore propose to deal with them under two main heads, namely :—(1) Express References and (2) Implied References. Those of

the former class again fall into two sub-groups, namely:— (i) those to works of authority and (ii) those to men of authority who may be either individuals or groups of individuals. The implied references are those which are unmistakably pointed at by the use in the past or present tense of such verbs as *Vac* (to speak). *Brū or Āh* (to speak) in its regular and irregular forms, *Vid* (to know), *Hṛ with Ut and* Ā (to illustrate or speak demonstratively), *Kīrt with Pari and Sam* at times, (to make known in details and publicly), *Dhā with Abhi* (to call or designate), *Cakṣ with Pari* (to speak of), *Smṛ* (to remember), jñā with Sam (to name or make known as), *Man* (to think and) *Prath* (to make widely known or famous) and their numerous derivatives. To refer to persons individually or in groups by the use of such verbs or their derivatives in the third person without specifically naming him or them as the case may be, is a well recognised method of making references to predecessors and contemporaries in the Sanskrit literature. Such a method seems to have been resorted to evidently because what matters in such a case is the view or the practice which is mentioned. Such references too cannot be ignored in a historical study like the present and must be assigned their proper values so far as it is possible to do so with the help of the context in which they occur and our knowledge of the subject from other sources.

Express References

3. (i) *Works of Authority*. The *Bhagavadgītā* refers expressly to the *Vedas* collectively in Ch. XV. 18 and XVII. 23 by the word "Veda" itself and in Ch. XIII. 4 by the word "Chandobhiḥ" and to the three Vedas individually by their specific names RK, Sāma and Yajus in Ch. IX. 17 where Śrī Kṛṣṇa identifies himself with them. In Ch. X. 22 he calls the Sāmaveda from amongst the *Vedas* one of his Vibhūtis. In Ch. XV. 1 and 15 there are moreover references to the "Vedavit" (the Knower of the Veda). These references place it beyond doubt that the author of the work looked upon them as sacred authoritative works and worthy of being learnt and understood. The Atharva as the fourth Veda is nowhere specifically referred to and cannot be deemed to have been included in the generic term "Veda" or its synonym "Brahman" occurring in the compound word "Brahmodbhavam" in Ch. III. 15. The reason of this non-mention and non-allusion seems to be that there was a school of Vedic priests, most probably residing in the north-west of India, who persistently refused to recognise it as a Veda at all because even in its Samhitā as now compiled, the majority of the hymns contain invocation to evil spirits for the curing or prevention of diseases, acquiring control over the minds of others, some material objects &c. The same kind of indifference is observable in the case of the Itihāsa—Purāṇa. Both of them were raised to the dignity of a Veda only by Veda Vyāsa when he compiled the Samhitās. Whatever their position, the first three Vedas at least are, as above-stated, distinctly recognised and honoured as authoritative works.

4. When I say this, I am not unmindful of the facts that in Ch. II. 42, 45, 46, 52, 53 and Ch. IX. 20, 21 the *Gītā* itself speaks of the "Vedavādaratāh", the "Trayīdharmamanuprapannāh" "Traividyāh" in almost contemptible terms and that contrasting those statements with those previously mentioned, European Scholars try to make out that the *Gītā* contains two irreconcilable views as to the authoritativeness and respectability of the Vedas. To my mind they are not so. It must be borne in mind that there is a distinction between looking upon the Vedas as the sources of knowledge and inspiration and as containing Mantras which are primarily intended to be used at material sacrifices performed for the attainment of some objects of desire in this world or the next. A reference to *Īśa.* 14, *Katha* II. 4–5, *Muṇḍaka* I. 4–5 and *Chāndogya* VII and generally to the last and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣats* will make it clear that there were already in existence two classes of Brāhmaṇas holding the above views, that those belonging to the former had, acting on their view, evolved several Vidyās like the Daharavidyā, Śaṇḍilyavidyā, Udgīthavidyā &c. which were collectively called Adhyātma Vidyās and those belonging to the latter had evolved others, such as the four Upavedas, Āyurveda, Dhanurveda and others, and the six subsidiary sciences such as Śikṣā, Vyākaraṇa, Piṅgala &c., which were called the Vedāṅgas and that even those Ṛṣīs who are mentioned as having contributed to the development of the Upaniṣad literature designated the Adhyātmavidyās as "the vidyā" and spoke in the same terms of the latter and of persons engaged in the pursuit thereof as the author of the *Gītā* speaks of the "Vedavādaratāh" and the "Traividyāh". The reason for this view is the obvious one that whereas the ideal of the latter was the attainment of material happiness here and hereafter by the performance of Vaidic Karma, that of the latter was the higher one of the attainment of permanent peace of mind and freedom from misery including that from the liability to be born again and again which the Vaidikas and their followers could not avoid. The source of inspiration of both these classes of Brāhmaṇas was the same, namely the *Vedas,* which they had received as a precious heritage from their forefathers and therefore naturally both respected them equally. What they differed in was the kind of use to which they put that heritage.

The above reason also explains why we do not find any reference to the class of works called the *Brāhmaṇas*. That class of works containing as it were an exegesis on the Vedas as interpreted by the Vedavādins and since their interpretation was not acceptable to the Adhyātmavādins it is but natural that such of the Brāhmaṇas as may be in existence in the time of our author should not have been ever referred to in this work in support of any views expressed therein.

5. (*ii*) *Individuals and groups of individuals.* Besides the *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, the Vedic literature comprises two other classes of works known as the *Āraṇyakas* and the Upaniṣads. While the *Brāhmaṇs* are the

commentaries on the Samhita Mantras as made use of for getting material benefits through sacrifices, the *Āraṇyakas* are the commentaries thereon as made use of for getting spiritual benefits out of them, i. e. for the advancement of knowledge as to the truth about the existence of the worldly phenomena, the cause of its origin, sustenance and destruction, the fact of human consciousness &c. This advancement was sought to be secured by the triple means of *Yajña* (Sacrifices), *Dāna* (pious gifts) and *Tapas* (austerities.) These were also the means adopted by the other school. But whereas those of the other school looked upon them as the means for the attainment of certain objects of material benefit, those of the school to which the author of the *Gītā* belonged looked upon them as the means of self-purification. These two schools are distinctly mentioned in Ch. XVIII. 2–3. Such references to the followers of this selfless path are spoken of by other significant and eulogistic terms at several other places in the *Gītā* which are as follows :— " Paṅḍitāh " (II. 11; V. 4), " Paṅḍitāh Samadarśināh " (V. 18), "Tattvadarśinah" (II. 16;) "Maniṣiṇah" (II. 50), "Jñāninastattvadarśinah" (IV. 34), "Kavayah" (IV. 16; X. 37), "Budhāh" (V. 19; X. 8, 11), "Siddhāh" (X. 26), "Jñānanirdhūta kalmaṣāh" (V–17) " Paramabhaktāh" (XII. 2), "Brahmavādinah" (XVII–24) and "Vicakṣaṇāh" (XVIII–2). On occasions members of this class are referred to in the singular number by the following terms, namely:– "Sthitaprajñah", "Sthitadhīh" "Paśyatah Muneh" (II–54, 72), 'Vidvān' (III–25), "Kṛtsnavit" (III–29), 'Paṅḍitah (V–19), "Yogārūḍhah" (VI–4), "Paramah Yogī" (VI–32), "Yogayuktātmā" (YI–29), "Kavih" (X–27), "Triguṇātītah" or "Guṇātītah" (XIV–21–28) and "Brahmabhūtah" (XVIII–54). Besides these general references the work contains references to certain individual sages by their names which are "Prajāpatih" (III–10), "Janakah" (III-20), "Vivasvān", "Manuh" and "Ikṣvākuh" (IV-1–2), "Devarṣir Nāradah" (X–13-26), "Maharṣir Bhṛguh" "Gandharvah Citrarathah", "Siddhah Kapilah"(X-26) and "Uśanā Kavih"(X-37). It is clear from the tone and method of reasoning adopted in Chapters II to VI, VIII and XIII to XVIII that those who were engaged in the pursuit of the said higher spiritual ideal were divided into two schools of thought and action, the one known as the "Sāmkhyas" and the other known as the "Yogins", that though they had a common ideal and employed a common terminology inherited from a previous age, they differed on the questions whether it was or was not absolutely necessary (1) to resort to physical renunciation and (2) to give up the performance of the daily and periodical ceremonies which according to the time-honoured family and caste customs every member of the society was bound to perform, the Sāmkhyas holding that it was and the Yogins holding that it was not, that those schools were simultaneously in existence for some time but thereafter the school of the Yogins ceased to be in existence, the theory that Sāṃkhya (knowledge) was alone sufficient for enabling an aspirant to reach his goal was modified by the view that it is necessary to have recourse to Yoga for the actual realisation of the state of

Kaivalya, that therefore the School of the Sāṃkhyas which had continued till the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa was known by the modified name of the Sāmkhya-Yogins, that they had made room in the Sāṃkhya doctrine of Puruṣa and Prakṛti for Brahman, an All-Soul who was above all limitations and changes of states and the doctrine of Prasāda, (favour of the Almighty) to be secured on propitiating him by concentrating attention on his nature, or on any of his Vibhūtis, the observances of certain rules of conduct such as Brahmacarya, Ahimsā, Satya &c. and by leading a life of solitude accompanied by abstinence from all such actions as could be avoided and that the author of the *Gītā* accepted the whole doctrine of the Sāṃkhya-yogins but in order to make it adoptable to the masses for whose benefit he had composed the whole of the Bhārata Epic and he interpreted that doctrine to mean that the renunciation that was essential was mental, not physical, that the abstinence from action that was possible for an embodied soul to achieve was also mental and that the performance of the duties appurtenant to one's social status could be made to subserve the purpose of achieving a state of inaction by discharging such duties not with a view to enjoy the fruits resulting from them but from a sense of service to the Almighty, concieved either as Immutable, Formless, Brahman or as the same which had temporarily assumed the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa for some specific purposes on making use of its divine pewer. This is said to be Karma-yoga because it was a Yoga through action as apposed to that through knowledge. It is also called Bhakti-yoga because unqualified devotion to the Lord forms part of that Yoga.

6. It is the variety of the Bhakti Yoga in which the Lord is believed to have assumed the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa that is said in Ch. IX. 1 as the highest kind of secret knowledge accompanied by the realisation thereof (Guhyatamaṃ jñānaṃ savijñānaṃ); in Ch. IX. 2 as the science which the members of the princely order should keep as the highest secret (Rājavidyā Rājaguhyaṃ), which however was not according to Ch. IX. 32–33 to be withheld from pious women and Śūdras and even the Brāhmaṇas who had accumulated religious merit; in Ch. X–1 as that great secret (Guhyam) designated as the " Adhyātmaṃ. In Ch. XI. 47–48 and 52–54 the form of the Lord as Vāsudeva or Śrī Kṛṣṇa is said to be realisable only by devotion and not by any other means such as the practice of austerities, making of pious gifts and performance of sacrifices. In Ch. XV. 18, 20, the knowledge that Vāsudeva, who is beyond the Kṣara and Akṣara and is hence designated as the Puruṣottama is called a Scripture (Śāstra) which is to be kept as the utmost secret (Guhyatamaṃ). Lastly, in XVIII–63 the the doctrine of self-surrender to the Almighty, for getting the inspiration for the right conduct expounded in verses 57 to 62 of that Chapter is said to be a subject of knowledge which was more secret than anything else (Guhyāt Guhyatamaṃ). What is that doctrine and what the result flowing from it is made clear in the next verse, from whom it is to be withheld is explained and the merit

resulting from communicating it to one who has faith in the Lord and is devoted to him, is stated clearly in Verses 67--69.

7. This frequent use of the term "Guhya" (secret) and its comparative and superlative forms with reference to the Bhakti doctrine between Chapter IX and XVIII makes it perfectly clear that whoever it was who first used in the Adhyāya colophons the expression *Śrīmad bhagavadgītāsūpaniṣatsu brahmavidyāyām yogaśāstre Śrī Kriṣṇārjuna saṃvāde.........Adhyāyah* intended to record the historical facts that it was Veda Vyāsa, the author of the *Bhagavadgītā*, who first gave the form of a Yogaśāstra, a scientific treatise on Karma-yoga expounding its doctrine through the mouth of Śrī Kṛṣṇa engaged in a dialogue with Arjuna, that Yoga formed part of the Brahmavidyā, the Science of Brahman as it expounded one of the ways for the realisation of Brahman, which had been settled by sages of yore as productive of tangible results, that there were again numerous kinds of yoga, the easiest of which consisted of unqualified devotion to Brahman, who had assumed the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa for partiuclar purposes and had communicated them to his pet disciples in the form of several Upaniṣads (secret teachinge to be imparted to a select few). These Upaniṣads having been spoken of as sung by Kṛṣṇa, it is probable that they were probably in the form of songs or ballads composed in the popular language of the day and that Veda-Vyāsa had not incorporated in the present work the songs as they were but on giving them a polish, though keeping their purport intact. Inside the work itself there is in Ch. XIII. 4 an expression *Brahmasūtrapadaih*, which has been understood by Śankara to contain a reference to the cryptic and pregnant sentences of the *Upaniṣads*. Moreover the *Brahmasūtra* of Bādarāyaṇa itself contains references to the *Gītā* by the term "Smṛti" in I. 2. 6; 3. 22; II. 3. 45; III. 2. 17; IV. 1. 10. 12. 21, and it is not also possible that there may have been in existence a *Brahmasūtra* relating to the Vedānta system prior to the composition of the *Gītā* because the main contribution to the evolution of its doctrine were made by Uddālaka and Yājñavalkya who were born much later than Vyāsa.

8. These must not however be the only Upaniṣads in the view of the author. In the said chapters IX to XVIII we find incorporoted definite theories as to the evolution and nature of the variegated objects of the Universe, the origin of the individual soul, the existence of a supreme soul called Brahman and the mutual relations between them and differences of views as to the advisability of giving up the discharge of all social and religious duties. Similarly in the first 8 Chapters except the introductory dialogue in Ch. I and II. 1. 10. there is a reference to a difference of views as to the latter topic, a lengthy discussion as to the advisability and practicability of acting up to the view that all Karma should be given up, as to the nature of the desire for enjoyment, the effect of it on man's life and conduct, the benefit to be derived from

its eradication and the means for eradicating it and for getting the requisite knowledge. All these are subjects in which the adherents of the other schools as well as those of the Karma-yoga or Bhakti-yoga school were interested. It is therefore quite likely that just as there were the Upaniṣads of the latter school above spoken of, there may be those of the other schools as well. As a matter of fact it is possible to show by a detailed analysis of the contents of about the 13 nonsectarian Upaniṣads that the portions of them dealing with the method of Upāsanā by the Udgītha-Vidyā and those in which the persons taking part are some of the patriarchal Ṛṣis of the Vedic gods Prajāpati, Indra, Varuṇa and others must be the records of facts which may have occurred and the conclusions which may have been arrived at prior to the time of Śrī Kṛṣṇa and therefore necessarily that of Veda Vyāsa. I cannot do it here but only mention that the Upaniṣads containing such ancient materials are the *Kena*, *Taittirīya*, *Aitareya*, *Chāndogya*, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, *Kaivalya*, and *Kāuṣītakī Brāhmaṇa*. There are also some others such as the *Muṇḍaka*, *Śvetāśvatara*, Brahmabindu and Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpinī, which though not falling in the same category do seem to contain principles leading to the inference that they must have been formulated either in the age of Kṛṣṇa or shortly before or after that. In a word the Āraṇyaka and Upaniṣad literature appears to be in the process of formulation at the time of the composition of the *Bhagavadgītā*.

9. Besides the Vedic, there are unmistakable references to non-vedic i. e. Smṛti literature also in the *Gītā*. They are contained in Ch. XVIII. 13 and 19. The first verse therein distinctly refers to a "Sāmkhya which means an end to all Karma" as containing a statement that there are five contributory causes, all acts, whether right or wrong, namely those mentioned in the succeeding verse. I see in this a clear reference to a Smṛti work of the primitive Sāmkhyas. Further in verse 19 it is distinctly said that the triple division of Jñāna, Karma and Kartā on the basis of the three Guṇas of the Prakṛti, which is set forth in verses 20-28 is spoken of in the "Guṇasaṃkhyāna" (Enumeration of the Characteristics). Presumably this must be the heading of a Chapter in the Sāmkhya work above alluded to. What was the title of that work has not been made clear in the *Gītā* itself, but it appears from a reference in Br. Sū. II 1-1 to a Smṛti (i. e. the work of a sage who though not a Vedic seer had inherited the Vedic tradition and remembered it), of the Sāmkhyas, from Śaṅkara's commentary thereon that there were several Smṛtis composed by the Sāmkhyas of whom the first was that of the sage Kapila and from the gloss of Vācaspati thereon that the Smṛti was known as the *Tantra*.* the *Gītā* could not have there referred to the

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* Brahmasūtra, N. S. P. edition (1917) p. 432; The Bhā. Pu. (III. 21-32) refers to the work of Kapila by the name " Tattvasamhitā.

Kārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa or the *Saṣṭhitantra Śāstra* of Pañcaśikha, of which it is an abridgement,[*] because whereas in *Gītā* VII. 5 the five gross elements, earth, water etc. have been said to be five of the 8 different varieties of the Prakṛti and therefore its direct evolutes, there is no mention anywhere in that work of the evolution of the Pañcatanmātrās (the five subtle elements) and the Manas, Buddhi and Ahaṅkāra are said to be these independent forms of the Prakṛti, according to the said Śāstra as abridged in the *Kārikā* the only first evolute was the Mahat (Buddhi), the Ahaṃkāra was evolved from the latter, the group of sixteen elements i. e. the five Tanmātrās, the Manas, the five Karmendriyas and and the five Jñānendriyas from Ahaṃkāra and the five Mahābhūtas from the Tanmātrās.[†] Obviously the latter contains more elaborate Sāmkhya theory of the 25 Tattvas while the author of the *Gītā* may have taken his "Aṣṭadhā-bhinnā Prakṛti" theory either from the said Sāmkhya Smṛti, which according to Śaṅkara Vācaspati was the work of the originator of the Śāmkhya doctrine, or from any of the other Smṛtis which must have existed in the time of that author.

Implied References

10. Every critical student of the *Gītā* must have marked that besides the above express references, there are several references to works of authority or to individuals or groups of individuals whose word and conduct carried weight with the seekers after truth in the time of its author. The words leading to such an inference are :—"Anye" (IV. 26; IX. 15; XIII. 24-25; XVII. 4), "Apare" (IV-25, 27-30; XIII. 24, XVIII. 3), "Abhidhīyate" (XIII. 1; XVII. 27 XVIII. 11,), Āhuh[‡] (III. 42; VIII. 21; XIV. 16; XVI. 8), "Uktah" (VIII. 21; XIII. 22), "Uktāh" (II. 18), "Ucyate" (II. 25, 48 55, 56, III. 6, 40; VI. 3, 4, 8, 18; VIII. 1, 3; XIII. 12, 17, 20; XIV. 25; XV, 16; XVII. 14, 15, 16, 27, 28; XVIII. 23, 25, 28), "Udāhṛtam" (XIII. 6; XVII. 19, 22; XVIII. 22, 24, 39), "Udāhrtāh" (XV. 17), "Udāhṛtya" (XVII. 24), "Uddiśya" (XVII. 21) "Upāsate" (IX. 14, 15, XII 2, 6; XIII. 25), "Caranti" (VIII. 11), "Parikirtitah" (XVIII. 7, 27) Paricakṣate", (XVII. 13, 17), "Paryupāsate" (IV. 25; IX. 22; XII. 1, 3, 20),

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[*] Sāmkhya Kārikā 69--72 the Ṣaṣthitantra Śāstra is not available at present but it appears from the numerous quotations therefrom given in the Bhāṣya of Vyāsa on the Yogasūtra (See PP, 8 31, 61, 62, 64, 72 73, 80, 83, 89, 158 and 187 of the A. S Series NO . 47) to have been in his possession when he composed the Bhāṣya.

[†] Op Cit. 22, 38. See also the notes thereon by S. S. Sastri (Madras University Indian Philosophy Series NO. 3)

[‡] In the case of the verbs I omit here those references in which vrbs ere accompanied by nominatives such as "Budhāh" and "Ṛṣyah ", because they are already included amongst the express refrences or because the speaker there is Kṛṣṇa or Arjuna.

"Paśyanti" (XIII. 24; XV. 10, 11), "Prathitah" (XV. 18), "Prayujyate" (XVII 26), "Pravartante" (XVII. 24), "Prāhuh" (VI. 2; XIII. 1; XV. 1; XVIII. 2. 3) "Proktaṃ" (VIII. 1; XIII. 11; XVII. 18; XVIII. 37), "Bhajatāṃ" (X. 10), "Bhajanti" (IX. 13, 29), "Bhajantei" (VII. 16, 28; X. 8), "Matah" (VI. 32, 16, 47, XVIII, 9), "Mata" (XVI. 5), "Mate" (VIII. 26), "Yatatāṃ" and "Yatati" (VII. 3), "Yatantah" (IX. 14, XV. 11), "Yānti" (IV. 31, VII. 23, 27; VIII. 23; IX. 7, 25, 32; XIII. 34; XVI. 20), "Yāti" (VI. 45; VIII. 5, 8, 13, 26; XIII. 28; XIV. 14; XVI. 22), "vadanti" (VII. 11), "viduh" (VII. 29, 30), "viśanti" (VIII. 11; IX 21) "Samprakirtitah" XVIII. 4), "Saṃjñitaṃ" (XI. 1), "Smṛtaṃ" (XVII. 20, 21; XVIII. 38) "Smṛtah" (XVII. 28) and "Smṛtā" (VI. 19).

Concluding Remarks.

11. Now, there some amongst the above words, namely, "Āhuh", "Uktah", "Uktāh", "Udāhṛtam" Udahṛtāh", "Prakīrtitah", "Prathitah", "Prāhuh", "Proktam", "Matah", "Mata" "Mate", "Viduh", Samjñitam" "Samprakīrtitah", "Samjñitam", Smṛtam", "Smṛtah" and "Smṛtā", which being verbs having the past tense inflections, unmistakably point to the fact of the statements to which they relate having been made at some time prior to the composition of the work by persons of authority either orally or in some of their compositions who or which were well-known to the philosophers of the day. There are amongst them others again, namely "Caranti" "Paśyanti", "Prayujyate", "Pravartante", Bhajatām", "Bhajanti", "Bhajante", "Yatatām", Yatati", Yatantah", "Yānti", "Vadanti", and "Viśanti", which on the other hand point to the acts of "Caryā", "Darśana", &c; being in the process of being done continually in the time of the author. It is significant that while the past tense has been used with reference to the statements relating to the conclusions arrived at by the "Sāmkhyas", the present has been used with reference to the exertions in various directions made by the aspirants and to the attainment of particular stage of spiritual development upto the highest stage by the followers of the different kinds of the practice of Yoga or Upāsanā. The significance which this distinction has to my mind is that the Sāmkhya doctrine and the different stages in its practical application had become established facts acceptable to all the schools of Yogis in the time of the author, people had become convinced by long experience that true knowledge which led to emancipation did not arise until it was supplemented by some process of self-discipline called Yoga and as the result of the interpretation put upon the Sāmkhya teaching a school of Sāmkhya-yogins had before the time of Śri Kṛṣṇa come into existence and had by the propagation of its views affected considerably the continuance of the Catur-varṇya social order and the discharge of the duties prescribed for the members of each Varṇa according to their inherent characteristics and the occupations pursued by them and Śrī Kṛṣṇa had questioned the correctness of that interpretation, put a different one on entering into a scientific investigation as to the correctness of

the former and tried to establish that the pursuit of a higher ideal than that of the Vedavādins was not inconsistent with adherence to the established social order and the discharge of one's social duties. Though differing amongst themselves, all these schools agreed in paying respect to the Vedas, believing in the existence of a soul distinct from and surviving what is popularly called death and going to heaven or hell according to Karma and in differing from the men of the Āsuri Sampat described in Ch. XVI of the *Gītā* who were the followers of the Dehātmavāda of the school of Virocana referred to in Chā. Upa. VIII. 7-8.

12. It is quite possible that these views of the later schools had been embodied in works composed by their Votaries that some such new ones were being composed and that some of them may besides the then extant Upaniṣads have been drawn upon by the author of the *Gītā* because we find a number of works embodying such views referred to in others which are still extant. Such works for instance are :- (1) *One work* said to have been composed *by Citraśikhaṇḍī*, which is the joint name of the Saptarṣis for expounding the doctrines of the Sāmkhya and Yoga schools and the creeds of the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite religions, all in their primitive forms,[*] (2) a Tyāgaśāstra called *Samyogavadha* composed for the Brahmaṇas of the Bhāllavī Śākhā,[†] (3) a *Harigītā* which though appearing from its name to be another name of the *Bhagavadgītā* was, in fact, a distinct work narrating the exploits of one Hari who had long preceded Kṛṣṇa and even Yadu,[‡] (4) a *Sātavata Samhitā* compiled by Vyāsa and taught to Śuka which was perhaps the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* in its original form,[$] (5) a *Viṣṇugīta* said to have been learnt by Kṛṣṇa during his sojourn in Aṅgadeśa,[||] (6) *a work in Prakṛit* called *Vasudevahiṇḍī* relied on by Hemacandra for his work on the lives of 63 eminent men,[¶] (7) *another work in Prākṛt* relied on by Jinasena for his *Harivamśa Purāṇa* [♆] and (8) a work on the *Yogaśāstra by* one *Hiraṇyagarbha*, said to be the earliest work of the Yoga system.[§] There is also a recorded tradition of Kṛṣṇa having gone to the Himālayas and learnt from the sage Upamanyu the doctrine of the Sāṃkhya-yoga and the method of propitiation of Śiva.[@] Hemacandra too has recorded that King Padmanābha, who was ruling over the Dhātakikhaṇḍa, an island accessible through the mouths

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[*] Mbh. XII-3, 163, 27-37.

[†] Op. Cit. XII-3-46, 16-20.

[‡] Op. Cit. XII.-3.-174.-11.

[$] Bhā. Pu. I. 7. 6.

[||] Jinasena, Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, Chapter XIX (Bom. edn., pp. 289-310).

[¶] Introduction to Sthavirāvalīcarita by Jacobi (Bibliotheca Indica. Vol. 96) p. VIII.

[♆] Bh. Sit. Ch. I (Bom. Edn.)

[§] Vācaspati's gloss on Vyāsa's Bhāṣya on Y. S. I-1.

[@] Mbh. XIII. 14-15.

of the Ganges in the south east was a devotee of Vāsudeva in the form of the sage Kapila.* All these are works which must have preceded the composition of the scientific works of the orthodox and heterodox systems of philosophy in the Sūtra form. Nos. 3 to 7 were definitely related to the Vaiṣṇavaite cult which preceded the Bhāgavata religion. I propose to consider the question of their chronological precedence on sequence vis-a-vis the *Bhagavadgītā* on a future occasion.

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* Triṣaṣṭhi-Śalākā-puruṣa-Carita VIII-10.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANIṢADS

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[The following abbreviations are used in this article–V for Veda, U for Upaniṣads, I tor Iśa, Ke for Kena, Ka for Kaṭha, P for Praśna, Mu for Muṇḍaka, Mā for Mānḍūkya, Tai for Taittiriya, Ch for Chāndogya, B for Bṛhadāraṇyaka. G for Bhagavadgītā, *Bra Su* for Brahma Sūtras.]

The ultimate aim of life is the attainment of emancipation through the knowledge of Brahman.

तमेव विदित्वाऽतिमृत्युमेति नान्यः पन्थाः विद्यतेऽयनाय ।

Śwetaśwataropaniṣad

" By knowing Him, one can go beyond death. There is no other means of attaining emancipation." Knowledge is of two kinds, direct and indirect. Indirect knowledge is such as one can attain by reading a book or hearing one speak. We have all either read in the books or heard from religious persons that there is an Almighty, All-knowing God. The knowledge about God which we derive in this way is not sufficient to ensure emancipation. We have to perceive God directly. As an example of direct perception we might mention the experience of Rāmakṛṣna Paramahamsa. Vivekānanda who was at first an atheist used to ask religious preachers "Have yau seen God ?" To this they could not give a satisfactory reply. When he met Rāmakṛṣna Paramahamsa for the first time he put the same question. "Sir, you are speaking lots about God. But have you seen Him ?" And, Rāmakṛṣna replied, " Oh yes, I have seen Him and spoken to Him, even as I am seeing you and speaking to you. " It is this sort of direct experience of God which is necessary for emancipation.

But, it may be asked, how can one see Brahman ? He has no form or sound. Words cannot describe Him. Even the mind cannot think of Him.

न तत्र चक्षुर्गच्छति न वाग्गच्छति नो मनः । (Ke U 1-3)

" The eye does not go there, nor word nor mind. "

यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह ।

" Whence words return along with mind without attaining Him. "

Although Brahman cannot be perceived by the eye, the ear or other organ of knowledge, He can be perceived by the concentrated mind.

एष सर्वेषु भूतेषु गूढोत्मा न प्रकाशते ।
दृश्यते त्वग्र्या बुद्धया सूक्ष्मया सूक्ष्मदर्शिभिः ॥ Ka U. 1-3-12

" He lies hidden in all beings and does not manifest Himself. But He can be seen by the concentrated intelligence of those who are accustomed to see fine objects."

If we rely on our own power we cannot perceive Him. But if we succeed in obtaining His Grace we can perceive Him.

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वाम् । Ka U 1-2-22

" Brahman cannot be attained by fine speeches, by the capacity to learn, by vast erudition. He can be attained by one who is selected by Him. To such a person He reveals his own self." (This is how Rāmānuja School explains the verse. *)*

In order that we may attain His Grace we have to worship Him.

तद्वनमित्युपासितव्यम् ॥ Ke U 4-6

we have to think of Him in every moment of our life.

प्रतिबोधविदितं मतममृतत्वं हि विन्दते । Ke U 2-4

In order to "See" Brahman we have first to hear about Brahman from competent teachers, then to think about Him and finally to be wrapt in steadfast meditation about Him.

आत्मा वा अरे द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः ॥ Bṛ U 4-5-6

Explaining the term निदिध्यासन or ध्यान Rāmānuja says it is like a continuous flow of oil, where there is no gap between the drops (तैलधारावदविच्छिन्नप्रवाहः— श्रीभाष्य 1,1, 1 *)*. Explaining the same word Śankara says that one should be lost in contemplation of Brahman even as a devoted wife is lost in contemplation of her husband gone to a foreign place *(*Bṛ. Su. 4-1-1 *)*.

The obstacles in the path of continuous and uninterrupted contemplation of Brahman are our own desires and prejudices which are the result of improper acts done by us in this life or in previous lives. To purify the mind (i. e. to remove improper desires and prejudices) it is nscessary to perform acts. Our minds have become impure by perfoming evil acts. This disease can be cured by performing good acts. That is why the Bhagavadgītā says that the yogis perform acts without attachment in order to purify themselves.

योगिनः कर्म कुर्वन्ति सङ्गं त्यक्त्वात्मशुद्धये । G. 5-11

Again the Gita says that sacrifices, gifts and austerities purify the mind.

यज्ञो दानं तपश्चैव पावनानि मनीषिणाम् । G. 18-4

That is why we find that all the principal Upaniṣads insist on the performance of acts. We quote some passages below :

कुर्वन्नेवेह कर्माणि जिजीविषेच्छतं समाः । (I U 2)

"One should desire to live a hundred years performing acts (all his life)."

तस्यै तपो दमः कर्मेति प्रतिष्ठा । (Ke U 4-8)

"Austerities, self-control and good acts are the basis of the Upaniṣads."

In the Kaṭhopaniṣad we find that Yama first teaches Naciketa how to perform sacrifices and then imparts to him the knowledge of Brahman. The implication is that one has first to purify one's mind by the performance of Vedic acts before one can aspire for the attainment of Brahman.

The Muṇḍakopaniṣad contains a passage from which one may wrongly conclude that the Upaniṣads condemn Vedic sacrifices. The passage is quoted below,

प्लवा ह्येते अदृढा यज्ञरूपा
अष्टादशोक्तमवरं येषु कर्म ।
एतच्छ्रेयो येऽभिनन्दन्ति मूढा
जरामृत्युं ते पुनरेवापि यन्ति ॥ Mu U 1-2-7

" These Vedic sacrifices in which there are 18 parts are like frail crafts. Those who consider them as superior are unwise. They again and again fall victim to old age and death ."

The idea is that Vedic sacrifices are not by themselves capable of ensuring salvation. As stated in the Vedas, a man by perfoming Vedic sacrifices can attain heaven. But he cannot remain there for ever. When his store of merits is exhausted, he falls down from heaven and death. That is why the Mu. U. says that sacrifices are like frail crafts. Frail crafts enable us to go a little distance into the sea, but with their help we cannot cross the ocean. So Vedic sacrifices enable us to avoid the miseries of life for some time (during our residence in heaven) but they do not ensure emancipation. It should also be observed that while, if sacrifices are performed with the desire of attaining heaven, one can attain heaven, on the other hand if sacrifices are performed without any desire, merely as duty enjoined by the Vedas, they purify the mind of the peformer and render it fit for realizing Brahman. The performance of sacrifices involves a course of self discipline. One has to fast, spend money freely, utter long Vedic passages correctly, think about the meaning of those passages, contemplate on the forms of the deities. This is the celebrated doctrine of Niṣkāma Karma which has been so beautifully elucidated in the Bhagavadgītā. But the germ of this doctrine (as of all the doctrines in the Bhagavadgītā) is to be found in the Upaniṣads. Thus we find in the Upaniṣads—

तमेतं वेदानुवचनेन ब्राह्मणाः विविदिषन्ति यज्ञेन दानेन तपसाऽनाशकेन । (Bṛ. U 4-4-22)

" The Brāhmanas desire to attain thīs Brahman by means of sacrifices, gifts and austerities, performed without attachment ".

The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad says

तान्याचरथ नियतं सत्यकामाः । Mu U 1-2-1

" You should try constantly to perform Vedic sacrifices being *Satyakāma*" Ramanuja explains the word *Satyakāma* as one having the desire to attain *Satya* (i. e. Brahman) and says that this passage insists on the performance of sacrifices without the desire of attaining heaven, because by performing sacrifices in that way one can purify one's mind and render it fit to realize Brahman. So the desire should be, not heaven but Brahman, who is the only ultimate truth in the universe. It must be admitted that the Mu. U which in the beginning of the 2nd part of the 1st Muṇḍaka enjoins on the performance of sacrifices (तान्याचरथ नियतं सत्यकामाः Mu U 1-2-1) cannot in the passage (प्लवाह्येतेऽदृढा यज्ञरूपाः Mu U 1-2-7) which occurs in the same part of the same Muṇḍaka lay down that sacrifices should not be performed.

We have already quoted passages from the Īsa, Kena, Kaṭha, Muṇḍaka and Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads which lay down that "acts" or Vedic sacrifices should be performed. We shall now quote passages from the Taittiriya and the Chāndogya. The Tai U says धर्मं चर (Ta U 1-11-1). Again it says देवपितृकार्याभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् Ta U 1-11-2) That is to say, one should perform *dharma*, and should not neglect the duties towards *devas* and *pitṛs*. The duty to the *devas* is discharged by performing Vedic sacrifices. The duty to the *pitṛs* is discharged by performing *Śrāddha* and *tarpaṇa*. Commenting on the passage धर्मं चर quoted above Śankarā cārya says,

प्राग् ब्रह्मात्मप्रतिबोधान्नियमेन अनुष्ठेयानि श्रौतस्मार्तकर्माणि ।

" So long as one does not realize one's identity with Brahman one should carefully perform the acts laid down in the Śrutis and Smṛtis." This is in accordance with the Bhagavadgītā which says that in determining which acts should be performed and which rot, one should take the Śāstras (i. e.. Śrutis and Smṛtis) as the authority.

तस्माच्छास्त्रं प्रमाणं ते कार्याकार्यव्यवस्थितौ । G. 16-24

The Chāndogyopaniṣad says—

त्रयो धर्मस्कन्धाः यज्ञोऽध्ययनं दानमिति प्रथमः । Ch U 2-23-1

"There are three parts of *dharma*. The first part consists of Vedic sacrifices, Vedic study and Gifts".

We have thus quoted passages from practically all the principal Upaniṣads clearly enjoining the performance of acts and sacrifices. If any passage in an Upaniṣad appears to discourage the performance of Vedic sacrifices it must be admitted that its true, underlying meaning is not what appears on the surface. We have already quoted a passage from the Mu U which is liable to to be misunderstood as discouraging the performance of Vedic sacrifices. We shall quote two more passages below.

In one passage of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad it has been stated that those who perform sacrifices are like beasts to the gods, from which statement some scholars have concluded that Upaniṣads look down upon sacrifices.

यथापशुरेवं स देवानाम् (Bṛ U 1-4-10)

But such is not the intention of this passage. The entire passage means that just as beasts are useful to men, so those who perform sacrifices are useful to the gods to whom they make various offers; if a man attains emancipation he ceases to perform sacrifices, the gods lose his services, hence the gods do not like that men should attain emancipation. In the face of other passages of the Upaniṣads quoted above (including a passage from this Bṛ. U itself) containing clear injunctions that sacrifices should be performed, it cannot be inferred from this passage that sacrifices should not be performed. After a man attains emancipation he ceases to perform sacrifices to the gods. But before he attains emancipation he should perform sacrifices as has been clearly stated in the other passages.

In the Chāndogya Upaniṣad it is stated (Ch. U 1-12-2) that a sage went out to study the Vedas. He saw that some dogs approached a white dog and begged for food. Some scholars have referred to it as the canine song and have held that it shows that the wise men of the Upaniṣads looked down upon ritualistic Vedas. All this is pure fancy. According to the Upaniṣads the universe is the manifestation of supreme Brahman. From this point of view no animal can be looked down upon as a mean object. Among the incarnations of the Supreme Being there are a boar and a tortoise. There is an incranation with the face of a horse (हयग्रीव), Ganesh worshipped by Hindus of all sects had the face of an elephent. Hanumān the monkeygod is also worshipped by Hindus. There is thus nothing revolting in minor gods or sages appearing in the form of dogs (as stated by Śankara in his commentary of the above passage). The upaniṣads, instead of looking down upon the Mantra portion of the Vedas, have held them in the highest regard. Thus we find that the upaniṣads, after making a statement, quote, as an authority in support of the statement, a passage from the Mantra portion of the Vedas (तदेतदृचाऽभ्युक्तं).

It is very strange that in the face of clear statements in all the principal Upaniṣads enjoining on the performance of sacrifices, modern scholars have, on the strength of passages like the above, made the illogical inference that the Upaniṣads have condemned Vedic sacrifices. It seems that they start with prejudice against sacrifices, overlook the passages clearly supporting them and try to find out what passages they can get which by some stretch of logic seem to support their pet theory. The importance of the question arises from the fact that the Vedas form the basis of Hinduism. The Hindus regard the Vedas as revealed and beyond the possibility of mistakes. If, as stated by the western scholars, one portion of the Vedas (viz. the Upaniṣads) condemn another portion (viz. the karmakāṇḍa) the Vedas become mutually contradictory and can never be wholly true. The students of the modern Indian universities derive their knowledge of the Vedas not from the writings of saintly scholars like Sāyaṇa, Śankara and Rāmānuja who devoted their lives for the realization of Vedic truths, but from the writings of these western scholars. The modern Indian students thus learn that the Vedas are self-contradictory and to a large extent the composition of ignorant and superstitious persons. The students thus lose faith in their own religion and their learning and intelligence mostly run to waste.

I shall quote below some passages from prominent western scholars who have stated the wrong doctrine that the Upaniṣads have condemned Vedic sacrifices.

Macdonell writes, "Though the Upaniṣads form a part of the Brāhmaṇas they really represent a new religion which is in *virtual opposition* to the ritual or practical side." (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 215).

Winternitz writes, " while the Brahmins were pursuing their barren sacrificial science other circles were engaged upon those highest questions which were at last treated so admirably in the Upaniṣads." (History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 237.).

Garbe writes that "the Brahmin priest is proficient only at excogitating sacrifice after sacrifice and hairsplitting definitions and explanations of senseless ritualistic haucus pacus All atonce lofty thought appears on the scene. ... A passionate desire to solve the riddle of the universe and its relation to one's own self holds the mind captive!"

Hartel writes that the Kṣatriyas, unable to believe in the Vedic gods, substituted instead the idea of nature powers. (It may be observed that practically all the Upaniṣads confirm the existence of Vedic gods without whose existence the Vedic sacrifices become meaningless.)

Max Muller writes, " In these Upaniṣads the whole ritual or sacrificial system of the Vedas is not only ignored but directly rejected as useless, nay as mischievous. The ancient gods of the Vedas are no longer recognised. " (Origin of Vedānta, p. 16.)

Deussen writes, " The Ātman doctrine is *fundamentally opposed* to the Vedic cult of the gods and the Brahminical system of the ritual. " (Religion and Philosophy, p. 21).

Dr. Robert Ernest Hume writes, " The whole religious doctrine of different gods and of the necessity of sacrificing to the gods is seen to be a stupendous fraud by the man who has acquired metaphysical knowledge of the monistic unity of the self and of the world in Brahman or ātmā ". (The 13 Principal Upaniṣads, p. 53)

After all this sorry exhibition of ignorance of the fundamental questions the European boast of superior power to interpret the Vedas will appear highly amusing.

Macdonell writes, " The sole aim being attainment of truth it is a positive advantage that the translators of these ancient sacred books should be outsiders rather than native custodians of such writings. The latter could not escape from religious bias, an orthodox Brahmin could not possibly do so. " (Bhandarkar Commemorative volume)

The modern Indian scholars who have received western education should have pointed out the mistakes made by the western scholars in thinking that the Upaniṣads do not believe in the existence of minor deities or in the efficacy of Vedic sacrifices. Instead of doing so they have generally repeated the mistakes made by their western Gurus.

Mr. Hirianna, Mysore University, writes, " The Upaniṣads primarily represent a spirit different from and even hostile to ritual and embody a theory of the universe quite distinct from the one that underlies the sacrificial teaching of the Brāhmanas. " (Indian Philosophy p. 48.)

Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, Calcutta University, writes, " The Upaniṣads are an entirely different type from the rest of the Vedic literature as indicating the path of knowledge (jñānamārga) as *opposed* to the path of work (karmamārga). ...The Upaniṣads do not require the performance of any action but only reveal the ultimate truth and reality. " (History of Indian Philosophy, p. 28).

Prof. R. D. Ranade (Allahabad university) writes, " The spirit of the Upaniṣads is on the other hand, barring a few exceptions here and there, entirely antagonistic to the sacrificial doctrine of the Brāhmaṇas." (Constructive Survey of Upaniṣadic Philosophy, p. 6.)

Sir S. Radhakrishnan writes regarding the origin of the Upaniṣads, "Men sat down to doubt the gods they ignorantly worshipped and reflected on the myseries of life. ... From primitive polytheism to systematic philosophy it is a long, long way." (Indian Philosophy, p. 71–72)

Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji (Lucknow University) writes, "Indeed the Upaniṣads really expound a new religion which is opposed to the sacrificial ceremonial." (Hindu Civilisation, p. 118)

We are told that India is about to throw off foreign domination in her political life. It is high time that India should also throw off foreign domination in her cultural life and should realize her own culture as it really was and not as it is represented to us by the western scholars.

THE ANALYSIS OF THE PSYCHE IN THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY AND YOGA PHILOSOPHY

Dr. **C. D. Deshmukh,** Amraoti.

Human mind is continuously confronted with disharmony and conflict, either bacause of an *internal clash* between two psychic tendencies or because of its clash *with external* environment. But at the same time, there is in it, an inherent tendency to restore to itself the lost harmony, through some method or the other. In the extreme cases of failure in the attainment of working harmony in psychic functions, there is a tendency for disintegration of the mind or *psychic segregation*, in which the mental contents of the processes, which are generally comprehended within one unity of consciousness, get dissociated and separated from each other. These are unfortunate abnormal cases of varying degrees of insanity, which have received much discussion and attention in the Psycho-therapy of modern Psycho-analytical Schools.

Yoga philosophy, which is based upon Sānkhya Metaphysics, also has devoted special attention to the question of mental disharmony and attainment of poise. The diverse forms of consciousness (good or bad) and their varying predominance and mutual tension are attributed by Sānkhya Yoga to the inequality in strength of three *mento reals*, which are the primary constituents of the Psyche.* These three constituents of the *Psyche* are described as the three Guṇas, namely Satva, Rajas, and Tamas; and their specific nature and functions have been very carefully and analytically described. In this connection the two important Karikas are No. 12 and No. 13 from Ishwarkriṣna's compilation of Sānkhya Sūtras.

Karika No. 12 states that 'Constituents are of the nature of pleasure, pain, and indifference; they serve to illuminate, to actuate and to restrain each of these functions through suppression, co-operation, transformation, and intimate intercourse with and by the rest.'† Karika No. 12 gives the specific function of each of these *Gunas* or *mento-reals*. 'Satva alone is considered to be buoyant and illuminating, Rajas (alone) to be stimulating and mobile, Tamas (alone) is heavy and enveloping; their functioning for the goal (of the spirit) is like (the action of) a lamp.'*

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* गुणवैषम्यविमर्दात् । (सांख्यकारिका by ईश्वरकृष्ण 46).
गुणपरिणामविशेषात् नानात्वम् । (27).

† प्रीत्यप्रीतिविषादात्मकाः प्रकाशप्रवृत्तिनियमार्थाः ।
अन्योन्याभिभवाश्रयजननमिथुनवृत्तयश्च गुणाः ॥१२॥

The analogy of the lamp is elaborated by commentators by comparing the co-operative functioning of three factors in the lamp viz. the wick, the oil and the flame,† which, in spite of their disparity of nature, can together produce light. The *Gunas* however can really contribute to psychic poise and self-realisation, only when there is perfect equilibrium between them.‡ Otherwise, there is internal conflict and disharmony of varying degrees of intensity.

It is also extremely important to note that *in the Sānkhya-Yoga analysis of the Psyche, the ultimate constituents of the mind are also regarded as being the ultimate constituents of the material world or Nature. This identification* eschews all the difficulties concerning the interaction between mind and body, with which modern psychology is confronted and which remain a standing challenge to it. It reveals a depth of metaphysical insight, for which one looks invain in the Paycho-analytical schools. *No theory of Psychotherapy can accept the dualism of mind and matter as ultimate and Sānkhya-Yoga analysis in this connection is far ahead of most modern Schools of Psychology.*

As contrasted with the diagnosis of mental conflict accepted by Yoga, we have the modern Paycho-analytical schools, which tend to fasten upon some primary and universal complexes, like the ego-complex, the herd-complex and the sex-complex, which seek diverse types of expression and enter into different types of interactions with each other. But, *it is obvious that none of these complexes can be treated as primary or irreducible constituents of the Psyche, though this might be said to be the trend of Psycho-analytical Schools.*

While summarising the latest trend of the New Psychology, A. G. Tansley has followed in the line with Dr. McDougall, and has suggested that inherited instincts of man form the basis, on which the mental activity is built up, and that as a result of the working of these instincts on the experiences presented to the mind, mental complexes are brought into being, which determine the form of the further working of the instincts, and, indeed, nearly the whole life of the mind. So, there is a tendency to go behind the complexes and attribute them to some deeper instinctive urge. There is also a tendency to take note of the diversity in expression with regard to the same complexes, arising out of its coming into relation with different instincts. For example, the ego-complex has diverse expressions, according to the manner, in which it comes to be operated bv any one or more of instincts, like pugnacity, curiosity, self-assertion (construction, feeding and acquisition), and self-abasement (repulsion and flight). So, the critical analysis of the New Psychology, which proceeds on the basis of given complexes, reveals that *these complexes are neither simple in constitution nor primary in origin.* If the analysis of the Psychic factors is carried further, it will lead us even behind the instinctive urges and compel us to accept the kind of *mento-reals (Guṇas),* as accepted by the Psychology of Yoga Philosophy.

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* सत्त्वं खलु प्रकाशकमिष्टम्, उपष्टम्भकं चलं च रजः ।
गुरुवरणमकेव तमः प्रदीपवच्चार्थतो वृत्तिः ॥१३॥

† तैलाग्निवर्तिवत् ।

‡ In Yoga, equilibrium does not mean mathematical or quantitative equality. सत्त्वपुरुषयोः शुद्धिसाम्ये कैवल्यमिति । (Patanjali. 3. 55). The Yoga concept, which is unique, needs fresh investigation.

There is another important difference between Yoga Psychology and the New Psychology. The New Psychology has emphasized the existence and the working of the Un-conscious mind. But there is no doubt that the *concept of the un-conscious mind is implied in the different theories of the working of the mind, which form integral parts of the exposition in Yoga philosophy.* The different modifications of the mind (*Vṛttis*) are all attributed by Yoga to the Samskāras or mental dispositions, which necessarily must have a repository, which is of the nature of the unconscious mind. But, at the same time, the *Yoga Philosophy has steered clear of the hard and fast distinctions between the unconscious mind and the conscious mind and has not shown any tendency to bisect the mind into two unbridgable compartments.*

It should be noted that even the Psycho-analytical schools have recognized actions and interactions between the un-conscious and the conscious mind, and the possibility of the transition from the compartment of the Psyche to another, though the two compartments are all-the-while treated as being completely separate and distinct from each other. Further, *the distinction between the unconscious and the subconscious mind is dubious and vague.*

The compartmental conception of the Psyche has received a challenge from within the Psycho-analytical schools themselves from writers like Dr. Varendonck, who has invited attention to mental processes *of autistic thinking*[*] like day-dreaming, mind-wandering, and crystal-gazing, which have got most of the essential characteristics of recognised sub-conscious processes like dreams, inspite of the fact that they are parts of wakeful consciousness. Analysis of

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[1] **Bleuler's 'autistic thinking' is to be contrasted with 'realistic thinking.'**

mental processes of this type provides a bridge between subconscious and conscious mind. It not only emphasises some essential points of similarity in their mode of functioning, but also brings out the *continuity in the existence of conscious and sub-conscious mind.* So, Yoga Psychology has in a way showed deeper and more comprehensive insight into the constitution of the Psyche, by refusing to accept the purely working concept of the conscious and unconscious mind and by *treating the entire Psyche as one entity.*

Thus Yoga Psychology has deeper and clearer analysis of the ultimate ingredients of the Psyche and also a more comprehensive insight into the continuous constitution of the Psyche. The elements of identity and homogeneity in the psyche as well as the elements of diversity and heterogeneity have both received more throughgoing and logical treatment in the Yoga philosophy than in the analytical schools of the New Psychology. The result is that Yoga has a creative technique, which is able to suggest *more effective methods of arriving at Psychic equilibrium* than those which have been suggested by any of the Modern Psycho-Analytical Schools.

Section : Pali and Bnddhism

Presidential Address

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Fellow workers,

My first duty is to thank you most sincerely for the honour you have shown me, by calling upon me to perside over the deliberations of this section of the Oriental Conference. It it usual on such occasions to review the work done in the past. For me this task has been rendered very simple for two reasons. The last President of this section, Dr. P. V. Bapat has given an excellent and exhaustive review of the Pali and Buddhistic researches done since 1918. Besides, during the last three years additions to our knowledge of Buddhism have been very few on account of the abnormal conditions still prevailing in the world. Of the recent publications, the most noteworthy are some of the interesting etymological notes of Dr. Bapat, an authorised translation of Geiger's Pali Grammar by Dr. B. K. Ghosh, a sumptuous volume on *Early Monastic Buddhism* by Dr. N. Dutt, two volumes of the Gilgit Mss. in the Kashmir Sanskrit Series edited by Dr. N. Dutt, two volumes of English translation of Sutta—vibhaṅga by Horner, and a recent study on Aśvaghoṣa by Dr. B. C. Law. Three volumes of Indo-Tibetica by G. Tucci containing the results of his explorations of Buddhist antiquities in the Gyan-tse region, although published in Rome in 1941, have also been recently released. They are like his previous volumes in the same series, monuments to his erudition in Tibetan antiquities and Buddhistic lore.

It might be of interest to you to know that the Viśva-Bhārati with the help of the ministry of Education of the National Government of China has recently inaugurated a scheme of Sino-Indian Cultural Studies by which the cause of Buddhistic researches is likely to be advanced. Under this scheme Dr. Bapat has completed his translation of the *Arthavargīya-sūtras* from Chinese and its comparison with Pali *Aṭṭhakavagga*. He is at present engaged in making a comparative study of the *Sāmantapāsādikā* and its Chinese translation. These studies will throw considerable light on the original state of the Aṭṭhakavagga. and Sāmantapāsādikā. One of our colleagues, Mr. P. Pradhan has undertaken the work of translation of the *Vinayapiṭaka of the Dharmaguptaka school* from Chinese. He is also working upon a Mahāyāna text of Buddhist Psychology, the *Adhidharmasamuccaya* of Asaṅga of which the original manuscript was discovered some years ago by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, and is now preserved in Bihar Research Society Collection. Pandit Ayyaswami Śāstrī has rendered in Sanskrit a Buddhist work on logic, the *Karatalaratna* of Bhāvaviveka from its Chinese translation. He is at present engaged in translating into Sanskrit an important work of Sautrāntika philosophy, the *Tattvasiddhi of Harivarman* from its Chinese translation. In this connection I am glad to inform you that we have been able to secure the collaboration of the Bihar Research Society to work upon the valuable collection of Buddhist manuscripts of Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana and it is expected that some of the texts which are being edited will be accessible to you in course of a year or two.

I propose today to deal with some of the fundamentul problems of the origin of Buddhism and its canonical literature. No systematic attention has been so long paid to them although much intensive work has been done on various aspects of Buddhism. They include the problem of the relation of Pali to Buddhism. You will excuse me for not concealing my sense of emabarassment in having to deal with both Pali and Buddhism in the same section. There is no doubt that all that is Pali is Buddhism, but it should also be remembered that all that is Buddhism is not Pali. This applies not merely to the later phases in the development of Buddhism but also to its earlier phases. It is therefore necessary to go into the origins of the Buddhist canon, if we want to determine the true relation of Pali to Buddhism.

On the language of ancient Buddhist canon, a wellknown Tibetan tradition says that the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda had their works in Sanskrit, the Mahāsāṅghika in Prakrit, the Mahāsammatiya in Apabhraṃśa and the Sthavira in Paiśācī. The tradition is partially confirmed by the actual finds of literature of various schools. We now definitely know that the Mūlasarvāstivāda had it books in Sanskrit. Certain portions of the Vinayapiṭaka of this school constitute Divyāvadāna. Besides, a considerable portion of this Vinayapiṭaka was discovered a few years ago in Gilgit. It is already in course of publication. The Sanskrit in which it is written is fairly pure and should be distinguished from the so-called "Mixed Sanskrit". We also know that the Sarvāstivāda school used a correct Sanskrit for its literature. This is demonstrated by the fragments of its literature brought from Afganistan and Central Asia. This school possessed a full-fledged Tripiṭaka consisting of a *Sūtrapiṭaka* with four Āgamas the Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta and Ekottara, a *Vinayapiṭaka* and an *Abhidharmapiṭaka*. A complete translation of this literature may be found in Chinese but we get a fairly correct idea of their original from fragments of literature discovered in course of Archaeological explorations in Central Asia. The complete *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* of this school was discovered in Kucha, the fragments of Vinaya and of various texts of the Sūtrapiṭaka in other parts of Central Asia and a fragment of one of the Abhidharma texts the *Saṅgītiparyāya* at Bamiyan in Afganistan.

Nothing is definitely known about the language used by the Mahāsāṅghika school. The Vinayapiṭaka of this school has been preserved in a Chinese translation of the beginning of the 5th century, but its translators, Buddhabhadra and Fa-hien, say nothing of the original language of the text. According to the Tibetan tradition, we have seen, the language used by this school was Prakrit. The same tradition further says that two sects of this school the Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila, had the Prajñāpāramitā and other sūtras written in Prakrit language. We know that another sect of the Mahāsāṅghika school, the Lokottaravāda, had their Vinayapiṭaka, which is the *Mahāvastu* written in what is called "Mixed Sanskrit". This Mixed Sanskrit is not, as Prof. Jules Bloch has said, an incorrect Sanskrit but represents rather an ill regulated effort to give a literary form to a local language. So the basis of " Mixed Sanskrit " was also Prakrit. It is therefore quite likely that the Mahāsāṅghikas also used a Prakrit as vehicle of their canon. It may also be pointed out in this connection that the Chinese translators systematically transcribe the name of the school as well as of its Vinaya as *Mo-ho-seng-k'i* which according to the old pronunction of Chinese may be correctly restored as *Mahāsaṇghīya.* This was not a Sanskrit name but Prakrit.

Two other schools, the Dharmaguptaka and the Mahīśāsaka, have their Vinayapiṭakas preserved in Chinese translation. Nothing is known of the original language used by these two schools. The two names are transcribed in Chinese as *T'an-wu-to* and *Mi-sha-sai* which in old pronunciation were *Dhammauttak* and *Maisāsak.* It is just probable that these two schools also used some Prakrit for their canon but it is impossible to know their affiliations. Vasumitra in his 'History of Buddhist schools' tells us that they were branches of the Sarvāstivāda school. They seem to have been popular in certain localities in North-Western India. Even in the time of Hiuan-tsang the Vinayapiṭakas of these two schools were current in Uḍḍiyāna or Swat valley.

In this connection it is tempting to consider the language of the Dhammapada written in Kharoṣṭhi script of which fragments were discovered in the region of Khotan. It is not known to which school the text belonged, but there is no doubt that it is old and goes back to the first century B. C. or near about. The language of this text has striking similarities with the Prakrit of Kharoṣṭhi documents brought from Eastern Turkeṣtan. Its linguistic peculiarites show similarities with the Western Punjabi and the speeches of the hill tracts of the

North-West. It is in many respects dissimilar to the traditional Paiśācī, which is usually located in the Punjab. Contrary to the characteristics of Paiśācī, the language of this Dhammapada has : a surd following a nasal changing into sonant (*alagido*, *paga*, *saga'i* etc.), a sonant following a nasal losing its articulation (*paga*, *athagi'o*, *saga...*) and a nasal group with a sonant cerebral being reduced to a nasal (*kuṇala*, *daṇa...*). It is not improbable that one of the two schools, the Mahīśāsaka or the Dharmaguptaka had adopted this Prakrit for their scripture.

The Tibetan tradition says that the Sthavira school adopted the Paiśācī language as the vehicle or their canon. But was this Sthavira school the same as the Theravāda of Pali ? In that case Paiśācī would be the same as Pali. This question has been exhaustively debated upon and it has been clearly demonstrated that Pali is not Paiśācī. It must be however admitted that a number of Paiśācī characteristics is *sporadically* found in Pali. The most important of them is the representation of a sonant by surd:

g>k	aguru>akalu
gh>kh	parigha>palikha
j>c	pājeti>pāceti
d>t	kusīda>kusīta
dh>th	upadheya>upatheyya
v, b>p	sāva>chāpa, praḷāva>palāpa

But these are only isolated cases in Pali and do not represent the rule. In many of these cases, there are regular Pali forms by the side of the Paiśācī words. So they have been explained by Geiger as dialectal variations.

If Pali is not Paiśācī, then Theravāda of Pali is not the same as ancient Sthaviravāde, as believed so long. There is again no positive information to contradict the Tibetan tradition which says that the Sthaviravāda used the Paiśācī for their scriptures. There are various theories on the localisation of Paiśācī. Grierson identified it with the ancient speech of the North-West on the ground that some of the striking characteristics of Paiśācī are still found in the Dardic dialects. They are also found in the Shahbazgarhi version of Asokan edict. Prof. Lacote who made a special study of the problem, is in gereral agreement with Grierson's theory. He would find in it an Aryan dialect of the North-West as spoken by non-Aryan people. One of the principal varieties of Paiśācī was *Cūlika Paiśācī* which is also called *Śūlika Piaśācī*. I tried to prove, a few years ago, that this was a variety of Paiśācī as spoken by the Śūlikas or Sogdian immigrants of the Punjab.

There is an interesting information on the localisation of Paiśācī in the Chinese translation of a Buddhist text. The *Chu king yao tsi*, a compilation of the 7th cent, consists of extensive quotations from older Chinese translation of Buddhist texts some of which are now lost. In chapter III, it quotes from a text called *Fo san mei king–Buddhasamādhi-sūtra.* The original translation is lost, but in all probability it belonged to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. The text says : In Takṣaśilā there were 36 lakhs of houses and the peoples of the kingdom spoke the Piśāca language. It therefore seems that Western Punjab was the region where we should place the ancient Paiśācī Prakrit.

The ancient Chinese Catalogues of the translations of Buddhist texts tell us that one chapter of the Vinaya of the Sthaviravāda school was translated at Nanking between 483 and 486 A. D. by an Indian monk named Mahayana, but the translation was later lost. The name of the Vinaya text is given in Chinese as *T'a-pi-li liu* i. e. T'a-pi-li vinaya.. The name T'a-pi-li is explained in a Chinese note as *siu-to* – old, venerable, i. e. 'Sthavira'. But according to the strict rules of old pronunciation the Chinese name can be restored either as *Thaviri* or *Thavili* but not as *Thera.* This is then not the Pali name, but an older form of the word.

The Sthaviravāda as mentioned by Hiuan-tsang in the 7th century was not again the Pali Theravāda as we understand it now. The pilgrim was very careful in noticing the names of schools to which the Buddhist monks of a particular locality belonged. While speaking of the Mahābodhi Saṅghārāma which was built by a former king of Ceylon, the pilgrim tells us that it was inhabited by more than 1000 ecclesiastics who were all Mahāyānists of the Sthavira school. This monastery, we know, was founded by king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon with the permission of Samudragupta for the residence of Ceylonese monks. In Samataṭa, Kaliṅga and Surāṣṭra, he met with only one kind of followers of the Sthavira school namely the Mahayanists. In the Drāviḍa country, there were in his times, more than 10000 monks who belonged to the same kind of Sthavira school. At Kāñcipura the pilgrim met 300 Bhikṣus who had just arrived from Ceylon. From the conversation which took place between them, it appears that *Yogaśāstras* then formed a part of the Sthaviravāda canon as current in Ceylon. Hiuan-tsang had not been to Ceylon. The information which he records on the condition of Buddhism in that country must have been gathered by him from the Ceylonese monks in India. It throws a considerable light on the condition of Ceylonese Theravāda of those days. Hiuan-tsang says that two hundred years after Mahinda who first introduced Buddhism in Ceylon, two schools arose in that country : one was the Mahāvihāra which rejected the Mahāyāna and the other was the Abhayagiri which embraced both the vehicles. Therefore the Sthaviravāda which Hiuan-tsang found in different parts of India was one of the Abhayagiri type and the Sthaviravāda canon which included the Yogaśāstras was the canon of the Abhayagiri. In the eyes of Hiuan-tsang that was the only legitimate Buddhist canon of Ceylon.

We know that the contest for power that went for several centuries in Ceylon between Mahāvihāra and the Abhayagiri ended in disaster to the latter. Since the time of king Mahāsena (4th century A. D.), a policy of persecution began to be pursued by the rulers against the Abhayagiri and ultimately they were destroyed and their literature suppressed. They were stigmatised as heretics *Vetulyaka*, (*Vaipulyaka*,) *Middhavādin* and so forth. But their literature could not be suppressed entirely and a good deal of it must have been preserved by their opponents after necessary tampering and elemination of materials which smacked of Mahāyāna. This is demonstrated to some extent by the *Vimuttimagga* which was preserved in Chinese translation and has now been compared with the *Visuddhimagga* by Dr. Bapat. The *Vimuttimagga* belonged to the canon of the Abhayagiri and the Visuddhimagga was a Mahāvihāra version of the text. It is likely that the same conclusion will be reached when a few other texts in Chinese which are supposed to have been translated from Pali are properly studied.

It may be noted in this connection that the Sthaviravāda of the Abhayagiri type represented the natural course of development of the early schools by not dissociating the Mahāyānist tendencies which must have been growing within the fold of every school since earlier times. The Mahāsāṅghikas, we know, had avowed Mahāyāna leanings. Among its sects, the Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila, we have seen, had their Prajñāpāramitā–sūtras and the Lokottaravāda emphasised on the Pāramitā doctrine as propounded by the Mahāyānists. The Mahāsāṅghika was however one of the oldest Hinayana schools and originated simultaneously with the Sthaviravāda. The Dharmaguptaka was also of two kinds, Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and some of the ancient Buddhist sources speak of the Dharmaguptaka literature of both the types. This makes it probable that the Mahāvihāra of Ceylon was a reactionary school and represented a reformist movement against the older and more authentic tradition and cannot be thus looked upon as the custodians of the primitive and orthodox traditions of Buddhism. It is therefore clear that in early times there was more than one school with the name of Sthaviravāda and it is not improbable that one of them had its literature in a Paiśācī adaptation. Besides, we have at present whether in original or Chinese or Tibetan translations, the canonical literature of the Mūla Sarvāstivāda, Sarvāstivāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahāsāṅghika and Mahīśāsaka, all of which claim to have preserved the ancient tradition exactly in the same way as Pali does. Under these circumstances we have to look elsewhere for the oldest traditions of Buddhism.

The Original language of the Buddhist Canon

What was then the original language of the canon ? In order to determine this, a passage of the Cullavagga has been much quoted in support of varying theories. Two Bhikṣus once complained to Buddha that the brethren in the community being of diverse origin were changing the utterances of the Buddha by the use of their own dialects (*sakāya niruttiyā*). They then suggested the use of *chandaso* for the sake of uniformity. Buddha however did not approve of it and ordered—*anujānāmi bhikkhave sakāya niruttiyā buddhavacanam pariyāpunitum*. Buddhaghoṣa takes it to be a reference to Buddha's own speech which was the language of Magadha or Māgadhī (*atha sakā nirutti nāma sammā-sambuddhena vuttappakāro Māgadhiko vohāro*). Geiger defends this interpretation, but Keith while supporting an earlier view says : "It is incredible that immediately after the use of the term *sakāya niruttiyā* in the representation of the Bhikkhus as applying to the use of their own dialects, the Buddha should have employed this phrase to express a totally different meaning ".

Oldenberg and Rhys Davids had translated the passage thus : I allow you, Oh, brethren to learn the words of the Buddha each in his own language. The corresponding account as well as the injunction of Buddha also occur in the Vinayapiṭakas of other schools. Thus the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya has : I allow you in each kingdom to use the common speech understood there for reciting and repeating the sacred texts of Buddha. The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya has : From today if one recites the sacred texts with the intonation of the heretics it will be a sin (duṣkṛta). The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda tells the story in a little different way. The two monks were formerly used to recite with the musical intonations of the Vedas and thought of introducing them in the recitation of the Buddhist texts. When it was reported to Buddha, the latter said : The monks who recite the sacred texts in prolonged intonation and rhythm use musical intonations and this is a sin. From now, the monks must no more sing with the prolonged intonation while reciting the sacred texts. If a monk uses intonations of *chan-to (chandas)* in reciting passages of the secred texts, they commit a sin and violate the law. If the pronuciation current in the country prolong the intonations, then there is no fault. The Mahīśāsaka-vinaya tells us that the two monks who were formerly acquainted with the method of *chandas-veda* began to find fault with the recitation of the Buddhist texts. They said—The Bhadantas do not know masculine or feminine, singular or plural, present, past or future, long or short syllables and thus they recite the sacred texts of Buddha. They then proposed to introduce the Vedic accents in the recitation of Buddhist texts, but Buddha disapprved of it and ordered: I allow that it may be recited as one speaks in each kingdom. Only I do not allow you to forget to think of Buddha. I do not allow you to make use of the words of Buddha as expressions of heretical books.

It is therefore clear that all the Vinayas with the exception of the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya is in general agreement with the interpretation of Buddhaghoṣa. It was not a question of using one's own dialect for reciting the Buddhavacana but using one's own natural intonation for the recitation. The

Cullavagga like the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya misunderstood the old tradition and Buddhaghoṣa was using the old tradition in his explanation in spite of the construction of the Pali passage. It is also incomprehensible how Buddha could allow the Buddhavacana already compiled in a particular dialect to be recited in another dialect. It was therefore a question of the mode of recitation. It was to be recited in the intonation of one's own language in preference to the *chandas* or *chandas-veda.*

There is therefore no room for doubt that the original language of the Buddhavacana was Māgadhi. Does Pali represent this Māgadhi ? Ceylonist tradition would have us belive so. But this cannot be taken literally. Pali cannot be regarded as Māgadhi for very important reasons. The main characteristics of Māgadhi are : (1) mutation of every *r* into *l* and every *s* into *ś*. (2) the ending *-e* in N. Sing. masculine and neuter of *a* stems and of consonantal stems inflected like them. Pali however retains the *r* (its change into *l* is indeed frequent but not the rule), it possesses no *ś* at all but only *s* and the nominal forms mentioned above end in it with-*o* or-*am*. Pali is basically a Wetsern Prākrit and its peculiarities to some extent correspond with those of the Girnār version of Asokan edicts but representing a later stage. There are influences of other dialects on it specially of Māgadhī and Paiśācī. The influence of Māgadhī is specially found in the (1) use of *e* for Pali *o* : *pure, suve, bhikkhave*, (2) use of *e* for nominative singular : *purisakāre*, (3) use of *l* in certain cases for *r*, (4) *se* for Pali *tam* : *seyyathā* for *tadyathā*, (5) mutation of surds into sonants in intervocalic positions-*e|amuga*, *sāgala, udāhu, pavedhati, avaṅga* etc. and (6) cases of the elision of an intervocalic mute which is replaced by the hiatus-filler *y* or *v* : *suva* (besides *suka*) for *śuka*, *khāyita* for *khādita* etc. Geiger tries to explain these Māgadhī characteristics as dialectal influences. But how were these influences exerted ? We believe that they first came through the translation of Buddhist texts from their Māgadhī originals.

Apart from these linguistic survivals of the old Māgadhī, there are other remnants of it in the Pali as well as Sanskrit canons. Levi discussed a number of Buddhist technical terms current both in Pali and Sanskrit texts of which the etymology was uncertain and explained them as Māgadhī forms coming down from the old Māgadhī canon. These words are *Saṅghādisesa, Pārājika, Pācittiya, Ekodi, Uposatha*. The Pali commentators explain *saṅghādisesa* as *saṅgha + ādi + sesa* and thus as a sin which demanded at first (*ādi*) a meeting of the Saṅgha to pass a judgement of expulsion and then in regard to the rest (*sesa*) a fresh meeting for pronouncing the rehabilitation. In some of the Sanskrit texts the word occurs under the form *saṅghāvaśeṣa*. The sin involved a temporary exclusion of the remaining members of the Saṅgha after a complete exclusion of the Pārājikas. Hence the word may be derived from an old

Sanskrit form *Saṅghātiśeṣa*. *Saṅghādisesa* would thus be an old Māgadhī form and *Saṅghāvaśeṣa* a later Sanskrit rendering of the original *Saṅghātiśeṣa*. *Pārājika* is explained by the Pali commentators as *Pārājiko hotīti parājito parājayam āpanno.* In Chinese the word is translated as *wu-yu* 'without remainder' thus meaning 'complete expulsion'. The word therefore may be derived from an old *parāñcika* which meant 'to turn out' through Prākrit *Pārācika. In the Jain texts too the word *parāñciya* occurs in the same sense. In the sense of complete expulsion the word would form a pair with *saṅghādiseṣa* which involved temporary expulsion. Levi has similarly shown that *pācittiya* cannot be derived from *prāyaścittika*. It must have come from a word like *prāk-cittika* which meant the commission of an act with precipitation. The Sanskrit *pāyantika* and an old Prakrit *pāyiti* (recorded in Chinese as *po-ye-ti*) may also be derived from the same source. Levi similarly derives *ekodi* (B. Sk. *ekoti*) from *eka-uti* 'consisting of a single chain' hence meaning 'spiritually united,' *uposatha* (B. Sk. *posadha* J. *Posaha*) from *upavsatha*. In the case of *posadha* the inital vowel is lost and the intervocalic surd becomes a sonant. All these present characteristics of old Māgadhī and must have been derived in Pali and Sanskrit from the old Māgadhī canon. These characteristics are not found only in the technical words but also in a number of other words in Pali such as *jalogi* < *jalauka*, Māgandiya (B. Sk. Mākandika) < *Mākrandika (Jain Māgamdiya, Māyamdi, Māimdi), Kosiya < *Kosi'a < kauśika, Isipatana B. Sk. Ṛṣivadana < Ṛṣipattana etc.

Buddhist texts began to be translated into Chinese since the middle of the second century A. D. During the first two centuries of translation, we do not come across with the translation of any complete collection like the Vinayapiṭaka or the Sūtrapiṭaka. We get only translations of individual texts which do not fully agree with the corresponding Pali or Sanskrit texts. The texts as well as the transcribed proper names occuring in them, point out to an older source which might have the old Māgadhī or some adaptation of it which did not do much violence to its old Māgadhī character. With the recent progress in the study of Chinese phonology, it is now possible to get at the original forms of the proper names transcribed in those texts.

Lo-yue-ki — * la-i at-gjie < Rayagi (h) a
She-wei — * Śiā-wāi = Śāvai (Cf. Pārāyaṇa sāvhayā) P. sāvatthi
Kia-wei-lo-wei — * Kavilavai ∠ Kapilavastu
Lo-yun — * la-giuən = lāghula ∠ Rahula
Kiu-yi — * giu- 'i- Go'i ∠ Gopi
Po-sse-ni — * Pua-sie-niək ∠ Paseni ∠ Prasenajit
T'eu-ta — * d' ieu-d' at = Deodāt ∠ Devadatta
Sho-li-yue — *Śia-li-wiād = Śārivud ∠ Śāriputra

Sha-liu —* Śa-lwid = Śāriud ∠ Śāriputra
Fen-wei — * pwin-wai = piṇḍavāi ∠ piṇḍapātika
T' an-yue — * dan-wiad = dānavadi ∠ dānapati

The transcription of such words in the Chinese translation of the original Milindapañha show the same difference with Pali :

Mi-lan — Milanda, Pali Milinda
Na-sien — Nāasena P. Nāgasena
Lou-an-L'w-xan — Loghana P. Rohana
Ngo-Po-yue — Ad-pwa-wiād = Aspagutta P. Assagutta
Sho-kie—Śia-giad — Śāgala P. Sākala, Sk. Śākala
Yi-ch'e-kia — Yeḍika Skt. Yaṣṭika, P. laṭṭhi
A-li-san — Alesanda P. Alasanda

Last of all I should like to draw your attention to the name Sigāla occurring in the name of the famous text *Sigālovādasutta*. There are four translations of the text in Chinese, the oldest of them belonging to the middle of the second century A. D. The sūtra is called there, the *Sūtra of She-kia-lo-yue*. The other translations are called *Sujâtaputra-sūtra*. Sujâtaputra was another name of She-kia-lo-yue. The name may be restored as *Śigālavad* which was wrongly interpreted in Pali as *Sigāla-ovāda*. The name of the householder was originally not simply Sigāla but *Śigālavad* from Sanskrit Sṛṅgāravant. This is confirmed by a statement in the text that every morning he used to pay special attention to his dress and hair before starting the worship of the directions.

All these considerations thus confirm the view of Levi and Luders that Sanskrit and Pali Buddhist literature both inherited an older literary tradition recorded in a dialect which is now lost but which had attained an advanced state of phonetic decay. There is an agreement in this respect between Buddhism and Jainism. Both of them born in the same region had used one of the Magadhan dialects for their holy texts. But the Jains in course of time, while standardising their Ardhamāgadhi, weakened the intervocalic consonant to an almost inarticulate phoneme, the *ya-Śrūti*. Buddhism acted in a different way. Under Western influence it got reconciled to Sanskrit standard. But that must have ocurred not only after Asoka but also after the age of Bharhut. In Asokan edict we get *lāghulo* for Pali *Rāhula* with old Māgadhi ḷ and an archaic *gh* for *h*, *adhigicya* for Pali *adhikicca* with a sonant in place of surd and in Bharhut *avāyēsi* (with *ya-Śruti*) for Pali *avādesi*, Skt. *avādayet*.

Under these circumstances it is quite comprehensible that the pre-Asokan canon, whatever its extent might have been, was in Māgadhī. It was in all appearance the canon of the Eastern Church (Pācinaka) who were represented by the Mahāsāṅghikas. The Pātheyyaka or the Western church had carried the older literary traditions to the West. These were first adapted in the region of the Punjab in Paiśācī and in the region of Ujjayinī in a Western dialect which was the basis of Pali. The Pali canon in the period of its inception, thus could draw upon the Māgadhī canon as well as on its Paiśācī adaptation. The origin of the canons in Sanskrit and 'Mixed Sanskrit' must have also belonged to the same period. It is possible that the Sthavira tradition as represented by the Pātheyyakas passed through different stages : Sthavira I in the literature of the Pātheyyakas in Māgadhī, Sthavira II in Paiśācī, Sthavira III in the dialect of Ujjayinī, which was much the same, with an increased amount of Sanskritisation, as Sthavira IV or Abhayagiri and Sthavira V in the Pali tradition of the Mahāvihāra.

The Original Canon

A Consideratian of the original state of the canon also points out to the same direction. It is true that the account of the Council of Rājagṛha as preserved in the Cullavagga tells us that the first two Piṭaks namely the Vinaya and the Sutta with all its five Nikāyas were brought together immediately after the death of Buddha. The Pali account further tells us that the Abhidhammapiṭaka assumed its final form in the time of Asoka in the Council of Pāṭaliputra. But this account cannot be naively accepted. Minaeff pointed out long ago that the Culla Vagga account has two parts, one dealing with the accusation of Ānanda and the other with the rehearsal of the two Pitakas. The former, according to him, represents an old tradition but the second is a later addition and belongs to a period when the various schools as well as Mahāyāna had already come into existence. This observation has been amply confirmed by Przyluski from a detailed study of all accounts of the Council of Rājagṛha preserved in the literature of various schools. All these accounts, according to Przyluski tend to show that the meeting at Rājagṛha immediately after the death of the Master was not a council but an ordinary meeting during the usual *varṣāvāsa*. It went into the allegations against Ananda but had nothing to do with the compilation of the canon.

The account concerning the alleged rehearsal of the canon was composed by each school according to its own convenience. According to the Culla Vagga account it was the Vinaya and the Sutta which were compiled in the first council. The Vinaya consisted of the Pāṭimokkha, Mahāvagga, Cullavagga, Suttavibhaṅga and Parivāra. The Suttapiṭaka consisted of the five Nikāyas, the Dīgha, Majjhima, Samyutta, Aṅguttara and Khuddaka. But the separate works of the Nikāyas are not mentioned excepting the first two suttas of the Dīghanikāya.

The Vinaya of the Mahīśāsakas say that the canon collected in this Council consisted of the Vinayapiṭaka and the Sūtrapiṭaka. The latter included the five Āgamas—Dīrgha, Madhyama, Saṃyukta, Ekottara and Kṣudraka. The Vinaya of the Dharmaguptakas mentions as texts collected in the first Council—

he Vinayapiṭaka, the Sūtrapiṭaka consisting of the five Āgamas and the Abhidharmapiṭaka consisting of five texts. It also gives the names of the texts included in the Kṣudrakāgama—Jātaka, Itivṛttaka, Nidāna, Vaipulya, Adbhutadharma, Avadāna, Upadeśa, Arthapada, Dharmapada, Pārāyaṇa, Kathāvastu and Sthaviragāthā. The Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya mentions the Vinaya-piṭaka consisting of the Pārājika, Saṅghāvaśeṣa, Aniyatadharmas, Naihsargika, 82 Pācittiya and 4 Pratideśanīya. The Sūtrapiṭaka, according to it, consisted of the five Agamas,

The Mahāsāṅghika account in this connection gives a list of patriarchs from the time of Upali up to the time when evidently the account was redacted. It consists of 28 generations. The account was evidently compiled 28 generations after Upali i. e. at least five hundred years after Nirvāṇa. The Dharmaguptaka account by including the Mahayāna text like Vaipulya could not have been redacted before the Mahayāna came into existence. The Sthaviravāda canon as represented by the Abhayagiri must have also included the Mahayāna-sūtras in its Kṣudraka collection specially the Vaipulya-sūtras as we know they were stigmatised as followers of the Vaipulya or Vaitulya doctrines. Besides, no other school excepting the Pali mentions the divisions of the Sūtrapitaka as Nikāya. Even in the beginning of the 5th century Fa-hien got in Ceylon not the manuscripts of the Dīgha and Majjhima nikāyas but of the Dīrgha and Madhyama Āgamas.

In the face of these important divergences in the accounts of the redaction of the canon in the first council, it is impossible to admit that the canon was really collected at the time. This portion of the account as Minaeff pointed out is of later origin. It may be as late as 500 years after Nirvāṇa as the Mahāsāṅghika account incidentally tells us. The ancient tradition concerned most probably the first rainy season meeting of the elders after the nirvāṇa, a review of the fundamental Vinaya rules and the consequent proceedings against Ānanda who was accused of violating the rules. Later writers built upon it an elaborate account of the rehearsal and collection of the holy writ in order to establish the prestige of their respective schools.

The compilation of the canon must have been done in a different manner. It could not have been constituted from the beginning as full-fledged Piṭakas but as collections of the sayings of Buddha himself or of famous elders. This is clearly demonstrated by traditions of a different kind which had no reason to be affected by the sectarian claims to prestige. Let us now consider these traditions.

The Mahāvagga (V, 13) tells us that while Mahā Kātyāyana was in Avanti he sent his newly ordained disciple Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa to Buddha who was then at Sāvatthi. When Soṇa reached Sāvatthi he was lodged in the same room as the Buddha. Towards the dawn Buddha asked Soṇa to recite the holy texts, He recited the Aṭṭhavaggikas with intonation. Buddha aprreciated it and said : You have well learnt the Aṭṭhavaggikas. You have well worked on it. You well remember it. You have a good voice, well articulated with nothing indistinct or swallowed and helps to understand the meaning well.

The Mūla Sarvāstivada Vinaya reporting on the same tradition mentions Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa as a native of Aśmāparāntaka. On being sent to Śrāvastī by Mahā Kātyāyana he recited before Buddha with the accent of the country of Aparāntaka and with long intonation Udāna, Pārāyaṇa, Satya-dṛṣṭi, Śailagāthā, Munigātha and Arthavargika-sūtra. Buddha appreciated his mode of recitation.

The Sarvāstivada-vinaya tells us that Koṭikarṇa was a native of Aśmakāvanti. On coming to Śrāvastī he recited before the Lord the *Pārāyaṇa* and *Satyadṛṣṭi*, Buddha approved of his mode of recitation and said – You pronounce the law well. You can recite with the intonation of the country of Avanti. Your elocution is perfectly clear, precise and easy to understand.

The Mahiśāsaka-vinaya makes Koṭikarṇa a native of Aśpakāvanti. On coming to Śrāvastī he recited to the Lord the 16 *Arthāgikas*.

The Dharmaguptaka-vinaya places the scene at Rājagṛha. Koṭikarṇa came from Avanti to Rājagṛha and recited the 16 Arthapadas neither adding nor omitting anything, without violating the law of the holy texts, with a pure and clear intonation, sections and phrases were in order, clear, precise and easy to understand.

The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya gives a completely different version of the story. There is no mention of either Mahā Kātyāyana or Avanti. Purṇa, a pious merchant goes Śroṇāparānta. Koṭikarṇa is converted there by Purṇa. He comes to Śrāvastī and recites before the Lord the *Eight Sections* (*Aṣṭavarga*), Buddha appreciates his recitation and says – The words, syllables, phrases and the meaning are as I had pronounced formerly.

In regard to the recitation of texts the Pali simply has *svareṇa abhāsi* but the Mūla Sarvāstivāda says–*svareṇa svādhyāyam karoti.* We have already seen in connection with our discussion of *sakā nirutti* that at the time when the recitation of the Buddhist texts was current the method of Vedic recitation was still in use. It was therefore proposed by some monks that the *chandas* might be adopted for the recitation of the Buddhist texts. But Buddha did not approve of it. In regard to the word *chandas-veda* mentioned in the Mūla Sarvāṣtivāda-Vinaya, Yi-tsing says in a note to his translation of the text that it is the Brahmanical method of chanting in which intonations are prolonged and the measure maintained by beating the air. When the monks proposed to introduce this *chandas* in the recitation of the Buddhist texts, they evidently wanted to chant them according to the Brahmanical method of chanting the Vedas. Buddha disapproved of it.

The tradition concerning the recitation of Buddhist texts and the prohibition of the use of *chandas* goes back to the common past of the various schools. In spite of minor differences, the tradition has remained unchanged. In Pāṇini, the accentuation is an integral part of the grammatical science and is as important as phonology and morphology. The definition of a grammatical form necessarily implies the indication of the accent. Accent was therefore a reality in the time of Pāṇini in the 4th century B. C., but with Kātyāyana (3rd century B. C.) and with Patañjali (2nd century B. C.) it was a dead letter. The Buddhist tradition on the method of recitation of holy texts and the prohibition of the Vedic accents therefore goes back to the period of Pāṇini when accent was still in use. The first literary attempts of the Buddhists, therefore, belong to that period.

The texts recited by Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa may be regarded as the oldest compositions of the Buddhist church. All the accounts agree in mentioning the *Arthavargīya sūtras* as the text recited by him. This is the name under which most of the Vinayas mention the text. The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya mentions it as *Aṣṭavarga* and Pali as *Aṭṭhavagga*. It is difficult to say which was the correct form of the name. Both *Artha* and *Aṣṭa* are reducible to Prakrit *Aṭṭha* and in view of the fact that mention of *Artha* is found in the majority of cases, it may be said that *Aṭṭha* as *Aṣṭa* had come into existence through a wrong interpretation. Among other texts recited by Koṭikarṇa, the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya mentions *Pārāyaṇa* and *Satyadṛṣṭi* and the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda, *Udāna*, *Pārāyaṇa*, *Satyadṛṣṭi*, *Śailagātha*, *Munigāthā*, *Sthaviragāthā* and *Sthavirigāthā*.

The antiquity of this tradition is also proved by the mention of certain texts in Asokan edicts. In the Bhabru edict, Asoka specially recommends to the Sangha a number of religious texts with the following instruction : " I desire that many groups of monks and nuns may repeatedly listen to these expositions of the Dharma (*Dhammapaliyāni*) and reflect on them. In the same way both laymen and laywomen (should act) " The seven *dhammapaliyāni* recommended by Asoka were the following 1 Munigāthā, 2 Aliyavasāni, 3 Anāgatabhayāni, 4. Munigāthā, 5. Moneyasute, 6 Upatisapasine, 7 Lāghulovāde.

It is generally assumed that these Sūtras were selections from extensive Buddhist canon which according to tradition had been constituted already before the time of Asoka. Under this assumption all the texts except the first have been identified. Accordingly *Aliyavasāni* has been identified with Aṅguttara II, 27, *Anāgatabhayāni* with Aṅguttara III, 103, *Munigāthā* with *Munisutta* of Suttanipāta, *Moneyasute* with *Nālakasutta* of the same collection, *Upatisapasine* with *Rathavinita-sutta* of the Majjhima I, 146-51, and *Lāghulovāde* with the *Rāhulavāda-sutta* of the Majjhima I, 414. But these identifications are far from certain as there is no clue in the edict as to their contents, excepting in the case of Lāghulovāde. It is said that this text concerned falsehood (*musāvādam* *adhigicya*). In fact the *Rāhulavāda-sutta* of the Majjhima and the Sanskrit Madhyamāgama contains a warning to Rahula against falsehood. But in which form was the text known to Asoka ? It was certainly not known in its extant amplified versions. It is probable that the Asokan text consisted of the gāthās which contain the essentials of the text. The pre-Asokan texts referred to in the traditions already discussed consisted of gāthās and included also the Munigāthās which is recommended by Asoka.

Asoka does not mention the Tripiṭaka. In fact the word does not occur in inscriptions before the first century A. D. In the second century B. C. one of the inscriptions of Bharhut mentions *pañcanekāyika* -'one who knows the five nikāyas'. But it is doubtful if it has anything to do with the five *nikāyas* of the Suttapiṭaka. We have already seen that all other schools speak of the Āgamas, whereas Pali alone has Nikāya. Nikāya also meant a school and it is not improbable that a *pañcanekāyika* was one who was acquainted with the doctrines of five different schools. The five principal schools were Mahāsāṅghika, Sthaviravāda, Dharmaguptaka, Mahiśāsaka and Sarvāstivada.

The original Māgadhī canon of pre-Asokan as well as Asokan times was not therefore a full fledged Tripiṭaka. The literature was just in the making and in all probability consisted of gāthās which could be memorised and recited with certain prescribed intonation. Stories of the life of the master handed down through tradition or improvised, were gradually accumulating around these gāthās and out of them well constituted Sūtras began to take shape in post-Asokan times. For the pre-Asokan canon we have to look to gāthās like those of the Aṭṭhakavagga, Pārāyaṇa, Theragāthā, Therigāthā etc.

Original Buddhism

As Asoka's recommendation of the dhamma-paliyāni is a landmark in the history of the ancient canon so also is his exposition of the law in the history and development of the Buddhist doctrines. It will be wrong to suppose that Asoka was interested only in the popular aspect of the law so far as it concerned the laity. He was equally interested in its monastic aspect. It is not improbable that he had passed several years in the monastery and lived like a monk. He addresses not only the *upāsaka* but also the monks and the nuns (*bhikhupaye ca bhakhuniye*-Bhabra *bhikhu va bhikhuni va, bhikhusaṅghasi ca bhikhuni-saṅghasi ca*—Sarnath.) He recommends the holy texts to the monks and the nuns. This makes certain that he was interested in Buddhism as a whole, whether monastic or popular and thought himself in a position to direct not only his subjects who were common followers of the law but also the monks and the nuns in matters of doctrine as well as monastic organisation. His exposition of the law therefore represents the Buddhist norm of those days.

Asoka first of all decries the ordinary human vices such as violence (*camdiye*), cruelty (*niṭhuliye*), anger (*krodhe*), conceit (*māne*), and envy (*visyā*), and endorses such virtues as *sādhave*—good, *apāsinave*—freedom from depravity, *dayā*-kindness, *sace*-truthfulness, *dāne*—liberality, *socaye*—purity, and *mādave*—gentleness. He also recommends non-slaughter of life (*anārambho prāṇānām*) non injury to living beings (*avihisā bhutānām*), attention to father and mother (*mātari pitari śuśrūṣa*), reverence to teachers (*gurūṇām apacili*), liberality and good behaviour towards friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brahmins and Śramaṇas (*mitasamstuta-ñātinām-bahmana-samanānām dānam sampaṭipati*) and good behaviour to slaves and servants (*dāsa bhatakamhi samyapratipati*). He himself performed humanitarian deeds such as planting trees for offering shade to man and beast, planting mango orchards, causing wells to be dug, building rest houses, importing and planting medicinal herbs. So far he was speaking of the popular aspect of the law.

But Asoka places even greater emphasis on the higher aspect of the law. While speaking of his many works for the good of the humanity he says : *lahuke chu paṭibhoge nāma*—but this so called enjoyment is of little consequence. The most important point in the practice of the law was according to him to give up want of perseverance (*āsulope*), cruelty (*niṭhuliye*), hastiness (*tulanaye*) want of application (*anavutiya*), laziness (*alasiye*) and weariness (*kilamathe*). By doing so, Asoka says, one attains endless heavenly bliss (*vipule svage*). He then tells us how he realised it in his own life through exertion (*pakama*). Through much exertion (*baḍham pakamte*) he made the gods mix with men in Jambudvīpa—gods who were formerly unmixed with men (*amisa samānrā munisā Jambudipasi, amisā devā husu te dāni munisā misā*). Elsewhere he says that through exertion it is possible not only for the great (*mahātpa*) but also for the small (*khudaka*) to make others attain endless happiness of heaven (*no hiyam sakye mahātpeneva pāpotave. kāmam tu kho khudakena pi pakamamiṇena vipule svage sakye ārādhetave*) : "This is possible not only for the superior to achieve but indeed it is also possible for even the inferior to cause to attain (people) much heavenly bliss through exertion." He also tells us that whatever exertions he made (*parākamate*) were with reference to the other world (*Pāratrikāya*). He wanted to make others free from *parisrava* i. e. *apumna* or demerit. This he admits is a task difficult to be accomplished whether by the great or small except by the utmost exertion and by complete renunciation (*dukaram tu kho etam chudakena va janena usaṭena va añatra agena parākramena savam parichajitpā* ...).

It may be noticed that the virtues necessary for spritual progress which Asoka mentions such as *dāne, socaye, madave, pakame* are the same as the first four of the six pāramitās viz. *dāna, śila, kṣānti, vīrya* mentioned in the canon, whether Śanskrit or Pali. But Asoka does not make any reference to the Pāramitā doctrine which evidently had not been formulated in his time. He lays the greatest emphasis on the practice of *pakame* or *viriya*. While speaking of the degrees of spritual progress, Asoka distinguishes *khudaka* or smaller men from *mahātpa* or *usaṭa* i. e. the great or more elevated. According to Asoka it was one of the important qualities of the great to attain the heavenly bliss not only for himself but also for others by his exertion (*pakame* or *viriya*). Asoka who was evidently placing himself in the position of *mahātpa* or *usaṭa* when he says that he had succeeded through his exertion in causing gods formerly unmixed with men to mix with men. This reminds us of the *Uttarimanussa*, men endowed with higher spiritual powers as opposed to ordinary people (*manuṣya*). Asoka was therefore looking at the law from these two points of view.

Asoka's exposition of law has the closest relation to what the Mahāsāṅghika–vinaya says in regard to the law of ordinary men (*manuṣya-dharma*) and the law of higher men (*uttara-manuṣya-dharma*). While dealing with the fourth Pārājika, the Mahāsāṅghika–vinaya first introduces a story in order to illustrate the effect of exertion (vīrya). It says that a poor Brahmin once made up his mind to remove his poverty by his exertion. So he sailed to foreign lands in the company of merchants to earn fortune. He accumulated some wealth there and returned to his country. But while getting down from the ship, all his earnings fell into the sea. He was not however disheartened by it. He collected some pieces of wood, set up a sort of machine for churning the sea and began throwing out the water of the sea at a place near the shore. He went on with this work of madness day and night without any stop. The sea god was at last pleased with him for his untiring exertion, took out from the sea the fortune he had lost and returned it to him. Such was the effect of exertion (vīrya).

The text then deals with the law of man (*manuṣya-dharma*) in order to bring into clear relief the law of higher men (*uttaramanuṣya*) :

" The law of man consists of five desires, five lower bonds (*avara bhāgīya*), six existences (*saḍ-gati*) six roots of quarrel (*vivāda-mūla*) seven *anuśaya*, eight false existences, eight dharmas, nine *māna* or conceit, nine kinds of suffering (*pradāśa*), ten good acts snd ten bad acts. "

The text next says that the law of man is also like what Buddha once narrated to a Devaputra :

" In the path of wilderness to make good wells,
To plant trees and gardens for giving fruits in charity,
To plant trees and forests to give cool shade,
To make bridges and boats for men's crossing,
To make charity and practice pure rules of conduct,
To give up jealousy and greediness through the practice of knowledge and wisdom,
These make the merits increase day and night

> And always lead to birth among heavenly beings.
>
> This is the law of man. And again filial piety to father and mother, attention to Sramaṇa and Brahmacarya, these also are man's law."

The reference to the Devaputra which from a certain period became a common designation of kings in the Buddhist texts and the close correspondence of the list of meritorious acts performed and recommended by Asoka irresistably lead to the conclusion that the compiler of the Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya had a direct knowledge of pious acts of Asoka. Asoka recommended the practice of these acts to all, but his attention was fixed on a still higher ideal which he had himself realised by his exertion. The Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya also describes these as *manuṣya-dharma* but speaks of the higher law (*uttara-manuṣya-dharma*) which is attainable by exertion. The *uttara-manuṣya-dharma* according to this Vinaya is as follows :

> It consists of ten kinds of knowledge—the knowledge of law, the knowledge of the unknown, the knowledge of the past, the knowledge of others' minds, the knowledge of *duhkha*, *samudaya*, *nirodha* and *kṣaya* and that of non-production.
>
> It consists of *nirodha* and *kṣaya*, *vimokṣa*, *adhikakuśala-chitta*, *vipāka-kuśala-mūla*, pure and impure *vimokṣa*, *vidyā*, dharma *śrotāpanna-phala* and its *samadhi*. Entering it well, coming out of it well, staying in it well and enjoying it well, constitute realisation. These are *śamatha-vipaśyanā* three *samādhi*, three *vidyā*, four *smṛtyupasthāna*, four *samyak-vīrya*, four *ṛddhipāda*, four *dhyāna*, four *aprameya-citta*, *ārupya-samādhi*, four *āryamārga*, four *ārya-gotrabhu* four *ārya-satya* and four *śrāmaṇya-phala*.
>
> It also consists of five *aṅga-samādhi*, five *indriya*, five *bala*, five *vimoksa*, six *anuttaradharma*, six *ārya-dharma*, six *vitarka*, six *smṛti* six *abhijñā*, ... seven *anāsaṅgà dharma*, seven *samādhi*, seven *āsrava-kṣaya-bala*, seven *bodhyaṅga*, eight *samyak-mārga*, eight *abhibhvāyatana*, eight *vimokṣa*, eight *abhimukhi-mārga*, nine *samjñā*, nine *muditā-dharma*, nine *samudācāra*, nine *ānupūrva-vihāra-samāpatti*, ten *ārya-vihāra*...ten *aśaikṣa*, ten *āsrava-kṣaya*-these are the law of higher man.

The Vinayas of other schools have the corresponding passage on the *uttaramanuṣya-dharma* or the law of higher men but nothing in that connection relating to the practice of exertion (vīrya) and the law of ordinary men. The *Uttarimanussa-dhamma* according to the Pali Vinaya consists of four *jhāna*, *Vimokkha*, *samādhi*, *samāpatti*, *ñānam* including three *vijjā*, maggabhāvanā viz.

4 *satipaṭṭhāna*, 4 *sammāppadhāna*, 4 *iddhi*, 5 *indriya*, 5 *bala*, 7 *bojjhaṅga*, 8 *aṭṭhaṅgika maggo*, phalasaccikiriya, viz. the realisation of the four *phalas*, *kilesapahāna*, *vinivāraṇatā*, and *suññāgāre abhirati*.

The Mahiśāsaka-vinaya formulates the law of higher men in the following terms : *4 dhyāna, 4 aprameya-sthāna, 4 arūpa-samādhi, 4 smṛtyupasthāna, 8 ārya mārga, 3 vimokṣadvāra, 8 vimokṣa, anupūrva-vihāra-samāpatti, 10 kṛtsnā (kaṣina), 10 uṭṭhāna mārga, 4 śramaṇya-phala, 3 vidyā, and 6 abhijñā.*

The Dharmaguptaka-vinaya defines it simply as : Arhatship, *dhyāna ṛddhipāda, paracittajñāna.*

The Sarvāstivāda-vinaya has–4 *phala*, 4 *dhyāna*, *aprameya-maitri-citta*, *aprameya-karunā-citta*, *aprameya-muditā-citta*, *aprameya upekṣā-citta*, *aprameya ākāśāyatana*, *vijñānāyatana*, *ākiñcanyāyatana*, *naiva-samjñi naiva-asamjñi*, *aśubha-bhāvanā*, *ānapāna-smṛti.*

The Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-vinaya has—4 *dhyāna*, *maitrī*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, *upekṣā*, *4 aprameya ākāśāyatana*, *vijñānāyatana*, *ākiñcanyāyatana*, *naiva samjñi naiva asamjñi*, 4 *phala*, 6 *abhijñā* and 8 *vimokṣa*. It besides mentions 20 other *samjñās*, which are more or less connected with *samādhi*, *samāpatti*, etc. These *samjñās* are *anitya*, *duhkha*, *śūnya*, *nairātmya*, *nirviṇṇo*, *virajyate*, *ādinava*, *āvaraṇa—vyāvacchedaka*, *virāga*, *nirodha*, *aśubha etc.*

A comparison of these lists shows that the essential qualities of an *uttaramanuṣya* consisted of different degrees of spiritual culture leading to the attainment of Arhatship. It also involved the attainment of such magical powers as *ṛddhi*, *paracitta-jñāna*. In addition to these, the Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda include the practice of the four Brahmavihāras as *maitri*, *karuṇā*, *muditā* and *upekṣā*.

But Asoka was evidently not acquainted with any of these technical expositions of the law. He has a feeling of compassion for his subjects, works with exertion for their moral and spiritual uplift, but does not make use of the technical expressions to define his attitude. He speaks of the spiritually elevated man, but does not call him an *uttaramanuṣya* as all the Vinayas do, but a *mahātpa*, an *usaṭa* (*ucchrita*). In this capacity he claims certain spiritual and magical powers such as causing others to attain heavenly bliss, and making gods mix with men which they were not used to do formerly. Probably in this light also we have to understand his claim to have shown the people such supernatural spectacles as those of celestial chariots, elephant and fiery bodies (*Vimāna dasanā, ca hasti dasanā ca agikhaṁdāni ca aññāni ca divyāni rūpāni*). These also constitute his claim to magical powers (*ṛddhi*) which was one of the essential qualities of the *uttaramanuṣya*.

Absence of the use of technical expressions in Asoka's exposition of the law, shows in the first place that the dhamma was still in a state of flux and had not yet been formulated in those categories which are found in the canonical literature. Secondly the Vinayapitakas of various schools including even the Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya which preserves the most accurate memory of Asoka's exposition of the law had been compiled after Asoka's times.

Conclusion

The problems I have placed before you are serious enough to deserve our closest attention. Buddhist studies are bound to play a preponderating role in our future researches. We can no more afford to speak loosely of the origins of Buddhism and Buddhist canon. A greater precision is required in our chronological scheme, before we can freely use the vast Buddhist literature for reconstructing the history of our past. Materials for the comparative study which alone can help us in that direction are abundant. There is an immense collection of Buddhist texts in Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian translations representing all phases of Buddhism. They remove the vast lacunae which impede the progress of our study with the available Indian sources alone. There are, besides precious literary finds in the Central Asian collections of antiquities which help us recover many a lost clue in interpretation.

Buddhism represents the international aspect of Indian civilisation. If in India and China it has almost ceased to exist as a living religion that does not mean that it is dead. In India it disappeared as a distinct religion for historical reasons after giving rise to all that is best in our national culture. It had given to us an art and a literature of which we are still proud. It had also given to us a number of theistic cults, various systems of philosophy, and over and above a mysticism which later on became the common meeting ground of diverse faiths. So it is dead only in name. It still forms the vital current of our civilisation. In China also it lives not only in the philosophy of the Song period which even today plays the most important part in the cultural life of China, but also in her art and literature. Besides, Buddhism is still a living force in Tibet, Mongolia, the Siberian steppes, Manchuria, Corea, Japan, Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Burma and Ceylon. In all these countries the ancient holy texts are zealously studied either in their Indian originals or their ancient translations. The pious Buddhists of all those countries still look upto India, the land of Buddha Śākyamuni as their holy land.

We are now at the parting of ways. A new age is dawning before us. But we can still follow the lessons of the past to the benefit of humanity. Our ancestors had once carried the noblest of our message to the rest of Asia without prejudices and alterior motives, and succeeded in bringing together under one civilising influence nearly half the population of the world. We can attain that same ideal if we follow their footsteps.

It is therefore clear that no scheme of Cultural Reconstruction of India can afford to neglect the study of Buddhist Civilisation. An Asiatic Academy which will centre round Buddhistic studies in all its phases, Chinese, Tibetan Mongolian, Manchurian, Corean, Japanese, Siamese, Annamese, Cambodian, Burmese, and Ceylonese, can render the greatest service to the cause of humanity by bringing about a profound cultural understanding between the races of three quarters of Asia. It is still up to us to show the way.

THE VOICE OF THE BUDDHA
OR
BUDDHIST LITERARY AND CULTURAL CONTRIBUTION

Dr. **M. H. R. Taimuri,** Bhopal.

Lore and Antiquity of India

Ever since the dawn of history, throughout the ages, the lore of India had been so great and impelling that it had been the the envy of every nation and naturally this should have led to a longing in the heart of ancient people to make contacts with, visits to and finally conquest of this prized country. Apart from its great material and economic wealth, it was its in-born intellectual resourcefulness and cultural fertility which created among the nations of the world a spirit of continuous enterprize and strife to know evermore about this country. In their quest of drinking so to say from the everlasting fountains of religion and knowledge of occult sciences, the nations of the world were desperate in acquiring it from whatever source it was available. No doubt, at those remote ages, the fame of India, was entirely due to its own cultural heritage and spiritual supremacy whose aroma had enlivened the soul of all the nations of the world, breaking through all geographical barriers, irrespective of caste, creed or colour.

In the light of modern research

Modern research, during the last eighty or ninety years, has proved conclusively that India had communications with the rest of the world in the hoary past, much beyond popular expectations. There is no correct idea as to the antiquity of this relation between India and the rest of the world in terms of time. With the advance of historical knowledge and its counter part, archaeology, new realms of information, are being gradually revealed and therefore it has to a very great extent solved the mystery of India's antiquity in relation to what has been presented to you in these pages.

Contacts between India and other countries.

Centuries before the birth of Buddha, India was on a sort of perpetual war with several kings, one after the other, of several denominations and belonging to the countries now known as Persian and Afghanistan. Traces of the ancient Persian culture had been found as then existed in this country. The Persian or the zoroastrian culture, no doubt, had influenced the art and culture of this country. Influences of the Indian culture, on the other hand, had been carried as far as Babylonia, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. The Buddha was born only in 560

B. C. but these relations and contacts by land and sea between India and the rest of the world, had existed long, long before this time. Indian philosophy and religions, no doubt, were known to the world but the birth of Buddha and his interpretation of life and religion gave a new shape to the already existing religious ideas of this country. It is a known fact of history that before the birth of Swāmi Mahāvira and afterwards that of Sākya Muni Gautama Buddha, many Mahāviras and Buddhas had come and gone and therefore Indian philosophies and religions had flourished in this country perhaps from the very dawn of civilized life.

Buddha's Mission

But no doubt Buddha's mission had a special message for the whole humanity and therefore by his advent a new epoch had begun. According to eminent authorities, Buddhist Missionaries had alread reached Western Persia in 450 B. C., and communication existed between India and Egypt in the time of Asoka 274–232 B. C. and that at the consecration of the famous Buddhist Tope at Raunwelli in Ceylon, (160–137 B. C.). Buddhist monks came from all parts, including 30,000, from the vicinity of A'Lasadda (Alexandria), the then capital of the Yona (Greece) country (Wnhawanso Turners' translation p. 171). Without further elaborating this theme now we take it as established that from times immemorial means of contact and communication had existed between India and the rest of the world. This is also an admitted fact that during those ages India was well known for its spiritual supremacy and therefore there is no reason to be alarmed at the idea that in those remote ages the world had profitted by the religions and cultures of this country.

Existence of religious and philosophical societies in and beyond India.

At the time of the birth of the Buddha Societies with their own particular denominations, most probably after the names of their respective philosophies or founders, were in existence all over the country and particularly in the North round the Gangetic plane and beyond, and similarly other societies and groups of individuals, founded under religio-philosophical conceptions were in existence, in the countries of the near East such as Palestine, Syria, Egypt etc. etc. and those institutions took a more definite form ever since the foundations of Alexandria by Alexander the Great. Alexandria, as then envisaged by its founder, in days to come, for several centuries, became the great cultural centre of the East and the West. It was here that a large number of thinkers from the East used to assemble and impart their philosophical teachings to the awaiting Western recipients. It was at this place from where Eastern philosophies and religious ideas used to fly, so to say, to the various countries bordering the Mediterranian and where under a new milange of the Eastern and the Western thought, new denominations were given to them by their respective followers such as the Mithraists, the Neo-Pythagoreans, the Hermilists, and above all, the Essenes. To be brief, now it has been established, without the slightest doubt by the Western savants themselves that the various societies existing at that time before the birth of Christianity, had been fully supplied with the religious and philosophical ideas from this country.

Christianity influenced by Buddhism.

Likewise due to the influence of the then societies existing in the Near East, Christianity in its early stages, had been influenced by the teachings of Sākya Muni, Gautama Buddha, Many of the fables in St. John are attributed to the Jātakas and here is also a vast resemblance in the ceremonical of Buddhists and early Christianity.

Jatakas or the stories of Buddha's life.

The fact that it is early Christianity which had been influenced by the teachings of the Buddha and not vice versa, had been established and need not be discussed here. It will be admitted that the Jātakas or the life stories of the Buddha are the raison d'etre of Buddhism. Every life story or Jātaka, of which there are at least 550, has a moral to teach. It will also be admitted that at the early stages of our society and at as remote a date as the times of the great Sākya Muni, in the absence of present propaganda and press facilities, stories with morals must have been a most inspiring instrument for exercising their profound and abiding influence on human mind. Therefore naturally the sublime teaching of the Buddha as told in the Jātakas, gradually must have been carried all over the world It has been shown at the very outset that communications had existed between India and the rest of the then known world from times immemorial, and therefore there was no difficulty in sending out the message of the Buddha at the very commencement of our known history; especially when we see that in the time of Asoka Missions were sent to Egypt and that much earlier than this, Indian savants, who were renowned all over the world, were invited to the various countries, bordering India and beyond up to Greece and Rome.

Jatakas carried over land and by sea.

Therefore it is evident that while India had intercourse with all these various countries, its literature and especially that kind of literature known through its mythology, fables, stories, etc. etc., was freely carried away by many Indians themselves who visited other countries. Similarly, it is quite possible, people coming from other countries to India must have brought their own mythology and fables along with them. But the great majority of experts, whose names need not be mentioned here, are of opinion that the quality of the mythology, stories etc. etc., introduced in India by this agency, was of such an inferior quality that it did not find any footing in this country and therefore did not create any lasting or durable impression either by itself or in conjunction with the legends and fables of this country.

From the borders of India these stories went to Persia, the Near East and then to Greece and Rome. In the 8th century the Arabs invaded Europe and after the conquest of Spain, Italy and Switzerland, remained in France upto the end of the 10th century. It is also a welknown fact that the present Europe, and specially France, is immensely indebted to the Arabs for the opening of cultural activities and advancement of knowledge, and it were they who universally introduced these Jātakas all over Europe and there were translated first in Greek, Latin and French and afterwards into the various other languages of the continent.

Here one important point is to be borne in mind; namely why these Jātakas or stories from the life of the Buddha were so universally accepted and appreciated.

Value of the Jatakas

It is obvious that the time to which these stories are referred to, is the time when the whole of the civilized world was in a mood to find solace from the philosophical and religious ideas, and secondly the stories of the Buddha's life are told in such a wonderful manner that each story without losing its charm and quality of being a story, always has a moral to teach in a very simple and terse fashion, and besides, nothing can better improve impressively the mind of a child than a story; hence this had been very appealing to the ancient and the medieval mind of the world.

Method of Transformation.

The Jātaka stories as shown above were carried to Europe under various forms and denominations, much depending on the sources which had been responsible for this tansformation.

Aesops' Fables.

For instance take an important example. Every body has heard the name of Aesops' fables which are so popular all over the world and which have been told and retold, from age to age, in nearly all the recognized and known languages, under various and changing denominations. Aesop, till quite recently was only a mythological character. But thanks to the untiring efforts of the French, German and English savants of our age, now more or less, it has been definitely established that Aesop is a Greek and belongs to the 6th century B. C. His wonderful tales were enjoyed by Socrates, Plato, Aristophanes, Aristotle, Lucian and others during all the succeeding ages. However, after the death of Aesop his works remained in complete obscurity for ages and it appears that no attempt was ever made in this long interval to revive them. But it did not mean that the great storage of knowledge which once through his efforts and talent, had acquired publicity, remained closed. On the contrary, without actually finding out the real agency of Aesops' fables, the world went on being benifitted by them, all the same. However, gradually, as mentioned before, Aesops' identity was established and practically every story of the series had been traced to its origin from the Indian sources Jātakas or the stories from the life of the Buddha.

Illustration of French literature cited.

It is quite possible that to a superficial observer this statement may appear fantastic, but it stands to reason that as soon as the thin screen which blurs the observation of the true picture, is removed, the real position will be quite clear. For a comprehensive understanding of the true position under discussion, it would be better if a concrete example is taken. For our purpose, take the case of any of the Latin or Roman languages. For instance, take the case of the French literature. Let it be cleared at the outset that what is true of the French literature, is also true of other literatures pertaining to other Latin or still better Roman languages such as Italian, Spanish or Portugese. It will be admitted that during the early medieval ages, it was France and Spain from where the torch of knowledge was carried to the four corners of Europe and therefore in this analysis what is true of France is still truer of other European countries.

Saracence in Europe.

The first contacts of the saracens and the French came into existence early in the 8th century. After the conquest of Spain, the whole of the Midi, Switzerland, including lake Constance, Northern Italy and part of Northern Germany, Saracens remained in France upto the commencement of the 10th century. Facts will bear out that when the saracens came to France the French language had hardly come into existence; Latin and Greek was the language of upper classes and provincial dialects in which the bards used to sing praises of their lords, were the wheel of expression of the popular sections of the people. It is evident that in the developement of those early provincial dialects, saracenic literature, fables and legends played a very important part. Many of the stories and legends had found their way in the early French literature.

Early French literature.

It will be seen that the early French literature which is divided into "Cycles" that is to say, a special characteristic or form of expression in verse with specific themes, was predominant for several centuries. For example, take the special literature or cycles known as "the cycle of the Chevalier or cycle of the Renard." The cycle of the Chevalier refers to the literature which may be identified in English with the name of the literature of the "Knight errand cycle"; similarly the cycle of the "Renard literature" belongs to the "Fox cycle". Now this literature had been formed, by making an animal rational and putting a talking tongue into its mouth. The fox relates its own stories under various forms and from them morals are drawn. If an analysis of these stories is made then it will be found that the derivative source of these stories are the Buddhist Jātakas. Now this eternal and inexhaustible source of literature became the pivot on which the future expansian of the French literature was carried out gradually during the coming centuries.

Making of the French Literature.

How from humble beginnings the French literature developed to an enormous variety of expression, is a phenomena, which those who have studied the processes which give birth to the formation of languages due to foreign influences, will tell atonce. It is not a new thing. These processes are historical and always repeat themselves under similar conditions. The burden of expansion and multiplication always depending on the quality of the language or dialect which is the subject of the inter-action. To quote a living example, take the case of the Urdu language.

Anybody who is familiar with the history of this language knows very well how it has accepted the influence of foreign languages during the centuries when India was under foreign domination. Similarly it happened in France. After the infiltration, so to say of the foreign lingual influences at the commencement of the eighth century the processes of internal developement inherent in the French provincial dialects of the Midi, went on gradually multiplying till at the end of several centuries, we find that the enormous variety of the French literature which had developed under various processes, became evident in a pronounced way at the commencement of the 15th century. Therefore upto this century the French literature and its various sub-sections such as religious discourses, sermons, religious dramas, ethics, moral philosophy, storiology, satire etc. were all influenced by the life stories of the Buddha or the Jātakas or by their by-products, till with the growth of time and maturity of ideas, after going through natural processes of literary adaptation and multiplication, these fables and the characters embodied therein, took different and diversified shapes and forms, in the literature of various countries. And this is the reason why Prof. Benfey and others have traced the same stories or ideas drawn from them, to Gower, Chaucer, Spenser, Poggio, Boccaccio and many other later writers.

"Thus, for instance, the three Caskets and the Pound of Flesh in the Merchant of Venice, and the Precious Jewels which in "As you like it", the venomous toad wears in his head, are derived from the Buddhist tales. In a similar way, it has been shown that tales current among the Hungarians and the numerous peoples of the Slavonic race have been derived from Buddhist sources, through translations made for the Huns, who penetrated in the time of Genghis Khan into the East of Europe" (Mrs. Rys Davids in Buddha's Birth Stories Introduction p. xii.)

In the 16th century, the age of discovery and adventure was agog in Europe and therefore the enormous number of the Voyagers and Sailors while visiting the various Asiatic countries especially India and China, came back laden and enriched with wonderful mythological and religious stories which in their turn, inevitably found their way in European literature.

La Fontaine

In the 17th century La Fontaine the great exponent of the Fable-literature created his own land-mark. It was the fashion in those days that generally literary men and women used to meet in their salons. And in these salons poetic-verses concerning various topics but generally some kind of poem, having a moral or still better, a story put into the mouth of an animal, were recited and ideas were exchanged. This age produced many writers of whom La Fontaine stands out as the most conspicuous and the founder of his own school in literature. It has been now established that all this literature along with its by-products and subsections, owes its origin to the various Jātakas and their transformations, imitations, adaptations and other various literary derivative forms, developed during the succeeding centuries.

Reaction on the Renaissance and the Reformation

For our purpose at this stage it is not necessary to go into very minute details; but it is undeniable, as has been asserted by many eminent savants of international recognition, that this whole literature has also its useful reactions on the so called Reformation. It is note-worthy that it must be thoroughly understood that this influence on the reformation did not come as a bolt from the blue. But on the contrary, as is always the case, it was the result of long processes of contact spreading over centuries, before the commencement of the Reformation.

The Crusades and literary re-action

It is a well known fact that while the Crusades had their pernicious results, it is undeniable that during the long periods while they lasted most useful cultural and humanitarian activities were also going on side by side. One important result of these activities was the introduction in Europe of the ancient treasures of knowledge of the Greeks and the Indians through the Arabs and other Crusaders. During this age no doubt the Jātaka Literature and also literature relating to other Buddhist and Hindu sections was undisputably and abundantly carried to the four corners of Europe and therefore it ultimately accelerated the pace of Renaissance in Italy and Reformation on the continent. This example, as mentioned before, is also true of other Roman countries as well. It is now clear what a mighty force this Buddhist literature has been and how gradually, persistently and continuously it has infuenced the literary systems of the civilized world.

Jatakas as source of all literature

The Indian stories, from the life of the Buddha, from times immemorial, first passed on verbally and then were translated, imitated, adopted and remodelled practically in all the languages of the known countries. Apart from India, the whole of Asia and the whole of Europe, including places far remote, like Iceland and the whole of the present America, have heard the voice of the Buddha through these Jātakas. Some of the eminent American writers, no doubt, have already acknowledged their gratitude to this infinite source of literary productivity. The great storiologists of our time have shown quite conclusively that all the recognized sources of the world legends, belonging to the various races and nations in the past, have been drawn from this eternal source of world mythology.

Departure from old literature due to modern conditions.

It is natural that after the commencement of the industrial age, in the 17th century due to new discoveries, science and invention, this influence which was handed down from age to age, grew less and less every day till in the clamour for new ideas and ideals it lost its force and gave way to new and modern ideas which provide a great contrast for the consideration of humanity at large. Now it is open to us to consider that where as the war is an un-necessary evil in spite of its universal a bhorrence it will continue to come in the future as in the past only changing its forms and the ideals for which it may be fought. A comparative study will proclaim at once that while nations brought up on old literatures derived from ancient religions, mythologies and philosophy were better human beings or those brought up on the philosophy derived from the modern Fascist idealism with their greatest exponents like Hitler or Mussolini who brought to this world the last unprecedented carnage and destruction. The answer is obvious. Therefore in the name of humanity and all which is sacred to us, let us, now under this august gathering sit down together to find out the ways and means which may be calculated to be helpful in the utilization anew of these literatures for building up the latest and the modern pattern of man irrespective of caste, creed and race. This assertion is not in vain, it is surely through the guidance of similar gatherings and societies that in the future this planet may be built up more secure than ever before for the continuation of our life in peace and prosperity which is the ultimate aim of our very existence.

Buddhist cultural contribution

Now in the end it is worth considering that during the milleniums gone by what a great influence this Buddhist literature has exerted in the development of the human mind!

What an enormous contribution it has made to the religions and philosophies and therefore to the betterment of the world. Indeed the contribution of Buddhism to the cultural development of the world has been too enormous, to be realized here by mere words. The miracle has been the fact that inspite of the enormity and intensity of this influence, it has been so imperceptable and mute that all the people have bowed down to the inevitable without knowing it. "But Professor Liebrecht, when identifying Josaphat with the Buddha, took no notice of this, and it was Professor Max Muller, who has done so much to infuse the glow of life into the dry bones of Oriental Scholarship, who first pointed out the strong fact almost incredible, were it not for the completeness of proof, that Gotama the Buddha under the name of St. Josaphat is now officially recognized and honoured and worshipped through out the whole of Catholic Christendom as a Christian Saint." (Mrs. Rhys Davids : Buddhist Birth Stories p. xxxvii and xxxix).

Homage to Buddha

The world owes a sense of gratitude to the great Buddha from whose immortal teachings every day, nay, every minute millions of children the world over pay their silent homage irrespective of their race, caste or creed and this has been in usage throughout the ages and will ever remain the same.

LEGAL DEALINGS BETWEEN THE BUDDHIST SAṄGHA AND THE LAITY

W. Pachow

A clarification should be made at the very outset that these 'Legal dealings' do not in any way imply the hearings and trials in the Court of a state, but are rather subject to the jurisprudence of the Buddhist Church, in which, the Prātimokṣa and other Vinaya texts are the most valued authoritative works on the Buddhist Law. The structure of the Prātimokṣa constitutes a set of prohibitive rules such as Pārājikā, Saṅghāvaśeṣa and so forth, ranging from the gravest offences to the ordinary and insignificant ones in order to regulate the actions and behaviour of the Bhikṣus and Bhikṣuṇis. And its ultimate aim is to provide the practitioner a vehicle by which he may be enabled to attain his supreme object, namely, Nirvāṇa or Deliverance, as its name signifies. It is quite clear then that the Prātimokṣa concerns the members of the Saṅgha only and its lay--disciples would not, in any case, come under its jurisdiction, though according to the Chinese Tripiṭaka, they have Prātimokṣas of their own.* How then, one may well ask, does the question of Legal dealings between the Bhikṣu and the Upāsaka arise? And how should the case be disposed of, if a dispute is taking place between them ?

These are interesting questions indeed.

Fathoming carefully into the vast ocean of Buddhist literature, one will not come across many cases of this type. The reasons for this are obvious, that if the Upāsaka is a true disciple of Buddhism, the first and foremost duty he has to perform is to pay homage to the holy Triad, the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. The Saṅgha consists of Bhikṣus or mendicants and it is, in fact, one of the most important elements of Buddhism That its members are revered every where and on every occasion by the laity is but logical and natural. Of course, occasionally there are exceptions, the fault may either be ascribed to the Bhikṣu or the Upāsaka concerned. And as a result thereof, the authorities of the Saṅgha take direct action against the guilty Bhikṣus or Upāsakas in accordance with the Law, although its attitude seems a bit sterner towards the Bhikṣus.

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* See Nanjo No. 1083 Sūtra on the manners concerning the five Silas of the Bodhisattva Upāsaka :

Ibid No. 1088 Upāsaka-sūtra;

Ibid No. 1096 Bodhisattva Prātimokṣa-sūtra. The same, Skt. text, edited by N. Dutt.

Fortunately there have been preserved two cases for us, one being the Bhikṣu complaining against the Upāsaka and the other being just the reverse, We deem it proper to present the cases here separately :—

The Upāsaka making a false complaint against a Bhikṣu

The cause of this case that led the Saṅgha to take action against a lay disciple was originally a concern of two persons, a Bhikṣu and a layman, but the punishment, if we may call it, imposed on the latter, is the result of collective action by the whole Buddhist Church. The story may be briefly summarised below :—

Vaḍḍha, the Licchavi, was a faithful devotee of the Bhikṣus who were the followers of Mettiya and Bhummajaka of the notorious Chabbaggiya group.* Once, it is alleged, he saluted and addressed them for the third time, but there came no response at all. On enquiring into the matter, he was simply told that they had been molested by Bhikṣu Dabba, the Mallian and therefore, his assistance was petitioned to bring about the down-fall of Dabba. They solicited him to make a complaint to the Blessed One that his wife was defiled by Dabba, the Mallian ! Not knowing the weight of this false charge, he did it as instructed.

A charge of breach of morality against a saint who is said to have attained his Arhatship at the age of seven† must be, as we can presume, an astonishing shock to the whole Buddhist community. Without being concerned whether the culprit was an ordinary person or a superman, the Buddha had Dabba summoned and questioned, according to the usual proceedure of the Buddhist Law. The defendant being truly innocent and free from guilty conscience repudiated the charge that he could not call to mind, since his birth, that he had practised sexual intercourse, even in a dream, much less when he had been awake. This was so, as we can judge from the origin of this story. On hearing the defendant's statement, the Buddha, obviously believed it to be the truth and consequently pronounced his judgement that Vaḍḍha, the Licchavi, was a slanderer and as such, a punishment should be imposed on him, viz, 'let the Sangha turn the bowl down in respect of him and make him incapable of granting any alms to the Sangha.'‡ Accordingly the whole Order passed a formal resolution and gave their sanction to what was pronounced by the Blessed One. Ānanda was deputed to inform Vaḍḍha, the householder, to the above effect.

The above measure taken by the Buddhist Bhikṣus seems to be rather a social boycott, in the true sense of the term, than a punishment, especially when we compare this with the punishment meted out to a Bhikṣuṇi[*] for making the same false accusation against Dabba. Bhikṣuṇi Mettiyā was expelled by the Buddha for her offence though later on she was relieved of her burden by the confession of the mischievous Bhikṣus that she was innocent and had been set on by them with angry and bitter intentions of causing Dabba's downfall. The expelling of this Bhikṣuṇi in the present connection is rather an unusual case. It is not based on the Bhikṣuṇi-Prātimokṣa. It is stated in the eighth Saṅghādiśeṣa of that book that if a Bhikṣuṇi, being in anger and malice, disliking a pure and faultless Bhikṣuṇi, shall defame her, with the intention of destroying her pure conduct on a groundless charge of having committed a Pārājikā offence—that is a Saṅghādiśeṣa.[†] In case, a Bhikṣu acts in like manner towards another Bhikṣu, the offence will be exactly as that of the Bhikṣuṇis, namely, a Saṅghāvaśeṣa offence.[‡]

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* See Cullavagga, V, 20, 1 and note 1.

† Ibid, IV, 4, 1.

‡ Cullavagga, V, 20, 3; Cf. Oldenborg : Buddha, his life, his doctrine, his order, p. 384.

The seriousness of the Saṅghāvaśeṣa offences is only next to that of the Pārājikā in the Prātimokṣa. When a Bhikṣu (or a Bhikṣuṇi) is proved to have committed such an offence, the process for him (or her) to get punished and purified is rather a tedious and lengthy one. He has to remain in a separate residence for as many days as he knowingly conceals it. When that is over, he has to undergo the Mānatta[$] discipline for six further days and nights, then comes the ceremony of Abbhāna or pardoning of the offence and finally he will be reinstated in a place where the community of the Bhikṣus form a body of twenty. Whereas the punishment of 'turning down the bowl' against a householder is so light in nature that there is hardly any pain inflicted upon him except by way of his repentance and mental worries. This kind of social boycott, is nowhere to be found in the Bhikṣu-Prātimokṣa and is in fact, a peculiar type of its own, though it has a slight resemblence to a case recorded in the Mahāparinibbāna Sutta.[||] We are told in that Sutta that Ānanda was instructed by the Blessed One, at the moment of the latter's entering into the final Nirvāṇa, to impose the Brahma Daṇḍa on Bhikṣu Channa who had been guilty of a certain offence. The characteristic of this punishment is also within the sphere of passive measures of a social boycott. It allows the offender to speak freely whatever he wishes, but the Bhikṣus would neither speak to him, nor exhort him nor admonish him.[*] It may seem strange enough that this very punishment given by the Buddha is again nowhere mentioned in the Prātimokṣa, nor adopted in its legal dealings later on by the Saṅgha for being put into practice. Further the strangest thing that requires clarification is that according to the Bhikṣuṇi-Prātimokṣa, a Bhikṣuṇi commits only a Saṅghāvaśeṣa offence, if she accuses others groundlessly of having violated moral chastity. Then why was it necessary to expel her even when she did not commit any offence of the Pārājikā class? Is it because the accused was a Bhikṣu (Dabba)? Or shall we say that the description in the Cullavagga is open to doubt and criticism?

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[*] Bhikṣuni Mettiyā was asked by the Bhikṣus who were followers of Mettiyā and Bhummajaka to accuse Dabba falsely that she had been defiled by him. Cullavagga IV, 4,8-9.

[†] Pātimokka, p. 30. Ed. by R. D. Vadekar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; Nanjio No. 1117 Dharmagupta Vinaya Ch. 22, Saṅghāvaseṣa II.

[‡] Prātimokṣa, S. B. E. Vol. XIII, p. 9.

[$] Ibid, p. 14; Cullavagga, II, 6-8.

[||] Digha-Nikāya, XVI, 1-7 : Cf. Fachow : 'Comparative studies in the Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta.' Sino-Indian studies, Vol. II. Part I, P. 22.

But this goes far beyond our scope. We therefore come to the relevant point that if an offence described in the Prātimokṣa is committed by a Bhikṣuṇi (or a Bhikṣu) and a Upāsaka, the latter receives a punishment lighter than what the former receives. In other words, the lay disciples are not counted as members[†] of the order, though they may be devotees of the Buddhist faith.

The Bhikṣu making an improper complaint against an Upāsaka

Speaking from the literary point of view, the whole episode concerning the quarrel between Bhikṣu Sudhamma and Citta, the householder of Macchikāsaṇḍa, would be considered as one of the most interesting pieces in Vinaya literature. But it does not stop there. It further furnishes us with such data that enable us to frame a clear picture in regard to the legal relation between a layman and a Buddhist mendicant. The ground for the rising of this dispute, as narrated in the Cullavagga,[‡] is that Citta Upāsaka used to supply Bhikṣu Sudhamma all the requisites that were necessary for a mendicant and would refer the matter to him beforehand whenever an invitation to the Bhikṣus was to be made. It so happened that when the prominent disciples of the Tathāgata namely, Sāriputta, Moggallāna, Anuruddha and others one day had suddenly arrived at Macchikāsaṇḍa, Citta offered them his hospitalities as best he could, including a meal to be served at his house the next day. He invited Sudhamma too, but the latter refused to participate, as he had harboured a doubt that the former was no longer taking interest in him, as an invitation was extended to the Elder Bhikṣus without his previous knowledge. The climax would have been avoided, if Sudhamma had not gone there at dinner time and refrained from making unnecessary remarks in regard to the absence of sesamum cakes. But most unfortunately he did. Citta, the householder, therefore could not check himself from retorting him with the simile of a hybrid chick giving vent to a 'caw' when it tried to utter the cry of a cock, and giving vent to a 'cook-adoodle-do' when it tried to utter the cry of a crow. That is to say, Sudhamma could not speak of anything else with regard to the Buddhist doctrine, but only of 'sesamum cakes !' Sudhamma considered it to be a great insult, took leave of the householder and went to Śravasti to see the Blessed One, in order to file a suit against the householder.

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[*] Cullavagga, XI, 1, 12

[†] Oldenberg : Buddha, his life, his doctrine, his Order, P. 382.

[‡] Cullavagga, I, 18, 1--5.

Judging by the customary practices of a lay disciple paying respect to the members of a religious Order everywhere and on every ocasion, most of us would probably think that Citta might have been punished for his finding[*] fault with one of the members of the Saṅgha. But the wisdom of the Buddha and the judgement of the Buddhist Law would differ from us. Sudhamma was severely rebuked by the Blessed One for his foolishness in putting and lowering Citta, the householder down by his *censure*. The Paṭisāraṇiya-kamma or Act of Reconciliation was finally imposed on him. According to that Act, he was forced to ask and obtain pardon of Citta, the householder, though he did not like it, and it seemed he felt it a bit too much to swallow. He went back to Macchikāsaṇḍa for the aforesaid purpose, but consequently was unable to do so as his mind had been greatly distressed. The Saṅgha thought it wise to appoint a companion messenger for him and both of them went there again until his ultimate object was attained.

From the elaborate and determinative process[†] of a Bhikṣu's obtaining pardon of a householder, we may venture to suggest that the practice of the Buddhist Law had undergone a certain change, probably at a time not long after the death of the Master. As we have never come accross the legal terms such as Dukaṭa, Thullaccaya, dubbhāsita etc. in the Prātimokṣa and as there is a complete absence of various Saṅgha Kammas, including the one that was imposed on Bhikṣu Sudhamma, it may be assumed that the Buddhist Church, in course of time, framed such legal terms and Acts that were of sheer necessity to cope with the unusual circumstances under which its brethren were living. To expel[‡] a Bhikṣuṇi from the Bhikṣuṇi Saṅgha instead of the Sanghāvaśeṣa punishment and to impose a Paṭisāraṇiya-Kamma on a Bhikṣu who really did not deserve such a punishment were some of the notable facts that marked the change in the latter Buddhist Church. We are not prepared to believe that the above changes were conducted under the direction of the Buddha, though the Cullavagga also is alleged to have been composed during Buddha's time. Among the ten formulated Rules,* a Paṭisāraṇiya-Kamma should be carried out against the offender, we find Sudhamma was charged with the offence of lowering a householder by *censure*† (8th of the ten rules). Strictly speaking, this rule should not have been applied to him. What Sudhamma said to Citta, was that the preparation of Tila seed-cake was not there. Could any intelligent person think it to be a censure whereby the householder was lowered or put down ? On the other hand, Citta, judging by common sense, was behaving very unbecomingly and exceeded the limit of propriety as a lay disciple. The simile of a hybrid chick is definitely a gross insult and as such, any sensible man could hardly tolerate it, what to speak of a Bhikṣu like Sudhamma who had a strong sense of self-respect. Of course, he (Sudhamma) cannot be said to have been absolutely free from guilt. His fault, if we may speak plainly, was of a little suspicion and behaving himself a bit unwisely. The Saṅgha might censure him for that, but the act of forcing him even to squat on the ground with folded hands for the purpose of begging a householer's pardon is. in our opinion, somewhat severe.

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[*] This is one of the eight things that the punishment of 'turning down the bowl' should be imposed on a householder. See Cullavagga, V, 20, 3.

[†] It may be said to have four stages : 1. The Bhikṣu goes alone to ask and obtain pardon of the householder. 2. If he is not able to do the first one, a companion messenger is appointed for him. 3. If the householder still does not grant him pardon, the companion messenger should ask his pardon in the name of the offender, in his name and in the name of the Saṅgha. 4. If the householder remains as stiff as before, he should make the offender, without going out of sight and out of hearing of the householder, arrange his robe on one shoulder, squat down on his heels, fold his palms together and confess his fault.

[‡] Cullavagga, IV, 4, 8-9; Bhikkhuni-Pātimokkha, Section II. N. 8.

The reasonable explanation of this act of the Saṅgha at that time, would probably be that it had to depend on the support of the laity for their requisites and well-being. This can be seen from the emphasis that Citta was '... a donor, a provider, and a supporter of the Saṅgha.'‡ The Saṅgha needs economic assistance from the lay disciples, especially so, when the Master was no more. Without that support, the members of the Saṅgha would be in a difficult position to attain their supreme object of Nirvāṇa. Taking this into consideration the Saṅgha, therefore, at the time of Buddhist legal judgement was rather indulgent to the householder even when he was definitely wrong, and punished its own member rather severely when a dispute had arisen over a Bhikṣu and a householder, in which the former was found to be guilty.

It may be mentioned in passing that the confirmation of a person being guilty in the Buddhist Law depends more on selfconscience than witness or evidence, as illustrated in the case of Bhikṣu Dabba. And the accused may or may not be present before the authorities of the Saṅgha when a judgement is delivered. This differs from the legal proceedure of a modern state, as it has some special religious significance.

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* Cullavagga I, 20, I.

† Ibid, I, 18, 5.

‡ Cullavagga, I. 18, 5.

BUDDHA AND THE CASTE SYSTEM

Shri **A. R. Kulkarni,** Nagpur.

The Caste system and the allied evil of untouchability are a great stigma on the Hindu society. If any systematic, powerful and effective effort was made in ancient India to root out these evils, it was by Bhagawān Gautama Buddha.

The teachings of Buddha pertaining to Caste system are summarised in the *Vasalasutta* of the *Sutta nipāta* and the *Brāhmaṇa Vaggo* of the *Dhammāpada.* According to the former a *Vasala* or a low born person is one who has no morals, or has low morals. The entire contents of the *sutta* are very well summed up in one verse :—

न जच्चा वसलो होति न जच्चा होति ब्राह्मणो ।
कम्मुना वसलो होति कम्मुना होति ब्राह्मणो ॥

" No one is a *Vasala* (low born) by birth : no one by birth is a Brāhmaṇa. By conduct one becomes Vasala, by conduct does one become a Brāhmaṇa.'' Similarly, the *Dhammapada* defines a Brāhmaṇa as follows :—

न जटाहि न गोत्तेहि न जच्चा होति ब्राह्मणो ।
यम्हि सच्चञ्च धम्मो च सो सुची सो च ब्राह्मणो ॥

"Not by matted hair, not by family, not by birth, does one become a Brāhmaṇa. In whomsoever truth and piety are found, he is pure and he is a *Brāhmaṇa.*''

This emphasis on conduct instead of birth by the Holy Teacher runs throughout his discourses as recorded in the Buddhist literature. Once Ānand a disciple of Bhagwan Buddha had gone to a well to drink water. A mātang woman was drawing water from the well. Ānand asked her to give him water. She replied " she was a Mātang woman and he would be polluted by drinking water at her hands.'' Ānand replied "I want water lady, and not your caste'' The mātang lady was very much pleased at the behaviour of Ānand and she went to Bhagwan Buddha and became his lay follower. This exercised a great influence not only upon those millions of people who embraced Buddhism as monks or laymen, but also upon those who remained outside it. Even the authors of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Manusmṛti* - the two most authoritative and ancient Hindu works that uphold the caste system of the Hindus-recognized conduct as the chief factor that determines one's position in Society. This was due to the influence of Buddha's teachings. Gautama Buddha was thus the first propounder of the classless society and secular state which even now remain our ideals to be achieved.

Section : Prakrit and Jainism

Presidential Address

Dr. **Banarsi Das Jain,** M. A. Ph. D.

First of all I thank the Conference anthorities for the honour they have done me by asking me to preside at the Prakrit and Jainism Section. Originally Muni Jina Vijaya had been elected for this purpose but a few days before the holding of the session he resigned on account of ill health. His lot fell on me possibly because I also happen to be interested in the same subjects as he. I accepted the offer with hesitation as I hardly saw any qualification in me to justify the substitution.

Muni Jina Vijaya's presence on this occasion would have been a source of inspiration for all and his address would have been a piece of scholarship. My address is only a humble attempt as the time at may disposal was so short that I could not devote as much attention to its preparation as its nature demanded. Consequently I have pieced together stray bits of information, dealing mainly with the Prakrit and Jaina studies in the Punjab.

Before coming to the proper subject, I have to report the heavy loss sustained by our studies through the untimely death of Shriyut Mohanlal Dalichand Desai which took place last year. His जैन साहित्य नो संक्षिप्त इतिहास and प्राचीन गुर्जर कविओ are monuments of patience and industry.

During the last twenty years or so the Prakrit and Jaina studies have acquired an independent place in Indology. In the early days of Indology these studies did not receive their due share of attention at the hands of scholars. For this, however, the Jains themselves are partly responsible because they jealously guarded their literature from the gaze of all outsiders. The Digambaras did not favour the printing of their *śāstras*. Even to-day there are individuals who would not do their *svādhyāya* from a printed copy.

Jaina works began to be published comparatively at a later date than the Brahmanic ones. The reason is that for the latter there was a growing demand in *ṭols* and *pāṭhashālas* in which hundreds of students read Sanskrit, whereas among the Jains the only students were the monks and *bhaṭṭārakas* who either used old

MSS or made copies thereof for themselves. For the use of the *śrāvakas* manuals in Hindī, Gujarāti and other languages were printed.

Much of the pioneer work connected with our subjects was, however, done in the last century. The labours of Buhler, Hoernle, Bhandarkar, Leumann, Jacobi and others are too important to be forgotten. For the last two or three decades the Indian Universities also have begun to take interest in Prakrit and and Jainism. Ardha-Māgadhi has been recognised as a full subject of study by the University of Bombay the bulletin of which reports every quarter one or more theses relating to our studies written by its advanced students. For several years the Panjab University included in the syllabus for its M. A. examination in Sanskrit an alternative paper on Jaina philosophy and literature. Other Universities also provide facilities for these subjects. The Benares Hindu University, the Shantiniketan and the Bhāratiya Vidyā Bhavan have separate chairs or departments for these studies.

In the present century there has been a considerable awakening among the Jains themselves. They are the chief upholders of the cause of Prakrits. They have come to realise the importance of a scientific study of their religion and literature. The number of their literary bodies is quite large and their output vast and variegated. The *Abhidhāna-Rajendra* in seven volumes stands out as a monument besides the numberless series and isolated publications. The *Sthānakvāsī* sect which was not so keen at literary pursuits in the past can now point as its contribution to an *Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary* and *Jaina-Siddhānta Kaumudī* or AMg grammar, both compiled by the late Swāmi Ratna Chandra. Even the *Terapanthi* sect which is most conservative and puritanic has not lagged behind. Some of its enlightened members residing at Calcutta have published Hindi tracts embodying their beliefs. Recently a booklet in English summing up the views on war and peace of their present head Swami Tulsi Ram has appeared. Lately the Tāranpanthi sect so little known to outsiders has thought of publishing the writings of their founder Swāmi Tāraṇji who flourished in the 16th Century of the Vikrama era. The तारणतरणश्रावकाचार edited by the late Brahmachāri Sital Prasād with a Hindi commentary of his own appeared from Sagar (C. P.) in 1932. This work is highly interesting as it is composed in a language that may be called "Imitation Sanskrit." This language is not based on any actually spoken dialect but is artificially constructed by knowingly or unknowingly distorting Sanskrit words. The तारणतरणश्रावकाचार is not the sole example of Imitation Sanskrit. Hymns composed in it in praise of gods and goddesses are found in the Prithirāj Rāso, the Ādi Granth of the Sikhs, the Rāmāyaṇ of Tulsī Dās and many other works.

This literary activity is not confined to the Jains of North India only. In the South considerable Jaina literature in the old and Modern Dravidian languages, especially Kannaḍa and Tamil has been made available in print.

The world war ended last year, but its effects on the output of publications in general have not yet completely disappeared. The different lines of publications including series and periodicals have continued their existence though thinner in bulk and irregular in appearance. The Jaina publications are not an exception to this rule.

From among the important publications that have appeared since the last session of the Conference, mention may be made of the संदेशरासक a poem in Apabhraṃśa mixed with old Gujarāti, composed by a Muslim poet Abdul Rahmān who was a weaver by profession like Kabīr. The poem is accompanied by a Sanskrit paraphrase and a commentary by later hands. It has been edited by Muni Jina Vijaya in the *Singhī Jaina Grantha Mālā* together with a learned introduction by H. C. Bhayani giving an exhaustive study on the language and metres of the poem. Muni Jina Vijaya regards Abdul Rahmān to be older than Amir Khusro who is generally considered to be the earliest Muslim writer of an Indian language.

However the most noteworthy work of the period, I believe, is Jinasena's *Dhavalāṭīkā* on the षट्खण्डागम or महाकर्मप्रकृतिप्राभृत several parts of which have already appeared under the learned editorship of Dr. Hira Lal Jain. It is unnecessary to say anything more on it as the Doctor's name is a hall-mark for editorship of Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa texts.

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Prakrits — which appeared from Paris in 1937 and 1938 respectively deserve notice here because owing to the war conditions they did not become available to many scholars in India at an earlier date. Purușottamaś प्राकृतानुशासन was hitherto unknown except for a stray reference in the Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University, XXIII, 1933 p. 7. The only MS of this grammar is a palm-leaf copy of 16 leaves preserved in the state library of Khatmandu (Nepal). Unfortunately the first two chapters (out of twenty) are missing. Their place in the MS is taken by the first 105 sūtras of another unknown Prakrit grammar. Perhaps the first two leaves of the latter are mixed up with the 14 leaves (3–16) of प्राकृतानुशासन. The MS is dated in the Nepali era 385=1265 A. D- Both these works belong to the eastern school of Prakrit Grammarians, and prove that Prakrits were studied in Nepal at one time.

Les Grammairiens Prakrits is a most valuable study of various Prakrit grammars. Some of the old theories are minutely discussed here in the light of the new discoveries.

Muni Jayanta Vijaya who is well-known for his gazetteers of the *tirthas* like Ābū, Śankheśvar etc. has published two more on Achalgaṛh and Hammīrgaṛh. Vijayendra Sūri's booklet on Vaiśālī is another work of this kind.

Recently a Jain Cultural Research Society was founded at Benares. It has published a few pamphlets, one of which from the pen of the late Dr. Beni Prasad is a masterpiece of learning and deep study. Another by Dr. Bool Chand is equally inspiring and thought-provoking.

In recent years there is seen a race for commemoration volumes or अभिनन्दन ग्रन्थs among the Jains. A decade ago the Śvetāmbaras published विजयानन्द-जन्मशताब्दी स्मारक ग्रन्थ to commemorate the birth Centenary of one of their leading Āchāryas Vijayānanda to whom R. Hoernle had dedicated his edition of the उवासगदसाओ. Vijayānanda was the most learned monk of his time and had been invited to the World's Congress of Religions held at Chicago in 1893, but he did not go there owing to his religious vows.

A few minutes after the reading of this address, an Abhinandan Granth will be presented to Pt. Nathu Ram Premi, a well-known scholar of Jainism and reputed publisher of Hindi.

Barni Abhinandan Granth undertaken to do honour to another scholar of Jainism is probably nearing its completion.

The Sthānakvāsis are arranging for a Divākar Abhinadnan Granth and it is expected to be out in the near future.

The Śvetāmbaras of the Punjab have just issued a circular inviting papers for a proposed volume to mark the 50th death anniversary of Vijayānanda whose works जैनतत्त्वादर्श, अज्ञानतिमिरभास्कर and तत्त्वनिर्णयप्रसाद are also being reprinted for the occasion.

Muni Kānti Sāgar who was mentioned in the inaugural speech yesterday by the Hon'ble Pt. Dwarka Prasad Miśra as an ardent scholar interested in the archaeology of this province informs me that he has discovered a unique and old work in Prakrit on Numismatics. It is द्रव्यपरीक्षा composed in Saṃ. 1375 by Pheru already known as the author of वास्तुसार. It consists of about 150 verses and gives a description of the different coins struck in the mint at Delhi. It specifies the name, weight and metal of about 700 coins. This is the only work of its kind so far discovered in India. An earlier work by the same author is रत्नपरीक्षा (in Prakrit) composed in Saṃ 1372 for the use of his son Hemapāla.

Last year an energetic young Jain of Bombay included in his business the preparation of gramophone discs recording Jaina hymns and stories to bring them into line with those of other religions and I believe he has made some progress in it. The credit of making Jaina records in India goes to this gentleman but in Germany they were made twenty years ago by the University of Berlin although with a different object. One of the records is of the *Namaskāra-mantra* spoken by the late Mr. Champat Rai Jain, and another is of Prakrit verses recited by me.

Having said so much about the general progress of our subjects, I now come to the main point of my addresss, *viz.* the part played by the Punjab in the furtherance of Prakrit and Jaina studies.

Jainism has had a very flourishing career in the Punjab. Though this religion never reached the masses in this land, yet the small number of its adherents here have always held a prominent position socially and economically.

During his stay at Lahore the Emperor Akbar invited Jaina monks of the Śvetāmbara sect to his court. The monks had a considerable influence on his ideas and policy. Vincent Smith deplores that this fact "has not been recognised by historians. No reader of the works of Elphinstone, von Noer or Malleson would suspect that Akbar listened to the lessons of the Jaina holy men so attentively that he is reckoned by the Jaina writers among the converts to their religion, or that many of his acts from 1582 onwards were the direct outcome of his partial acceptance of Jaina doctrine. Even Blochmann failed to perceive that three of the learned men of the time as enumerated in Abul Fazl's long lists were eminent Jaina gurus."*

After Akbar, the Jaina monks continued to pay visits to the Punjab, but the *yatis*, however established a network of their *upāśrayas* here and did useful public service through the practice of medicine and astrology.

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* Akbar the Great Mughal; Oxford, 1927 pp. 166.

At present there are about 50,000 Jains in the Punjab. Nearly half of them, mostly Agarwal Digambars, reside in the districts of Ambala, Karnal, Rohtak and Hissar. The rest are scattered over the province chiefly in towns. They are mainly Oswals belonging to the Śvetambara and Sthānakvāsi Sects. The Jains of the Punjab have two *gurukulas*, two Colleges, two hostels at Lahore, several High Schools and a number of *paṭhashālās*.

The literary activity among the Jains of the Punjab mainly in the form of publishing books and tracts began with the commencement of the present century. B. Gyan Chand among the Digambaras and L. Jaswant Rai among the Śvetāmbaras were the leaders in this direction.

A little later the Panjab University stepped into the field. In 1910 there were hardly half a dozen Jaina books on the shelves of the Punjab University Library. I was a B. A. student then. The late Dr. A. C. Woolner who was then the Registrar of the Punjab University and Principal of the Oriental College asked me to introduce to him any Jaina pandit that came to Lahore. The late Brahmachari Sītal Prasād happened to be in Lahore at that time. I took him to Woolner at whose request the Brahmacharī prepared a list of important Jaina works which were thereafter purchased by the University Library. In 1916 while writing his *Introduction to Prakrit*, Woolner keenly felt the want of Prakrit works in the University Library. He at once advised me to collect Prakrit canon and other works. After thirty years the Punjab University Library has now a fine collection of Jaina literature.

The first book that the Punjab University published and in which we are interested is the *Introduction to Prakrit* compiled by Dr. Woolner in 1917. It has run through three editions. This was the first detailed account of Prakrits in English and has greatly encouraged their study in India and abroad. At the request of the Jains the book was translated into Hindi under the title प्राकृतप्रवेशिका and was published by the University in 1934. In 1924 the University published *An Ardha-Māgadhī Reader* compiled by me. This was, I believe, the first book of its kind and for several years was used as a text-book in the Bombay University. A year later appeared Dr. Woolner's *Aśoka Text and Glossary* with a comparative grammar of the different edicts.

Dr. Woolner had been collecting material for a Prakrit Dictionary for many years and kept working at it till the last day. He has left a register containing about 12,000 words which is now in the custody of the Oriental College. It will prove of immense value to any one who undertakes to compile a Prakrit Dictionary.

After Dr. Woolner the Sanskrit department of the Punjab University came under the charge of Dr. Lakshman Sarup,* a conspicuous member of this conference for over twenty years. He, too was as zealous in the furtherance of Prakrit and Jains studies as his predecessor. As editor of the Oriental College Magazine Dr. Sarup was responsible for the appearance in it of the following works:

1. *Vasudhārādhāriṇī*, a Buddhist work adopted by the Śvetāmbara Jains who recite and worship it on the Diwālī night in the hope that it will bring them huge fortunes. Numerous copies of this dhāriṇī, some artistically copied in gold ink are found in Jain bhaṇḍārs. [Oriental College Magazine, 1940]

2. Fragments of Pītāmbara's commentary on Hāla's *Saptaśatī*, from an incomplete MS found in the Punjab University Library, the remaining portion being unavailable. [Oriental College Magazine, 1942]

3. *Kālakācāryakathāsaṃgraha* being a Devanāgarī transliteration of the six versions of the Kālakācāryakathānaka contained in Brown's *Story of Kālaka*. [Oriental College Magazine, 1944]

4. *Hindī translation of the above* made by me. [Oriented College Magazine, 1944]

In Brown's work I detected a number of errors which I corrected in my translation. *E. g.*,

The verse No. 100 of the bigger anonymous version reads

गुरु–आणाइक्कमणे आयावितो करेइ जइ वि तवं ।
तह वि न पावइ मोक्खं पुव्वभवे दोवई चेव ॥ १०० ॥

Brown translates: "Even though one does penance submitting to the burning heat of sun, if he does not do his master's commands, he will nevertheless not attain salvation, although he might have been the lord of heaven himself in a previous existence."

Evidently in the last quarter of this verse Brown takes दोवई=*Skt.* द्युपति, and चेव=*Skt.* चैव. In reality दोवई=*Skt.* द्रौपदी and चेव=*Skt.* च+इव. There is a well-known anecdote related in the 16th chapter of the *Nāyādhammakahā* which states how Draupadī disobeyed her teacher in a previous birth. But there is no reference to Indra having ever disobeyed his teacher.

In plate No. 15 Brown gives the facsimile of a page of a Prakrit text. In lines 1 and 2 the correct reading is —

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* It is a sad coincidence that Dr. Sarup died in the after-noon of the very day on which he returned to Lahore after attending this conference. He felt no trouble at Nagpur or on the way back.

तस्स भज्जा दुवे आसि रोहिणी देवई तहा ।
तासिं दोण्हं पिया पुत्ता इट्ठा रामकेसवा ॥ २ ॥

Brown has misread इट्ठा as दुट्ठा. In the Jaina script इ and दु have some similarity but still they are quite distinct. This wrong reading has resulted in the coinage of a "ghost" word दुट्ठराम for Brown remarks, "Vasudeva's wives Rohiṇī and Devakī are mentioned in stanza 2, and Duṭṭharāma (Duṣṭarāma=Balarāma) and Kesava (Keśava-Kṛṣṇa) were their sons."

The above criticism is not intended in any way to be a disparagement of Professor Brown's work.

5. Vikramasiṃha's पारसी भाषानुशासन a Persian-Sanskrit vocabulary of over 1000 words, edited by me for the first time from the only known manuscript. [Oriental College Magazine, 1945-46]

Of such vocabularies we have so far only Weber's edition of पारसीप्रकाश of Kṛṣṇadāsa published in 1887-89. Vikramasiṃha's vocabulary is older than this.

In an appendix I have published with emendations the text of a Persian hymn composed by Jinaprabha in praise of Ṛṣabha which was originally discovered and edited by Muni Jina Vijaya. It's interesting to note that the Jaina monks did not shirk from writing hymns to their holy Jains even in a foreign language like Persian. Many more such hymns have come to light. Shrī Agar Chand Nahta of Bikaner has just sent to me a few leaves of a MS that appears to be three or four centuries old. They contain a Persian hymn in praise of Śāntinatha. Its last verse records the date of composition in the Hijra era as 695 (=Saṃ 1352) and reads

अज तेरीप्र मुहम्मद् सन खमस व तिसइन सित्त मिय ।
फितिरीरीदी ग्राशि मिसरा कडदा मु दौलति वामी ॥ ९ ॥

A careful study of such hymns is likely to throw valuable light on the character of the Persian language used at the time and in the region of India where these hymns were composed.

Apart from the University, private firms of Sanskrit publishers undertake Jaina works. *The Jaina Jātakas*, an English translation of Hemacandra's त्रिषष्टि-शलाका-पुरुष-चरित्र Parvan I, canto I and *Jain Iconography* were published by M/s Motilal Banarsi Das whereas, M/s Mehar Chand Lachhman Das have inaugurated a series — *Jaina Śāstramālā*. The latter is intended to place in students' hands the whole of Jaina canon in a set of uniform volumes nicely printed and superbly bound. The credit of founding this series goes to the Sthānakvāsī monk Pūjya Atma Ram who has edited for it a number of *sūtras* with Hindi commentaries.

The same monk has written तत्त्वार्थसूत्रसमन्वय where he has quoted Āgamic passages corresponding to Umāswāmi's sūtras in sense and words.

A Sanskrit scholar of Lahore published in 1942 an edition of the कथाकोष which has been known through Tawney's translation for over sixty years. At that time the work was regarded as highly valuable, but it has lost its novelty with the appearance of abundant literature of this type. Unfortunately the Prakrit verses in the Lahore edition are very badly edited.

The Jain Vidya Bhavan founded at Lahore some time ago had soon to face hardships of high prices and paper famine. However it was able to publish two issues of the *Jaina Vidyā*, an edition of चित्रसेन-पद्मावती-चरित and भारतीय-संपादन शास्त्र in Hindi besides a few miscellaneous things.

Recently त्रैलोक्य-प्रकाश, a treatise on astrology by the Jaina monk Hemaprabhasūri of the fourteenth century has been published by a Lahore astrologer. It is a Tājika work and expressly mentions that this branch of knowledge flourished among the Mlecchas from whom it has been borrowed by the Jains. It also mentions *surlāb*, a shorter form of *usturlāb* (an astrolabe) as an instrument for making astronomical observations.

The last item that I want to deal here relates to the Jain bhaṇḍārs of the Punjab which are hiding about 30,000 MSS from the eyes of wishful scholars. One or two of these bhandars along with several collections belonging to Brāhman pandits were examined by that early cataloguer of Sanskrit MSS Pt. Kashi Nath Kunte in 1880.

The difficulties which the Pandit had to encounter in getting access to the Jain bhandars are described by him in his report in the following words :—

"The second library belonging to the common Jain Temple is, as mentioned above, under the control and supervision of the Gujranwala Bhabras, who have unanimously appointed Lala Karam Chand as its manager" [p. 9 of the Report for the quarter ending 31 *st* December 1880]

"On my arrival here Lala Karam Chand raised an objection in shewing the books to me, stating that almost all the books belonging to the Jain Temple Library treat of the Jain religion, and according to the custom obtaining among them, they were entirely forbidden to shew those sacred books to any one, even if he were a Jaina (except the Jatis or yatis, sādhus or monks of the Jaina religion)."

"I did not, however, despair and got Rai Mul Raj, M. A., P. C. S., Extra Assistant Commisioner, Gujranwala, to send for the man and persuade him to relax the old rule in my favour. He relented to this extent that the books should be shown to me on condition that I myself would not touch them. He would only allow me to read them from a distance, the books remaining in his hands all the while, and I should copy out their beginning, end, colophon etc. and he would dictate their subject, number of lines etc. to me. I thought this as a great favour on his part. For about a week I was compelled to abide by the above conditions, but gradually the Lala consented to hand over the books to me one by one. Lala Karam Chand could not give me more than three hours a day." [Report for the quarter ending 31 *st* December 1880, *p.* 2]

It will be intersting to note that Rai Mul Raj referred to here was the grand old man of the Punjab who died last year at the ripe age of 92.

The appendix volumes containing the beginning, end and colophon of important MSS prepared by Pt. Kashi Nath Kunte were not printed. They are lying in the Punjab University Library. For a long time after this neither the government nor the Jains paid any attention to these bhandars. It was Dr. Woolner who took up the matter again. But the mentality of the custodians of the bhandars had changed little during this long period. After a lengthy correspondence he got permission to examine some of the bhandars. A Shastri was deputed to take notes from the MSS upon the basis of which a preliminary catalogue of 3,000 MSS — more in the nature of a list than descriptive — was prepared by me and published by the Punjab University in 1939. In spite of its shortcomings this catalogue amply shows the value of the literary treasures hidden in the Jain bhandars of the Punjab. A number of previously unknown works have come to light which have been included by H. D. Velankar in his जिनरत्नकोष. The number of rare or otherwise important MSS is quite large.

I avail this opportunity to impress upon the custodians of these bhandars that as devotees of Lord Mahāvīra it is their first duty to suitably preserve His teachings. The institution of a proper library at Lahore — the centre of learning in the Punjab — should be their immediate and foremost thought. True worship of Jinavāṇī lies in allowing the bhandars to see the light of the day. It is the greatest disservice to Jinavāṇī to keep the bhandars in dark and damp dungeons where they are subject to constant and irreparable damage through moths and dampness. It is high time for the Punjab Jains to draw a lesson from their co-religionists of Bombay, Baroda, Bhavnagar, Pāṭan etc. who have spent thousands of rupees in erecting nice buildings to house their scriptural heritage.

Let me finish by making a few suggestions :—

(1) My first suggestion is about the publication of a complete set of the Śvetāmbara canon on the model of the secondary or Śaurasenī canon published in the Bibliotheca Jainica. The need of such a publication is constantly felt and often expressed. But so far it has remained a pious wish only. The *Jaina Śāstramālā* of Lahore mentioned above does not fully satisfy this need,

(2) My second suggestion relates to the preparation of a Jaina Bibliography as A. Guerinot's *Bibliographie* Jaina has miserably lagged behind, there being a flood of new publications, especially in India, during the last forty years. A bibliography will not only facilitate research but will check unnecessary duplication of work.

(3) My third suggestion is about the compilation of a dictionary of proper names found in the Jaina literature on the lines of G. P. Malalasekhara's dictionary of Proper names in Pali literature. The Jaina literature offers an equally, if not more, fertile source for such a dictionary, which can also serve as a concordance of stories to some extent.

जं जं मणेण चिंतिअमसुहं वायाइ भासियं किंचि ।
असुहं काएण कयं मिच्छामि दुक्कडं तस्स ॥

THE ORIGINAL NAME OF THE GĀTHĀSAPTAŚATĪ

Mahāmahopādhyāya **V. V. Mirashi**, M. A., Nagpur.

The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* is the earliest known anthology of Prakrit verses. Tradition ascribes it to Hāla and this is also corroborated by the following verse which says that Hāla, the beloved of poets, selected seven hundred out of a crore of embellished *gāthās*.

सत्त सआइं कइवच्छलेण कोडीअ मज्झआरम्मि ।
हालेण विरइआइं सालंकाराण गाहाणं ॥*

This Hāla is commonly identified with the homonymous prince of the so-called Āndhra dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas. The anthology also contains the following verse eulogising the munificence of the king Sālāhaṇa (Sanskrit, Sātavāhana) —

आवण्णाइं कुलाइं दो च्चिअ जाणंति उण्णइं णेउं ।
गोरीअ हिअअदइओ अहवा सालाहणणरिंदो ॥†

This Sātavāhana was probably none else than Hāla himself. The latter was so called because he belonged to the Sātavāhana royal family. That the Āndhra dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas was called Sātavāhana is known from inscriptions. The first king of this dynasty mentioned in the Purāṇas‡ is called Śimuka Sātavāhana in the label inscribed below his relievo in a cave at Nāṇāghāṭ in the Bombay Presidency.$ Another inscription at Nasik mentions his brother and successor Kṛishṇa as belonging to the Sātavāhana family.‖ Gautamīputra who later on reestablished the power of his family in Maharashtra by exterminating the Kshaharāta dynasty is eulogised in another Nasik inscription as one who had established the glory of the Sātavāhana family.[*] The Myakdonī rock inscription refers to Puḷumāvi (IV), the last king of the dynasty, as belonging to the Sātavāhana dynasty.[†] All these references clearly indicate that the royal family was known by the name of Sātavāhana. I have shown elsewhere[‡] that it was so called because it was descended from a king named Sātavāhana even as the Gupta family derived its name from its progenitor, the *Mahārāja* Gupta Hāla was called Sātavāhana because he belonged to this same royal family.

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* सप्तशतानि कविवत्सलेन कोटेर्मध्ये । हालेन विरचितानि सालंकाराणां गाथानाम् ॥ *Gāthāsaptaśati*, v. 3. The numbers of *gāthās* vary in different Mss. and editions of the *Saptaśati*. They are cited here according to the Nirṇayasāgara edition (pub. in 1911).

† आपन्नानि कुलानि द्वावेव जानीत उन्नतिं नेतुम् । गौर्या हृदयदयितोऽथवा सातवाहननरेन्द्रः ॥ *Ibid.*, v. 467.

‡ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 38 f.

$ *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 64.

‖ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 93.

Several *gāthās* in this anthology are ascribed by tradition to Hāla[§] and some others to Sātavāhana[||], which shows that Hāla-Sātavāhana was not a mere compiler of the anthology, but himself made substantial contributions to it.

It has been commonly supposed that the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* is identical with the *Kosha* of *Subhāṣitas* eulogised by the great Sanskrit poet Bāṇa in the following introductory verse in his *Harṣacarita* —

अविनाशिनमग्राम्यमकरोत्सातवाहनः ।
विशुद्धजातिभिः कोश रत्नैरिव सुभाषितैः ॥

'Sātavāhana compiled an immortal and refined *Kosha* (anthology) of *Subhāṣitas* containing faultless *svabhāvoktis* even as he made an inexhaustible treasure not possible in a village, by means of excellent jewels.'

In view of Bāṇa's fondness for *double entendre* it can be easily surmised that *Kosha* must have been the title of Sātavāhana's work.[¶] Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has, however, expressed himself against the identification of this *Kosha* of Sātavāhana with the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Hāla. 'That Hāla, the author of the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* was a Sātavāhana', says he, 'is a mere tradition and must be set aside like all other traditions about ancient literates of India. Introductory verse 13 of Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita*, no doubt, speaks of a Sātavāhana having composed a *Kosha* of songs, but there are no grounds to suppose that this *Kosha* is Hāla's

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[*] Cf. सातवाहनकुलयसपतिथापनकरस in the Nasik cave inscription of Pulumāvi *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60, f.

[†] रजो सातवाहनानां सिरि पुळुमाविस etc. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 155.

[‡] *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. VIII.

[§] Nearly forty *gāthās* are ascribed to Hāla in the Nirṇayasagar ed. of the *Saptaśatī*.

[||] Twenty-three verses are ascribed to Śālavāhana in the commentary of Pitāmbara (*Gāthāsapaśatīprakāsikā* ed. by Pandit Jagadish Lal).

[¶] In other verses also Bāṇa has woven the names of works while eulogising their authors. Cf. कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्ज्वला । सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥

Saptaśatī as has been well pointed out by Prof. Weber.'* Bhandarkar was led to question the authenticity of the tradition identifying Hāla with Sātavāhana and the former's *Gāthāsaptaśati* with the latter's *Kosha*, because he found that the *Saptaśati* contained several references such as that to Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and the mention of the week-day which unmistakably point to a much later age.† I have discussed this problem elsewhere‡ and shown that the *Saptaśati* had several interpolations made in it from time to time. We need not therefore on this ground question the correctness of the tradition which identifies the two authors and their works.

As a matter of fact, there is ample evidence to prove that the ancient name of this Prakrit anthology was *Kośha* or rather *Gāthākosha*. The following *gāthā* which concludes the work in some manuscripts refers to it as a *Kośha* of *gāthās* marked with the names of poets, which was compiled by Sālāhaṇa (i. e., Sātavāhana) —

एसो कइणामंकिअगाहापडिवद्धवड्ढिआमोओ ।
सत्तसअओ समत्तो सालाहणविरइओ कोसो ॥$

The same name, it seems, occurred in the concluding verses of some of the *gāthā-śatakas*. See, for instance, the following Sanskrit *chhāyās* of the final verses of the fifth and sixth *śatakas*, which occur in the recently published commentary of Pītambara —

(i) इह पञ्चमं समाप्यते सुललितपदवर्णसुन्दरं सरसम् ।
गाथाशतं नराधिपशालवाहननिर्मिते कोषे ॥ ||

(ii) षष्ठं शतं समाप्यते मनोहरालापरचनरमणीयम् ।
सातिशयं सप्तशत्यां कोशे कविहृदयदयितायाम् ॥¶

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* R. G. Bhandarkar Volume, pp. 188 f. It may be noted that Weber later on modified his opinion because of the mention of Sālāhana in the concluding verse in some MSS of the *Saptasati*. See his note to v. 709 (*Eso kavi-nāmaṁkia* etc.) in *Das Saptashatakam des Hāla*, p. 378.

† *R. G. Bhandarkar Volume*, p. 189.

‡ My article entitled 'the Date of the Gāthāsaptaśati' will be published in the Siddheshvar Varma Volume.

$ एषः कविनामांकितगाथाप्रतिबद्धवर्धितामोदः । सप्तशतकः समाप्तः सातवाहनविरचितः कोशः ॥ Weber, Das *Saptashatakam* etc., p. 377. See also *Gāthāsaptasatī* (Nirnayasāgar ed., 1911), p. 207, n. 3.

|| *Gāthāsaptasatīprākaśikā* ed. by Pandit Jagdish Lal, p. 54.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

In both these verses the anthology is called *Kosha.*[*] The Prakrit originals of these verses are, unfortunately, not given by Pītāmbara, but their existence in his days is vouched for by the Prakrit *pratīkas* cited by him.[†]

An old manuscript (No. 386 of 1887-89) deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, actually names the anthology as *Gāthākosha*. It is again noteworthy that at least two old commentators viz., Baladeva whose commentary occurs in the aforementioned MS. of the Bhandarkar Institute[‡] and Gaṅgādhara whose commentary is published in the Nirṇayasāgar edition of the work,[$] refer to this anthology as *Gāthākosha* in the introductory portion of their respective commentaries.

The work seems to have been known by the name of *Kosha* or *Gāthākosha* to all early writers. Bāṇa's reference to it as *Kosha* has already been cited. Indrasūri, the author of the Prakrit poem *Kuvalayamālā*,[||] who flourished in A. D. 778, devotes two verses to the eulogy of Hāla —

भणियविलासवइत्तण चोक्किल्ले जो करेइ हलिए वि ।
कव्वेण किं पउत्थे हाले हालावियारेव्व ॥[¶]
पणईहिं कइयणेण य भमरेहिं व जस्स जायपणएहिं ।
कमलायरोव्व कोसो विलुप्पमाणो वि हु ण झीणो ॥[§]

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[*] The second verse seems to refer to the work of Hāla both as *Saptaśati* and *Kosha*. In the absence of the original Prakrit *gāthā* it is not possible to say whether the Sanskrit rendering *Saptaśatyām* is accurate. The original Prakrit word may have been *sattasae* (*saptaśatake*) qualifying *Kose* here as in many other *gāthās* referring to Hāla's work.

[†] See षष्ठगाथाशतान्तमाह — षट्टं सअमिति । *Gāthāsaptaśatīprākaśikā*, p. 79.

[‡] स्वर्गफलां कीर्ति लब्धुमारब्धस्य गाथाकोषस्य निर्विघ्नपरिसमाप्तये ... राजा शालिवाहनः... नमस्कारगाथामाह ।

I owe this extract from the unpublished commentary of Baladeva to the kindness of my friend Mr. P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Institute.

[$] अथ तत्रभवान् प्राकृतकविकुमुदकुमुदिनीनायकः शालिवाहनश्चिकीर्षितगाथाकोषस्याविघ्नपरिसमाप्तये कृतं मङ्गलं श्रोतृहितार्थमुपनिबध्नाति ।

[||] The *Kuvalayamālā* of Indrasūri has not been published, but some verses from it, eulogising earlier Sanskrit poets have been given by the late Mr. C. D. Dalal in his edition of the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājasekhara, Notes, p. 12, from which the following verses are quoted.

[¶] भणितविलासवतीत्वेन संस्कृतान् यः करोति हलिकानपि ।
काव्येन किं प्रवृत्ते हाले हालाविकार इव ॥
[§] प्रणयिभिः कविजनेन च भ्रमरैरिव यस्य जातप्रणयैः ।
कमलाकर इव कोपो विलुप्यमानो पि खलु न क्षीणः ॥

These two verses eulogise Hāla and his work. The first states that Hāla, by his graceful speech, refined even (rustic) farmers. The second verse refers to Hāla's work as *Kosha*. Several lovers and poets have drawn upon the *Kosha* (anthology) of Hāla; but, says Indrasūri, it has not been exhausted, even as the contents of a cluster of lotuses are not lessened though numerous bees may drink of them. Abhinanda, the author of the *Rāmacharita* also seems to refer to Hāla's work as *Kosha* in the following verse* —

नमः श्री हारवर्षाय येन हालादनन्तरम् ।
स्वकोषः कविकोषाणामाविर्भावाय सम्भृतः ॥

In this verse Abhinanda, while eulogising his patron Hāravarsha, refers to Hāla as the author of a *Kosha*. By means of this anthology, says Abhinanda, Hāla gave publicity to the collections of verses of several poets. There were several liberal patrons of literature who preceded Hāravarsha, but Abhinanda particularly refers to Harsha evidently because of the *double entendre* on *kosha* (viz. a treasury and the name of Hāla's work).

Hāla's work was thus known by the name of *Kosha* down to the ninth century A. D. when Abhinanda flourished.† Some time after that date it seems to have acquired the name of *Saptaśati* or *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Govardhana who flourished in the twelfth century A. D. named his work *Āryāsaptaśatī* evidently to distinguish it from the earlier work of Hāla which had by that time come to be known as *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. The reason for the change of the name of Hāla's anthology from *Kosha* to *Saptaśatī* is not far to seek. *Kosha*, which originally signified an anthology of unconnected verses,‡ became later on current in the sense of a lexicon. (See the names of Sanskrit lexicons such as *Amarakosha*, *Medinīkosha* etc.) So none of the later anthologies such as *Kavīndravachanasamuccaya*, *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, *Subhāṣitāvali* etc. include that word in their titles. This was probably the reason why Hāla's work which was also an anthology dropped its original name *Kosha* or *Gāthākosha* and came to be known as *Saptaśati* or *Gāthāsaptaśatī*.

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* *Rāmacarita* of Abhinanda ed. by Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), chapters V, VIII, X and XII.

† Ibid., Introduction, p. xxii.

‡ Cf. कोशः श्लोकसमूहस्तु स्यादन्योन्यानपेक्षकः । *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (Nirnayasagar ed.), p. 356.

KAVI PARAMEŚVARA OR PARAMEṢṬHI

Dr **A. N. Upadhye,** Kolhapur.

In the history of Indian literature, there are many celebrated authors who are repeatedly remembered in subsequent works; but neither their works are available to-day, nor do we know any biographical details about them. Kavi Parameśvara or Parameṣṭhi is one of them. In this paper I propose to put together whatever bits of information have been available to me, especially from Kannaḍa and Sanskrit literature.

Eminent Kannaḍa poets like Ādi Pampa (c. 911 A. D.), Abhinava Pampa (c. 1100 A. D.), Nayasena (1112 A. D.) Aggaḷa (1189) and Kamaḷabhava (c. 1235) respectfully refer to Kavi Parameṣṭhi along with Samantabhadra, the logician poet and Pūjyapāda, the grammarian.[1] Ādi Pampa, it may be noted, calls him *jagat-prasiddha*. Their verses are given below.

श्रीमत्समन्तभद्र –
स्वामिगळ जगत्प्रसिद्ध–कविपरमेष्ठि– ।
स्वामिगळ पूज्यपाद —
स्वामिगळ पदंगळीगे शाश्वतपदमं ॥

Ādipurāṇa (Mysore 1900) I. 15.

कविपरमेष्ठिगळ गुण
स्तवनंगळ पूज्यपादयतिपतिय गुण — ।
स्तवनंगळोमें नालगे ––
गे बंद मानवन वाङ्मलं निंदपुदे ॥

Rāmāyaṇa I. 11.

श्रीमत्समंतभद्र —
स्वामिगळ नेगळ्तेवेत्त कविपरमेष्ठि — ॥
स्वामिगळ पूज्यपाद —
स्वामिगळ पदंगळीगे बोधोदयमं ॥

Dharmāmṛta (Mysore 1924) I. 14.

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[1] R. Narasimhachary: Karnātaka-kavicarita Vol. I. (Bangalore 1924), pp. 2, 4-5.

समनिके मन्मानसदोळ
समंतभदांघ्रिनखरकांतिजलं म — ।
त्तमलिन कविपरमेष्ठि —
क्रमकमलं पूज्यपादपदनखकुमुदं ॥

Candraprabha-purāṇam (Mysore 1901) I. 20.

भवहरसमंतभद्रर
कविपरमेष्ठिगळ पूज्यपादर कारु — ।
ण्यवरेण्य दुग्धवार्धियों ––
ळविरतमिर्कॆम्म चित्तमत्तमरालं ॥

Śāntīśvara-purāṇa (Mysore 1912) I. 20.

Then turning to individual references, Guṇavarma II (c. 1235 A. D.) tells us in his Puṣpadanta-purāṇa, I. 26 (Madras 1933) that Kavi Parameṣṭhi's mouth was beautiful with unparallelled speech, that he was praised by the learned, that he was almost the Para-brahman, and that he was no doubt a *purāṇa-puruṣa*:

निरुपमसरस्वतीसुं ––
दरचतुरानन नशेषविबुधस्तुत्यं ।
परमब्रह्मनेनल् कवि ––
परमेष्ठि पुराणपुरुषनेंबुदु पुसिये ॥

Pārśvapaṇḍita (1205 A. D.) qualifies him as '*guṇa-jyeṣṭha*' or 'pre-eminent in virtues' in his Pārśvapurāṇa:

निष्ठापरत्वदिं पर ––
मेष्ठिस्तवनमननूनमं माडि गुण –– ।
ज्येष्ठनेंनिसिर्प कविपर ––
मेष्ठिगुणस्तवनमेमगे–दल् करणीयं ॥

Nemicandra (c. 1170) tells us in his Nemināthapurāṇa (Mysore 1914) (I. 15-16) that Kavi Parameśvara wrote a *purāṇa* glorifying 24 Tīrthakaras and that Brahman and Sarasvatī were waiting on his glory.

जिनर पुराणंगळोळों ––
दनें बरेंदोडें बरेंदेंबेरीभुवनं जी ––
यनें बरेंदिर्क्षिसिदरिर्प ––
त्तुनाल्कमं पोगळें सुकविपरमेश्वररं ॥
सुकवि परमेष्ठिगळ ना –
टकवेंनिसिद भुवनवंद्यवरविद्याती —
र्थकरत्वपुण्यलक्ष्मिगे
सकळश्रुतदेवि यक्षि यक्षं बोम्मं ॥

Then, still earlier, Cāvuṇḍarāya (978 A. D.) in his Ādipurāṇa (Bangalore 1928) clearly tells us that Kavi Parameśvara wrote a Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-purāṇa:

चरितपुराणदोळोंदने
बरेंदर् बरेंदिक्किदर् त्रिषष्टिशलाका — ।
पुरुषपुराणमं कवि –
परमेश्वररंतु जसके नोंतुरुमोळरे ॥,

and in another context (p. 6). he declares that the *mahā-purāṇa* was composed formerly by Kūci Bhaṭṭāraka and Śrīnandi Muni, and that his work, namely, the Kannaḍa Cavuṇḍarāya Purāṇa only follows the compositions of Kavi Parameśvara, who is called *jināgamatilaka*, Jinasena and Guṇabhadra:

विरचिसिदर् मुन्ने महा –
पुराणमं नेगळ्द कूचिभट्टारकरुं ।
परम श्रीनंदिमुनी –
श्वररुं तदनंतरं जिनागमतिलकर् ॥
कविपरमेश्वरर् बरेंदुदं जिनसेनमहामुनीशरी –
यवनिगे पेळ्दु माणे गुणभद्रमुनीश्वररेंय्दें पेळ्दु प –
ल्लविसिदुदं त्रिषष्टिपुरुषप्रतिबद्धपुराणमं महो –
त्सवदोळें भव्यकोटिगरियल् बरेदं गुणरत्नभूषणं ॥

Guṇabhadra,[*] at the end of his Uttarapurāṇa (middle of the 9th century A. D.) informs us that the Ādipurāṇa composed by his teacher Jinasena was based on the *gadya-kathā* of Kavi Parameśvara:

कविपरमेश्वर–निगदितगद्यकथामातृकं पुरोश्चरितम् ।

Jinasena (c. 837 A. D.) also respectfully mentions him as the compiler of the entire *purāṇa*, possibly under the title Vāgarthasaṁgraha:

स पूज्यः कविभिर्लोके कवीनां परमेश्वर : ।
वागर्थसंग्रहं कृत्स्नं पुराणं यः समग्रहीत् ॥

Ādipurāṇa I. 60.

Besides these literary references, the Humch inscription[†] of 1077 A. D. mentions Kavi Paramaṣṭhi along with a host of Jaina teachers and authors.

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[*] About Jinesena, Guṇabhadra etc. see, Premi : Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa, pp. 282, 497 ff.; also Hiralal : Dhavalā, Intro. Amraoti 1939.

[†] Epigraphia Carnatica VIII, Nagar No. 35.

Thus we see that Kavi Parameśvara is being respectfully mentioned by various authors from the beginning of the 9th century almost upto the middle of the 13th ceutury A. D. His personality stands before us as that of a famous, worthy authoritative poet with remarkable mastery over expression. He composed a *purāṇa* glorifying 63 Śalākā-puruṣas or celebrities of the Jaina church. Guṇabhadra says that it was a *gadya-kathā* and that it was used by Jinasena for his Ādipurāṇa. Jinasena calls it Vāgartha-saṁgraha; and Cāmuṇḍarāya used it for his Kannaḍa work. It is a high compliment to the scholastic greatness of Kavi Parameṣṭhi that he is ranked with Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda whose works have come down to us.

This is all that we glean about Kavi Parameśvara's personality from the casual references of subsequent authors, some of whom had actually used his work. His date is uncertain,*a But he definitely flourished earlier than Jinasena who finished his Jayadhavalā in 837 A. D.

As yet we have not been able to trace the work of Kavi Parameśvara in any Ms. library; but the chances of tracing it are not remote, because many collections in the South are not fully explored.

Lately, the section of Śāntipurāṇa from the Cāmuṇḍarāyapurāṇa has been published,† and we are lucky to find there that Cāmuṇḍarāya has given some quotations attributed to Kavi Parameśvara. I reproduce below the extracts almost as they are:

कविपरमेश्वरर वृत्त ।

रामत्वं गणधृत्वमप्यभिमतं लोकान्तिकत्वं तथा
पट्खण्डप्रभुता सुखानुभवनं सर्वार्थसिद्ध्यादिषु ।
इंद्रत्वं महिमादिभिश्च सहितं प्राप्तं न संसारिभिः
तत्प्राप्तो भवहेतुसंसृतिलताच्छेदे कुतः संयमः ॥

कविपरमेश्वरर श्लोक ।

कपायोद्रेककालुष्यं व्रतदर्शनसत्तपः ।
दूपयत्यचिराद्राजन् ततः क्रोधादि वर्जयेत् ॥
त्यागेन लोभं क्षमया प्रकोपं
मानं मृदुत्वेन मनोहरेण ।

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*(a) R. Narasimhachary would like to put Kavi Parameśvara between Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda, and he gives to him a tentative date, viz. 550 A. D. This is just a conjecture; and the earlier limit of his date is not at all fixed. We want more evidence.

† Kannada Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā, vol. 29, March-June 1944, pp. 53, 58.

वृत्तेन मायामृजुनाभिवृद्धिं
नरेंद्र हन्यात्परलोककांक्षी ।
स्थूलेषु दयां प्राणिषु करोति सूक्ष्मेषु विलसदनुकम्पाम् ।
आरम्भाहतकर्मसु गृहाश्रमो निष्प्रतिज्ञानः ॥
चरणादवनाळ्द्मया विषया नानादपि प्रजासुवदा ।
तदवनये वर्धितां न चिरं संसारभाक् नृपती ॥ [?]*
हिंसातः प्राणिनोऽन्यायाद्राजदण्डेन वारयन् ।
संचिनोति व्रती पुण्यमहिंसायाः समार्जितम् ॥
अल्पानल्पापराधेषु तद्योग्यानपि दण्डयन् ।
खचरेन्द्रमहापुण्यं समाधत्ते नृपः कृती ॥

गुंदहिंसाव्रतमनरपि

तत्सुसाधुवचः सत्यं प्राणिपीडापराङ्मुखम् ।
येन सावद्यकर्माणि न स्पृशन्ति भयादिव ॥
नाग्निर्दहत्युच्चशिखाकलापस्तीव्रं विषं निर्विषतामुपैति ।
शस्त्रं शतद्योतविभूषणत्वं सत्येन किं ते न भवेदभीष्टम् ॥

गुंदु सत्यव्रतमनरपि

परस्वार्जनमन्यायं प्रकाशस्तेनमुच्यते ।
नृपते चोरयंल्लोके वञ्चकस्तेन संस्मृतः ॥
इह जन्मनि तद्राजन् व्यक्तमख्यातिवर्धनम् ।
विचित्रदुःखसंपादि परत्र च विशेषतः ॥
अधर्मसंग्रहोऽन्यायान्नृपस्यान्यस्वसंग्रहः ।
प्रजाविद्वेषणीयश्च जायते येन कर्मणा ॥

गुंदस्तेयव्रतमनरपि

परदारपरावृत्तो वर्तते यः क्षितीश्वरः ।
समग्विहितकरकमलमुकुलैर्देवैरपि स प्रणमनीयः ॥ [?]†
स्वदारगतभ्येत्य मात्रयानुभवन्नृपः ।
भवेद् स्वार्थपरः कामं जनानां चापदेशकः ॥

We are not in a position to state whether only the opening verse of the larger extract belongs to Kavi Parameṣṭhi or all the verses are to be attributed to him. All the quotations are in Sanskrit and in a metrical form. One verse is very obscure and one line metrically defective. Cavuṇḍarāya says that he has used Kavi Parameśvara's work; it is very good of him that he quotes by mentioning the author's name.

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* This verse is apparently corrupt and obscure.

† Metrically defective.

Kavi Parameśvara's work, as the quotations indicate, was in Sanskrit and in verses. There is one difficulty in accepting this that Guṇabhadra has described Kavi Parameśvara'e work as *gadyakathā*. Possibly it was in prose with some verses here and there, and for convenience Cāmuṇḍarāya might have quoted only the verses.

If not the whole work of Kavi Parameśvara, at least a couple of quotations are available to us. And I do hope, some day, like the Varāṅgacarita of Jālila, Kavi Parameśvara's *purāṇa* would be discovered.

SAMARAMIYAṄKĀ KAHĀ OF HARIBHADRA

Dr. **A. N. Upadhye,** Kolhapur.

Uddyotanasūri, the author of Kuvalayamālā (completed on 21st March, 779, A. D.) was a disciple of Haribhadra; and any information he gives about his *guru* deserves our special attention. He speaks about his *guru* thus in the introductory verses of the Kuvalayamālā :*

जो इच्छइ भवविरहं भवविरहं को ण वंदए सुअणो ।
समयसयसत्थगुरुणो समरमियंका कहा जस्स ॥

Clearly this is a respectful reference to Haribhadra† who is well-known as *virahāṅka* and who is proved to be the *guru* of Uddyotana. According to Uddyotana, then, Haribhadra composed Samaramiyaṅkā kahā which has been all along rendered into Sanskrit as Samara-mṛgāṅkā Kathā.

The statement of Uddyotana is quite clear, and naturally various questions can be raised. Is it that Haribhadra wrote a Samara-mṛgāṅkā-kathā besides his famous Samarāditya-kathā; or is it that the phrase *samara-miyaṃkā kahā* only refers to the present Samarāicca-kahā ? The first question has to be answered in the negative, because no other source, as far as I know, has attributed an additional work, Samara-mṛgāṅka by name, to Haribhadra. A comparison of the concluding verse of the Samarāditya Kathā, which runs thus,

जं विरइऊण पुण्णं महाणुभावचरियं मए पत्तं ।
तेण इहं भवविरहो होउ सया भवियलोयस्स ॥

with the verse of Kuvalayamālā, quoted above, hardly leaves any doubt that Uddyotana has the present Samarāicca-kahā in view. As long as we render the title in Sanskrit as Samara-mṛgāṅkā Kathā, we will be forced to find out how *mṛgāṅka* can mean *āditya*, and whether the Sanskrit language supplies any reference to the effect that *mṛgāṅka* did mean 'sun' as well, beside the normal meaning 'moon'.

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* I have on hand a critical edition of this important Prâkrit campû based on the Ms. material so kindly entrusted to me by Shri Jinavijayaji, I am quoting this verse from a transcript.

† See Jocobi's Intro. to his ed. of the Samarāiccakahā, BI. No. 169, Calcutta 1926.

There is no doubt that Uddyotana has in view the present Samarāiccakahā, and as I shall show presently, the phrase *samara miyaṅkā kahā* signifies the same. But the various difficulties about this problem are due to the wrong Sanskrit rendering of this phrase, namely, Samara-mṛgāṅkā kathā. In my opinion, the real Sanskrit rendering should be Samara-mitārkā kathā, which means the story of Arka or Āditya, limited, qualified or prefixed by Samara, i. e., the Samarāditya-kathā. The equation of *aṃka* with *arka* can be explained. In Prākrit we have a similar phenomenon in *Karkoṭā-kaṃkoḍa* (Hema. VIII. i. 26); in the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* both *akka* and *aṃka* are used for *arka* (see VII.295-96, 345-46); and the famous royal name Vikramāṅka is just a phonetic variation of Vikramārka, i. e., Vikramāditya. So we can safely conclude that Uddyotana's phrase Samara-miyaṃkā kahā is to be rendered into Sanskrit as Samaramitārkā kathā, and it stands for the *Samarāditya kathā* of Haribhadra.

KARA-LAKKHAṆAM

Prof. **P. K. Modi,** Nagpur.

Palmistry has been practised in India from very ancient times. References to it are found in the Purāṇas, in the Pali Books of the Buddhist canon as well as in the Prakrit works of the Jaina canon. The Sanskrit name for Palmistry is *Sāmudrika* and according to the Agni Purāṇa, it is so called because a teacher by name *Samudra* had taught it to *Garga* in ancient time.* *Varāha Mihira* also makes mention of it in his *Brihat Samhitā* in the chapters on *Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa* (Chapt. 67–69). Not only that, but the commentator *Utpala Bhaṭṭa* quotes many verses which have been ascribed to *Samudra* by saying यथाह समुद्रः. *Jinasena* in the *Harivaṃśa* purāṇa mentions *Sāgara* as the author of a book on the characteristics of man (नर–लक्षण) a description of which occupies verses 55 to 107 of chapter 23. Of these, 12 verses from 85 to 97 are devoted to the signs of the hand and their significance, and therefore treat of palmistry in the strict sense of the term.

The work now under treatment is a small, independent handbook on palmistry. The only old Ms. that was available to me bears the title of सामुद्रिक शास्त्र; but the real name of the book is करलक्खणम् as is clear from the first and the last verses which are as follows :—

Beginning —

पणमिअ जिणममिअगुणं गयरायसिरोमणिं महावीरं ।
वुच्छं पुरिसत्थीणं करलक्खणमिह समासेणं ।।१।।

End.

इयकरलक्खणमेयं समासओ देसिअं जइजणस्स ।
पुव्वायरिएहिं णरं परिक्खिऊणं वयं दिज्जा ।।६१।।

The whole work is completed in 61 verses composed in Prakrit and Gāthā metre. The contents may be analysed as follows:—

In the first verse the author pays his homage to Jina Mahāvīra and proposes to deal with the signs of the hands of men and women (करलक्खण) in brief. According to verse 2, a man gets profit or loss, happiness or sorrow, life or death, victory or defeat according to the lines found (on his palm or hand). The signs of men, according to verse, 3, should be studied on his right hand and those of women on the left. The author then deals with the significance of the interval between the fingers (verse 4–5) and of the nature of their joints *Parva* (verse 6). Then the lines of the wrist are dealt with (verse 7-11) and the five most significant lines denoting–learning, family, wealth, fame and prosperity and longevity are named and described (verse 12–22). The form, shape and colour of the lines are explained in the next three verses (23–25). Then the barley marks below the thumb are dealt with (verses 26–27) and they are said to indicate the number of brothers, sisters and children which a person may have (verses 28–30). The author then goes on to deal with the section of the palm below the thumb (verses 31–35) and that below the small finger (verses 36–39). Amongst the latter are included some lines which would point out how many wives or husbands the person would have. There are, then the lines indicating the religious tendencies, व्रतरेखा and धर्मरेखा (v. – 40), potentialities of research मार्गणरेखा (v. – 41) and pious tendencies (v. 42). The author then goes on to describe the significance of the whirl-marks भ्रमर (v. – 43) and conch marks शंख (v. 44). The form and colour of the nails are then treated (verse 45), continued by a treatment of the marks of fish, lotus, cross, etc. (v. 46–53). The significance of too many lines or too few on the palm is then shown (v. 54). What sort of hand denotes possibilities of service to humanity is next explained (v. 55). How certain specific marks aggravate or assuage, heighten or decrease the effect of other marks and signs is then shown (v. 56). The effect of the life line and family line joining together is then stated (v. 57), and then the effect of the form and make up of the hand as a whole is given (v. 58–59). What lines indicate a would be saint or teacher is then explained (v. 60) and, lastly, the author meekly tells as the object in writing the book was only to enable religious missionaries to pre-judge the potentialities of a person and then only administer religious oaths and vows to him or her.

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* लक्षणं यत्समुद्रेण गर्गायोक्तं यथा पुरा — Agni. P. 243.

Unfortunataly, the author has not given us his name or date of the composition and there is no material at present available to me to determine these with any amount of precision.

The language of the work is almost pure *Mahārāṣṭrī* there being only the vowels left with or without the यश्रुति when त is dropped; थ never being changed to ध but always to ह and ऊण being the past participle absolute termination.

The work, small though it be, is valuable as it enriches our knowledge about the literature in Prakrit devoted to technical subjects.

SOME BOLD & MOST STRIKING FANCIES OF PUṢPADANTA*

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Puṣpadanta (Pr. Pupphayanta) the author of THE MAHĀPURĀṆA or TISAṬṬHIMAHĀPURISAGUṆĀLAÑKĀRA descended from a Brahmin family of Kāśyapa Gotra. " His father's name was Keśava Bhaṭṭa and mother's name was Mugdhādevi. Both were devotees of Śiva, but it seems, they were later converted to Jainism. We do not know what his native land was, where he studied and who patronized him before he migrated to Mānyakheṭa. One thing is clear that he was probably insulted at the court of his former patron, whose name according to Prabhācandra's notes to the MAHĀPURĀṆA seems to be Vīrarāja, Kavipati or Kāncipati. He was well-versed in Brahmanic lore as well as in Jainism. He mastered the Sanskrit language but his mastery over Prakrits and particularly Apabhraṃśa is remarkably wonderful. "

Besides the great Jain epic, the MAHĀPURĀṆA, he wrote two other smaller works :— (1) The Ṇāyakumāracariu in 9 Sandhis and (2) The Jasaharacariu in 4 Sandhis.

Puṣpadanta flourished in the second half of the 10th century A. D. under the patronages of Bharata and his son Ṇaṇṇa, both ministers of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krishna III.

All the works of Puṣpadanta are written in Apabhraṃśa language. The Mahāpurāṇa, the best and the most fascinating of all the works in Apabhraṃśa, consists of 102 Sandhis. Of these, Sandhis *69 to 79* narrate the story of Rāma, who is the eighth Baladeva of the Jainas. This section of the epic is popularly known as THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

In the following pages an attempt is made to place before the reader some of the bold and most striking fancies found in this portion of the Mahāpurāṇa. The phrase "Bold and most striking" means those fancies which are not generally met with in the standard classical literary works in Sanskrit or Prākrit.

The Jainas have made some important changes in the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. According to them Rāvaṇa is a Vidyādhara and Sīta is his daughter.

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* **For this paper I am much indebted to my Guru Prof. H D. Velankar.**

As it is predicted that Sīta would bring calamity on her father, she was put into a box and left burried into a field. She was discovered by a farmer who brought, her to king Janaka, who in turn adopted her as his daughter. He gives her in marriage to Rāma. It is Lakṣmaṇa who kills Rāvaṇa. At the end Lakṣmaṇa becomes the Cakravartin, dies and goes to hell, while Rāma becomes a monk, practises penance and attains heaven.

Puṣpadanta is a poet of the first order and by far the greatest master-mind in Apabhraṃśa poetry. The richness of his poetical genius and the exuberance of his imagination are displayed throughout the RĀMĀYAṆA. Almost every Kaḍavaka evinces the warmth and play of his unrestrained fancy. Though not a peculiar characteristic of Puṣpadanta sublimity of conception is not rare in the Mahāpurāṇa. His descriptive powers are great and his descriptions are always realistic, vivid, forcible and picturesque. He uses many Alaṃkāras, but he is specially fond of Utprekṣā, Rūpaka, Ślesa and Upamā, though frequently he uses Atiśayokti, Dṛṣṭānta, Parisañkhyā and Apahnuti as well.

Puṣpadanta's language is dignified, stately and full of alliterative sound. Our portion furnishes many illustrations of what may be called "impassioned verse".

With this short introduction about the poet, his works and style, I now turn to some of his bold and most striking fancies.

Sandhi 69

In *K-2.4** the poet compares the chastity of Sīta to a drop of water stationed on the leaf of a lotus, and thereby skilfully brings out its purity, delicacy and stainless lustre.

According to the Jainas the complexion of Rāma is white as against the Hindu conception which represents him as possessing "Meghaśyāma" colour. Lakṣmaṇa is dark in complexion.

The Ghattā lines at the end of *K-12*† describe Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa as the two wings, one white and the other black, of the Pārthiva-garuḍa viz Daśaratha.

And in the next Kadavaka (K-13. 1-2)‡ they are called the streams of water of the Ganges and the Jamunā respectively.

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* (K-2.4) वइदेहिसइत्तणु भूसियउं । जलविंदु व पोमपत्ति थियउं ॥

† (K-12) वेण्णि वि ते गुणवंत भुयवलतासियदिग्गय ।
णाइं सियासियपक्ख पत्थिवगरुडहु णिग्गय ॥

‡ (K-13.2) रेहंति वे वि वलएव हरि ।........।
णं गंगाजउणाजलपहव ।........।

Sandhi 70

The king Sahasragrīva, one of Rāvaṇa's ancestors, built up the city of Lankā. There Pulasti's wife Meghalakṣmī gave birth to Rāvaṇa, who was a violent goad as it were to the quarter-elephants, and a pike as it were in the heart and head to formidable enemies. (K. 5-2).*

A few lines down in the same Kaḍavaka (K-5.7)† he is spoken of as a tender sprout of the deadly poison-plant constantly watered by poison itself, and further as the blazing fire at the time of pralaya.

In course of time Rāvaṇa's wife Mandodarī gives birth to Sīta, who is to bring ruin to Rāvaṇa. He, therefore, decides to get rid of Sīta by shutting her up in a box and burying it under the ground. Then she is discovered by a farmer, who hands her over to king Janaka, who in turn adopts her as his daughter. There she grows up. The poet here (K-9)‡ piles a number of Utprekṣās one upon the other :— She is called the digit of the moon on the second day of the bright half of a month; the delicate and skilful arrangement of words by a great poet; a key to the knowledge of love; an abode of auspiciousness endowed with all good qualities, the perfection of female beauty; the permanent and noble fame of the good, and lastly the creeper in the form of the fame of the eighth Baladeva.

Then follows a passionate description of different limbs of Sīta. Among others the following fancies arrest our attention at once. (K-10 and 11).$

It is but proper that her eyes were long. How otherwise could they penetrate the hearts of people ? Her breasts were indeed full of "liquid-love" (ratirasa). How, otherwise could they have quenched the thirst for love ? Her lotus-like feet possessed redness (raktatva). How, otherwise, could, even ascetics entertain a desire to look at her personal charms ?

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* (K. 5-2) कढिणंकुसु णं दिग्गयंवराह । मणमत्थइ सूलु व अरिवराहं ॥

† (K. 5-7) णं विसमविसंकुरु विसविसित्तु । णं पलयकालु हुयवहु पलित्तु ।

‡ (K. 9-5.10) वड्ढइ परमेसरिदिव्वदेह । णं बीयायंदहु तणिय रेह ।
णं ललियमहाकइपयपउत्ति । णं मयणभावविण्णाणजुत्ति ।
णं गुणसमग्ग सोहग्गथत्ति । णं णारिरूवविरयणसमत्ति ।
……… थिर सूहव णं सप्पुरिसकित्ति । ……… ।
जसवेल्लि व अट्ठमराहवस्स ……… ॥

$ (K-11. 7 & 1) लोयणहिं वि दीहत्तणु जि जुत्तु । इयरह कह पत्तइं जणमणंतु ।
देविहि थण रइरसपुण्णकुंभ । इयरह कह कामतिसाणिसुंभ ।

(K. 10-1) पयकमलहं रत्तत्तणु जि होइ । इयरह कह रंगु वहंति जोइ ।

Rāma marries Sīta. Then Daśaratha sends Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Vāṇārasī. The two brothers are said to enter the city like two arrows of the god of love. (K–18.10)*

Sandhi 71

Then " Sañgāmapiyārau Ṇārau " pays a casual visit to Rāvaṇa. Nārada's complexion was white by nature, and in addition to that he wore bracelets made of crystal. He therefore looked as though fame had taken the form of a human being (K–1).† Further, at (73.10.4)‡ he is spoken of as a vertical column of lightning and also as a mass of foam on the waters of the heavenly Ganges.

Nārada advises Rāvaṇa to carry off the beautiful Sīta who only befits him. On his advice Rāvaṇa sends his sister Candaṇahi (Candranakhī) to Sīta, sitting in the Nandanavana which is described as the dancing youthfulness as it were of the Mahīmahilā (K–11).$ Here it may be noted, however, that Śūrpaṇakhā and Aśokavana are respectively called Chandranakhi and Nandanavana. The change of names is decidedly for the better but obviously intentional.

Then Chandranakhī sees Rāma and Lakṣamaṇa engaged in water-sport with their wives. The charming description that follows abounds in wonderful fancies; A lotus that decorated the ear of a woman faded after a time. The poet gives a poetical reason for that. It faded because it was conquered in point of beauty by her lotus-like eyes. (K–14.7) ‖ A lovely damsel exhibited her fruit-like plump breasts. The poet, therefore, naturally likened her to the beautiful creeper of Cupid. (K -16.5).¶ A Nitambinī plunged into water. Then after a time she rose to the surface of water and drew up her white delicate silken garment as though it were the very skin of the water. (K–17.5).⅌ Only Puṣpadanta is capable of such a grand fancy. Another one mounted on the chest of Upendra i. e. Lakṣmaṇa. From there she happened to see a leaf of a lotus-plant with a few drops of water shining on it. At once with a surprise she looked at her bosom and heaved a sigh of relief. For her necklace was quite intact. A few drops of water on a lotus-leaf flashed like pearls. In reality there were no pearls at all! (K-17.7).* A charming lady raised up her lotus-like hand and water flowed down from it in a continuous stream. Her hand, therefore, looked like a lotus with a new and brilliant stalk in the form of the stream of water flowing down from it (K-17.11).†

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* (K. 18–10) पविसंति णयरि णं कामबाण ।

† (K. 1–5) विमलफलिहमणिवलयालंकिउ । णं जसु पुरिसरूवु विहिणा किउ ।

‡ (73.10.4) ता तेयवंतु णं विज्जुदंडु । णं सुरसरिडिंडीरपिंडु ।

$ (K. 11–10 & 12) जोयइ .... णंदणवणु । णं महिमहिलहि केरउ जोव्वणु ।
.... णं णच्चंतु णिहालिउ ॥

‖ (K–14–7) काइ वि उप्पलु सवणि णिहित्तउ । कुम्माणउ णं णयणिहिं जित्तउ ।

¶ (K–16.5) क वि घणथणफलसंपय दावइ । सुंदरि वेल्लि अणंगहु णावइ ।

⅌ (K–17.5 & 6) का वि णियंबिणि णाहहु णासइ । वणि णिम्मज्जइ दूरहु दीसइ ।
सरि परिघोलिरु सण्हउ पंडुरु । पाणियछल्लि व कड्ढइ अंबरु ॥

Sandhi 72

The mission of Candranakhī fails and Rāvaṇa himself makes up his mind to carry off Sīta by deceitful means. So he gets into his famous Puṣpaka Vimāna which resembles a full-blown lotus in the lotus-lake in the form of the sky. (K-1.10).‡ To Rāvaṇa, moreover, it was a white flower, as it were, of the creeper in the form of his fame—the flower on which perched the bee in the form of Rāvaṇa. (Rāvaṇa-bhṛnga). (K-1.17).$

Sandhi 73

Rāvaṇa puts Sīta into his Puṣpaka-Vimāna, and he flies to Lañka where he keeps her in the Nandanavana. In the meanwhile Rāma returns to his hermitage and to his great surprise does not find Sīta there. Here (K-1)‖ we have a beautiful description of the sunset.

The sun reached the western horizon. There it looked like a heap of precious stones set up by the sea who is the Ratnākara. Later on only a portion of the sun's orb was visible. It was as though the red wheel of the chariot of Rati devoured by the earth. Finally the sun passed out of sight. Just then the crying birds seemed to say, "Even a god experiences a fall when he comes in contact with "Vāruṇī" (Obviously a pun on the word Vāruṇī is intended here meaning-the Western direction and wine).

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* (K-17.7 & 8) का वि उरत्थलि चडिय उव्विंदहु । ....।
पत्तणिपत्तइ पेच्छिवि जलकण । हारु ण तुट्टउ, अवलोइय थण ।

† (K-17.11) उड्डुइ अंतरि करइंदीवरु । तहु णवणालु व थिउ धारासरु ।

‡ (K-1.10) वोमपोमायरे हंसवत्तम्मि पोमं व पप्फुल्लियं ।

$ (K-1.17) कित्तिवेल्लीइ फल्लं व सेयं दसासालिणा माणियं ।

‖ (K-1.5) .... संपत्तउ लहु अत्थमिउ भाणु ।
णं रइउ समुद्दें रयणसंगु । णं महिइ गिलिउ रइरहरहंगु ।
देउ वि वारुणिसंगेण पडइ । णं इय भणंतु पक्खिउलु रडइ ॥

In the lollowing Kaḍavaka (K-2)* the description of the consequent widowhood of Nabhaśri is marvellously poetic.

The sun vanished and with it, the red saffron mark also in the form of the redness of the twilight glow, from the head of Nabhaśri, the Sky-goddess, for she had become a widow. The crescent moon was a part of her broken bangle and the closed lotus was her mouth. Stars were the scattered pearls from her broken necklace.

Descriptions of sunrise and sunset are a favourite subject with our poet and here is an outstanding example of sun rise (K-2).†

The sun rose in the east. It was as though a blazing fire of separation in the case of Sīta, as though a red flower on the head of woman in the form of the eastern direction, and as though a lake of blood from the body of the king of the Vidyādharas viz Rāvaṇa.

Rāma in the meanwhile, secures the alliance of Māruti and Sugrīva. Māruti goes to Laṅkā to obtain news of Sītā. Assuming the form of a bee he comes to Rāvaṇa's harem where he rests on the different limbs of young women sleeping there. The whole passage is charming and full of Utprekṣās. Among others the following are the most interesting.

The bee (i. e. Māruti) rested on the necklace of a lovely woman where he looked like an " Indianīla " jewel. Then he sat on the forehead and passed for a black (Kasturi) forehead mark (K- 16.7).‡ Thence he stopped on the bosom where he could be mistaken for a darkened nail mark planted by the lover. From there he lay quiet on one of the breasts of a beautiful lady. And there indeed he looked like the feathered end of an arrow discharged by the god of love. (K-16.8).$ [Here I have amended the text as follows:- Instead of " piyapahara " in a, and " maṇi " in b, I read " piyaṇahara " and " thaṇi " respectively].

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* (K-2.2) …………………… अत्थमिओ दिणेसरो ।
…………………… णं संझारायकोसुंभचीरु ।
णहसिरि परिहइ रंडिज्जमाण । दिणवइविओउ अइअसहमाण ।
सिसुससि भग्गउ णं वलयखंडु । मउलियउ कमलु णं ताहि तुंडु ।
…………………… । तारायणु णावइ तुट्टु हारु ॥

† (K-2.8) उग्गउ उण्णइं पहेरण पत्तु ……..दिणयरु……...
णं सीयाविरहहुयासचंडु । णं तियसाणीकरघुसिणपिंडु ।
णं दिसकामिणिसिरि रत्तु फुल्लु । णं खयररायतणुरुहिरतल्लु ।

‡ (K-16.7) थिउ हारि सहइ णं इंदणीलु । थिउ भालि गहियवरतिलयलीलु ।

$ (K-16.8) थिउ उरि पियणहरंकिणंकु णाइं । थिउ थणि सरसरपुंखु व सुहाइ ।

From there Hanuman goes to Nandanavana where he sees Sītā being coaxed by Rāvaṇa to yield to his desires. Rāvaṇa's attempt is foiled by Mandodari who comes there. Māruti wants to kill him then and there but he recollects that he was sent there as messenger. By the time the sun sets and the rising of the moon gives us a wonderful Utprekṣā (K-18 11).*

The sun set and the moon rose in the sky. It was indeed the bulbous root of the creeper in the form of the grief of Sītā.

Mandodari recognizes Sīta to be her daughter and reproaches Rāvaṇa who instantly leaves the place. The mother in Mandodari wakes up and instantly milk begins to flow from her breasts. The rare and delicate situation gives rise to an Utprekṣā rarer still (K-- 23.11 x 12):-†

A widow does not wear a necklace. So the poet fancies that Mandodari's necklace in the form of her streaming milk, is leaving her bosom owing to the impending widowhood.

Then Mandodari goes away and Māruti comes near Sītā and gives her Rāma's letter.

Sandhi 74

Māruti returns to Rāma whom he tells everything about Sītā. He again comes to Lānkā as a messenger of Rama but does not succeed in his mission.

Sandhi 75

In the meanwhile Lakṣamaṇa fights with Vāli and kills him on the battlefield. Puṣpadanta is peculiarly fond of using long sustained metaphors. The death of Vāli has supplied us with a beautiful Rūpaka (K- 8.14 and 15):‡

The head of Vāli is likened to a lotus with the unsteady stalk in the from of the stream of blood flowing down from it. The lake where the lotus grows is the battlefield, with water in the form of the foam dripping down from the mouths of horses. This lotus in the form of Vāli's head is plucked by a Sārasa bird viz Lakṣmaṇa, with his beak in the form of his sword.

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* (K-18.11) अत्थमिउ सूरु, ता उइउ चंदु । णं सीयहि दुहवल्लरिहि कंदु ।

† (K-23.11 & 12) आसण्णइ थिइ विहवत्तणइ एंतउ सीयइ जोइउ ।
थण मेल्लिवि रामणगेहिणिहि हारु व खीरु पधइउ ॥

‡ (K--8.14 & 15) रणसरवरि हयमुहफेणजलि सोणियधाराणालचलु ।
असिचंचुइ लक्खणलक्खणिण तोडिउ वालिहि सिरकमलु ॥

Then Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sugrīva and others go to Kiṣkindhā. There the women folk flock to see Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Here the unrestrained fancy of the poet rises nearly to the highest level of poetical conception (K–11.7 and 8)* :–

A reason is given how the human-eye came to have two portions viz. the black and the white. All the people, young and old, almost uninterruptedly and for a long time, kept on gazing at Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, who possessed white and black complexions respectively. The eyes of the people which received these complexions consequently themselves turned black and white being directly in contact with them.

Sandhi 76

Then Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa practise penance to acquire the magic lores which would enable them to fight successfully with Rāvaṇa. Vibhīṣaṇa does not like Rāvaṇa's behaviour, leaves him and comes over to Rāma's side. In the meahwhile Māruti once again goes to Laṅkā and burns it.

Sandhi 77

Then a memorable fight takes place between the two armies. The description of the fight runs over many Kaḍavakas. What strikes us most is the 9th Kaḍavaka, wherein a cloud of dust raised by the hoofs of horses on the battlefield is described, with force, beauty and delicacy (K– 9)† :

A dying cloud of dust rose clinging to the hoofs of horses. Then going high up in the sky, as though it were the very life of the earth, it obscured the sun for a moment and began to descend to the earth. On its way down it was obstructed a little by the banner. Then it rested on an umbrella and there it looked like a drop of honey in the cup of a lotus. Afterwards it sank in the water of the sword (asi-salile) but it would not turn into mud. Swept off by the wind of the cāmaras it dashed against thecrown. From there it ran to the earrings like a cloud towards the orb of the sun. Lastly, it sank in the river of blood flowing from the wounds caused by elephants and so on.

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* (K–11.7 & 8) वररूवालद्धइं जुंजियाइं । अच्चंतपलोयणरंजियाइं ।
जणवयणयणइं कसणइं सियाइं । णं हरिबलतणुछायंकियाइं

† (K-9.5 ff) हरिखुरखणित्तखउ णं मरंतु । उट्ठिउ धूलीरउ पय धरंतु ।
आयासि चडिउ णं पुहइप्राणु । संताविर तें पिहिउ भाणु ।
चवलेण सुद्धवंसह कएण । णिवडंतु णिवारिउ णं धएण ।
दीसइ पंडुरु कविंलगु केव । छत्तारविंदि मयरंदु जेव ।
असिसलिलि णिलीणु ण पंकु होइ । चमराणिलेण उल्ललिवि जाइ ।
मउडग्गि पडंतु जि कुंडलासु । धावइ मेहु व रवि-मंडलासु ।
.... करिगिरिवणणिज्झरवियलियहि सोणियजलवाहिणियहि लीणउ ॥

A fierce battle is raging. Different weapons are hurled at one another by the rival warriors.

A lance named Śanku is hurled at his opponent by a warrior. It struck an elephant and there it looked like a peacook resting on a mountain in the form of the elephant. (K- 13.7).*

The feathered end of an arrow was seen sticking to the temple of an elephant. The poet fancies it to be a bee desirous of drinking the ichor. (K- 13.8).†

Sandhi 78

A warrior is seen dead between the tusks of an elephant. He is said to be fast asleep in the cage made up of his own fame. (K- 5.3).‡ The duel between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is interestingly described. Rāvaṇa discharges the disc which goes high up in the sky, comes down and finally settles in the hand of Lakṣmaṇa. Puspadanta has an inexhustible stock of original metaphors.

The whirling disc is firstly likened to an ear-ring of the goddess of war. Then it is spoken of as the orb of the rising sun, and finally it is described as a leaf of the creeper of the fame of Rāvana (K- 18. 12 and 13).$

Then Lakṣmaṇa discharges the same disc at Rāvaṇa who dies instantly. The great battle is over. The battle-field is strewn over with all sorts of wreckage. Even this does not escape the poet's eye :

The fallen cāmaras looked like dead swans. Umbrellas without sticks looked like lotus without stalks. (K-20.5)||

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* (K-13.7) परिमुक्कसंकु पिहुपिंछफारु । लग्गउ णं गयवरगिरिहि मोरु ।
† (K-13.8) गंडयलि विलग्गउ बाणपुंखु । दीसइ णं छप्पउ दाणकंखु ॥

‡ (K-5.3) को वि सुहडु मउ करिदंतंतरि । णावइ सुत्तउ णियजसपंजरि ॥

$ (K-18.12 & 13) रणसिरिहि कुंडलु व । णवरविहि मडलु व ॥
जसवल्लरी-दलु व भुयजुयल-तरु-फलु व ॥

|| (K-20.5 & 6) चामर पडिय हंस णं मारिय । ....
मोडियदंडइं छत्तइं धवलइं । दिट्ठइं णाइ अणालइं कमलइं ।

The dead body of Rāvana is being taken to the crematorium. Umbrellas and flags held over his dead body are spoken of as leaves of the creeper of grief and branches of the expansive tree of sorrow respectively. (K-25.10 and 11).*

Instrumental music accompanied the funeral of Rāvaṇa, Different instruments are imagined to give vent to their feelings of sorrow. The flute's remark is worth noting : (K-26.6 and 7)†

" I shall not sound " says the flute, " for my master is dead; and therefore I shall enter forest. Let this wretched tabor die, for he sounds when he gets a morsel of rice. He is not ashamed of taking food, even when the lord is dead ! "

Then Rāma places Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne of Laṅkā.

Sandhi 79

Lakṣmaṇa becomes the Ardhacakravartin. His death ocours after many years of enjoyment. In the death of Lakṣmaṇa the poet sees the total extinction of the blazing fire of prowess, and he finally closes the description by saying that the royal swan in the form of Lakṣmaṇa had flown up from the lake in the form of the world ! (K- 11.8 and 9).‡

Lakṣamaṇa dies and goes to hell. Rāma then renounces the world, becomes a monk and in the end attains emancipation.

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* (K-25.10 & 11) धरियइं उप्परि वण्णविचित्तइं । दुक्खवेल्लिपत्ताइं व छत्तइं ।
पविलंबियउ पडायउ दीहउ । णावइ सोयमहातरुसाहउ ।

† (K-26.6 & 7) वंसु भणइ हउं काणणि पइसमि । छिद्दवंतु मुइ सामि ण विरसमि ।
डज्झउ मद्दलु कूरें गज्जइ । पहुमरणि वि भोयणि णउ लज्जइ ॥

‡ (K-11.8 & 9) ……………………। उल्हविउ पयावाणलु जलंतु ।
रिउसीसणिवेसियपायपंसु । उड्डाविउ जगसररायहंसु ॥

PĀRŚVA'S HISTORICITY RECONSIDERED

Dr. **A. M. Ghatage**, Kolhapur.

Most of the historians of Jainism believe that both Pārśva and Mahāvīra, the last two of the 24 prophets of Jainism, were real historical persons. In the early days of Jain studies, scholars were less inclined to give credence to the Jain traditions and most of it was regarded as suspect. Now-a-days, the pendulum has swung to the other extreme and there is a growing tendency to put greater faith in the Jain traditional accounts and to regard them as historical without a close scrutiny of their reliability. In the interest of truth, it will be necessary to re-examine the question of Pārśva's historicity in the light of all the available evidence and to reconsider the arguments which are generally urged to prove that he was a historical person and responsible for the formulation of the Jaina faith.

In the old Jain writings, mostly canonical, we get a number of references to Pārśva and his teaching. The information thus obtained amounts to very little, and consequently we lack a clear picture of his personality and of his views. The Jaina tradition in the Kalpasūtra furnished us with very few facts of his life. He is said to have been a son of king Aśvasena of Benares and his wife Vāmā. He lived for 30 years as a householder, then became an ascetic and after performing penance for 84 days became enlightened. He lived for full hundred years and died on Mt. Sammeta in Bengal some 250 years before Mahāvīra. He is uniformly referred to by the use of the epithet *purisādāṇīya* 'beloved of all men' which may point to his genial temperament and kind nature.

In his personal life, there is nothing unusual and improbable. But this in itself is not sufficient to regard him as historical. While the duration of his life of hundred years is based on the mythological scheme of decreasing age of each succeeding prophet and is itself suspicious, the period of 84 days for his penance is certainly too short and is again due to the same consideration of a decreasing number of days for the austerities of each preceding prophet. We may further note that while Mahāvīra, his successor, is brought into close relations with definite historical persons, like ruling kings and contemporary religious teachers, no such association is available in case of Pārśva, though we must also remember that he is, in no way, connected with purely mythological persons as well, as is the case with his predecessor Nemi.

We know something more of his teaching. From Vyākhyāprajñapati we understand that Pārśva believed in the form and eternity of the world as did Mahāvīra. The followers of Pārśva preached that selfcontrol (*saṁyama*) leads to the stoppage of Karman (*aṇhaga*) and penance leads to its purification. Mahāvīra agrees with this as well. Both these pairs occur in the list of items causally connected and stated in a verse found in close association with the earlier statement both in Sthānāṅga and Bhagavatī. We may, therefore, reasonably conjecture that it formed a part of Pārśva's teaching. There we are told that waiting upon the teacher (*pajjuvāsaṇā*) results into the hearing of the doctrine (*savaṇa*); this, in turn, gives rise to knowledge (*nāṇa*) and so on to discrimination (*vinnāṇa*), stoppage of Karman (*aṇaṇhaga*), penance (*tava)*, purification (*vodāṇa*), absence of any activity (*akiriyā*), and finally liberation (*nivvāṇa*). This view is in substantial agreement with the later teaching of Jainism though such a series of causation never gets any importance in the fully developed Jain system of dogmatics. More well-known is Pārśva's teaching called *cāujjāmadhamma* which is contrasted with the *pañcamahavvaiyadhamma* of Mahāvīra. The four vows of Pārśva usually enumerated are : *savvāo pāṇāivāyāo veramaṇam* 'abstention from all kinds of killing', *savvāo musāvāyāo veramaṇam* 'abstention from all types of falsehood', *savvāo adinnādāṇāo veramaṇam* 'desisting from all kinds of thefts' and *savvāo bahiddhādāṇāo veramaṇam*' abstention from all kinds of giving out'. The exact meaning of the last vow is a matter of some doubt. The traditional explanation, as for instance given by Abhayadeva, in his comment on the passage in the Sthānāṅga, takes it to mean either abstention from sexual intercourse (*bahiddhā maithunam*) and other possesions (*ādānam parigrahah* or abstention from possession not necessary for religious observance. With greater probability Schubring suggests that the reference is to the giving out of the semen and the vow demands chastity. In view of the special emphasis on the confession in the usual phrase *pañcamahavvaiya sappaḍikamma dhamma* of Mahāvīra in contrast with that of Pārśva, it is natural to imagine that the formula of *pratikramaṇa* was lacking in the preaching of Pārśva. From the story in the last chapter of Sūtrakṛtāṅga, we come to know that in the vows to be accepted by the followers of Pārśva specific words like *tasabhūe* and *thāvarabhūe* were inserted, which restrictions were not admitted by Mahāvīra. Finally there was the outward difference between the two sects; Pārśva allowed the use of a white garment for the monks, while Mahāvīra preached complete nudity.

Numerous arguments are advanced to prove that Pārśva was a historical person. Of these, the following deserve a careful consideration. It has been pointed out that the Jaina canon supplies us with many indications of his teaching and tells us of his followers. One of them Kesī who plays an important part in the two works Uttarādhyayana and Rājapraśnīya, is mentioned in such a manner as to suggest that he was a real person. In Sūtrakṛtāṅga Udae Peḍhālaputte, another disciple of his, holds a disputation with Gautama the chief disciple of Mahāvīra, while in Bhagavatī Pārśva's follower Kālāsavesiyaputte expresses his desire to exchange his law for the vows of Mahāvīra. Secondly we are told in Ācārāṅga that the parents of Mahavīra belonged to the following of Pārśva and are called *pāsāvaccijja samaṇovāsagā*. Jacobi has, moreover, brought forth a far more important evidence to prove that Pārśva was a historical person. In the

Sāmaññaphalasutta of Dīghanikāya, it is stated that Mahāvīra preached the *cātuyyāmadhamma*. A Jain monk is called *cātuyyāmasaṁvarasaṁvutto*, while, in reality, it was Pārśva and not Mahāvīra, who taught the *cāujjāmadhamma*, as we know from the Jaina sources. Thus a natural blinder on the part of the Buddhist writer proves that followers of Pārśva's teaching must have existed at the time of Mahāvīra, to make such a confusion even possible.

We should not, however, overlook the limitations of all these arguments which are not conclusive in proving Pārśva's historicity. The Jain tradition attributes the *cāujjāmadhamma* not only to Pārśva but to all the 22 Tīrthakaras except Ṛṣabha the first and Mahāvīra the last prophet. The distinction thus appears to be the result of a *priori* theory. Both Sthānāṅga and Uttarādhyayana emphasise that the 22 prophets from Ajita to Pārśva preached the *cāujjāmadhamma* and explain the difference on the basis that their lives were without hardships. The presence of Pārśva's followers at the time of Mahāvīra and the statement that his parents were followers of Pārśva are chiefly due to the ordinary considerations of logical necessity. Believing in the eternity of the religion, the writers could not but make the religious preaching before the time of Mahāvīra as the work of his predecessor Pārśva. And we find in the canon stories of earlier Tīrthaṅkaras like Nemi their contemporaries and disciples. Even the statement about Mahāvīra's parents following the creed of Pārśva is subject to doubt. There we are told that they performed *pratikramaṇa* which is thus attributed to Pārśva, while we have reason to belive that it was lacking therein. The passage in the Buddhist canon is also not conclusive. It not only commits the mistake of attributing the *cātuyyāmadhamma* to Mahāvīra but also incorrectly states the naure of these four vows which does not agree with Pārśva's teaching. We are thus led to believe that the writer was not well acquainted with the *cāujjāmadhamma* of Pārśva. The statement is clearly the result of a superficial acquaintance of the Jain scripters, which regards everything contained in it as the doctrines of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. Moreover, there is no evidence to show that the mistake was committed at the time of Mahāvīra or even of Buddha, as the canonical passage is obviously of later date. There is still less reason to believe that Pārśva lived some 250 years before Mahāvīra. In fact, the Jaina tradition itself tells us that Śubhadatta, one of the eight disciples of Pārśva, became the head of the church after him, and was followed by Haridatta, Āryasamudra, Prabha and Keśi, the last a contemporary of both Mahāvīra and his disciple Gautama. He was thus separated from Pārśva by at most four generations and a period of 250 years is certainly an unusually long one for them.

We thus find that the evidence available so far is not sufficient to prove that Pārśva was a historical person, and some more evidence must be brought forth if we are to believe in his historicity.

A JAINA PILGRIMAGE TO NAGARKOT IN SAM. 1484

Mul Raj Jain, Ludhiana

Nagarkot is another name of Kangra which stands both for the fort and and the town. It is situated about 170 miles to the north-east of Lahore and is now accessible by rail. In ancient times it was the capital of *Trigarta* or the hilly tract lying between the Sutlej and Ravi. Till recently it furnished a picture of the old Hindu culture and polity.

That the Kangra district was a flourishing centre of Jainism a few centuries ago is warranted neither by the present Jaina population of the district which counts hardly a hundred souls, nor by any tradition current among the Jains themselves. Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to notice the remains of the Jaina temples and images in the Kangra Fort and the town. He found here a number of Jaina inscriptions also. To account for the finds he remarked that the Divans of the Muslim rulers of Delhi stationed at Kangra were the Digambara Jains.* The late Dr. K. N. Sitāram who was the curator of the Lahore Museum made an extensive tour in the Kangra valley some fifteen years ago. He discovered numerous Jaina images and ruins of Jaina temples. He found that some Jaina images and temples had been appropriated by the Hindus under different names, e. g. the Gaṇapati temple lying between the Railway station and the Rest House at Baijanath. Baprola was originally a Jaina temple. Dr. Sitaram left his reports of this tour unpublished. The present writer, however, had the privilege of reading the reports in manuscript.

The credit of unearthing an authentic literary document which proves beyond doubt the importance of Kangra in Jaina history goes to Muni Jina Vijaya the wellknown scholar of Jaina history and literature. In 1916 he published the *Vijñpati-Triveṇī* from the original copy written under the supervision of its author, Upādhyāya Jaysāgara immediately after its composition. The *Vijñpati-Triveṇī* is a lengthy letter embodying the report of the pilgrimage to Nagarkot which its writer undertook in Sam. 1484. Such letters are called *Vijñapti-patras* and were written by Jaina monks to their gurus to inform them about the religious acts performed during the preceding year.†

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* Sir Alexander Cunningham: Archaeological Survey of India, Report for 1872--3, vol. V.

† A collection of *Ancient Vijñaptipatras* edited by Dr. Hiranand Shastri.

The circumstances under which the pilgrimage was organised are given in the *Vijñapti-Triveṇī* itself as follows :—

Once Jayasāgara was staying at Faridpur.[*] One morning after he had just finished his sermon, a stranger suddenly stepped before him. His appearance showed that he had come from a long journey. On inquiry he told the Upādhyāya that he was just returning from *Suśarmapura* (in the Trigarta country) which was a very magnificent Jaina Tīrtha. He said, "Lucky are those who have actually visited this Tīrtha in the Jālandhara[†] country. When all the other couutries have been waylaid by the Mlecchas, this Tīrtha alone stands uninjured like a lake in the *Marubhūmi* ". This charming account of the Tīrtha by the stranger roused a keen desire in the heart of the Upādhyāya to make a pilgrimage to it. He thought, " If I do not pay my homage to the holy Nagarkot, now that I am here in this country dominated by the Mlecchas I shall be like a person returning thirsty from a lake full of water, or hungry from a kitchen full of food. " Reasoning thus he talked out the matter with his lay disciples who after some deliberation decided to organise a pilgrims' party (*Yatrā-Saṃgha*) to Nagarkot.

On an auspicious day the party set out from Faridpur and in the evening arrived at the bank of the *Vipāsā* (Beas) where it made the first halt. The next morning the party crossed the Beas and proceeded towards Jālandhara. After continous marches, it arrived at *Niscindhipura*[‡] and encamped on grassy plots with lakes in its vicinity. On hearing of the arrival of the pilgrims the chief (suratrāṇa-or-Ar. Sultān) came out to welcome them, and was much pleased to see the Jaina monks. Quenching their thirst with the waters of the Beas the pilgrims proceeded further enjoying the ever increasing-beauty of the stream on their left. At a little distance they came across a wide river and finally reached *Talapāṭake.** Here the Śrāvakas of *Devapālapura*† came to honour the party and requested it to visit their place. The Upādhyāya, however, explained the difficulty of changing the programme and sent them back. Going along the Beas the party entered the *Madhyadeśa.*‡ The inhabitants of this region were tall and healthy.

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[*] Faridpur must be identified with Pakpattan in the Montgomery district for reasons other than phonological. The name Faridpur implies its connection with the famous saint Baba Farid, who is said to have passed a considerable portion of his life at Pakpattan where his shrine still exists. An earlier name of the place was Ajodhan as recorded in Persian works. It happens that Faridpur replaced Ajodhan and was itself replaced by Pakpattan.

Faridpur was situated a few miles to the south of the old Beas, for the rivers Sutlej and Beas did not formerly meet at Hari-ke-Pattan as they now do, but flowed on in independent chamnels fairly apart from each other. See H. G. Raverty : *The Mihran and its Tributaries* in the JASB for 1892 pt. I, p. 179. Sir Alexander Cunningham has located Ajodhan and Dipalpur to the south of the old bed of the Beas, *Archaeologircal Survey Report vol.* V for 1872-3, plate I.

The Vijnapati-Triveni supports the above view. The pilgrim's party started from Faridpur and arrived at Beas on the very first day of its journey. On crossing the Beas it entered into the Madhyadeśa after going along the Beas for some days.

[†] जालन्धरास्त्रिगर्ताः स्युः । हेमचन्द्र — अभिधानचिन्तामणि ४.२४ ।

[‡] *Niścindipura* must be some where to the north of the old Beas.

While passing through the Madhyadeśa the party heard the news of a battle going on in the neighbourhood between the armies of *Khoknar chief*, *Yaśoratha*§ and *Turuṣka* king *Sakandara.*‖ At this the pilgrims were greatly perturbed. Retracing its step the party came back to the bank of the Beas and crossed it by means of boats at the *Kunguda*¶ ferry. Now the party arrived at *Hiriyānā*,♆ a big place inhabited by Mahājanas of excellent character, where met the boundaries of four countries *Madhyadeśa*, *Jāgala*, *Jālandhara* and *Kaśmīra*. There in the vicinity of *Kānukayakṣa*§ a great gathering was held on the eleventh day of the bright half of Viśākha. The Mahājanas of *Sākhāpura* also joined it. A number of amusements–music, feasts, games, were provided. The title of *Saṅghavī* was conferred on *Somaka*. Next day heavy rains fell and damaged the tents of the party. This compelled it to stay there for five days.

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* *Talapāṭaka* the modern form of which is Talwārā, Talārā, etc. There are several places bearing this name. One is Talwārā on the Beas 25 miles north-east of Hoshiarpur. But this cannot be the *Talapāṭaka* of the *Vijñpati-Triveṇi*. It must be to the north of the Beas not very far from Devapālapura for the Śrāvakas of the latter place came to see the pilgrims here and requested them to visit their town.

† *Devapālapura* is the modern Dipalpur.

‡ *Madhyadeśa* is the Mājhā tract between the Ravi and the Beas comprising the districts of Lahore and Amritsar.

§ Khokhars were a Hindu tribe of the Punjab. Their chief Jasrat rebelled against the Delhi king several times. In 1428 a battle took place Between them, which is perhaps referred to here. But 1428 A. D. = Sam. 1485. This discrepancy seems to be due to confusion in the reckoning of different eras, the Hijra, the Kārtikādi and the Caitrādi Saṃvats.

‖ Sakandara of the Vijñapati--Triveṇī is Sikandar Tohfa who opposed Jasrat.

¶ *Kunguda* must be a ferry on the Beas possibly near its present confluence with the Sutlej. It appears that the party had intended originally to reach Nagarkot by the same route as covered by the Kangra valley Railway. But to avoid the scene of the battle between the Khokhars and the Delhi army it entered the Jālandhara Doab. Thus it had to cross the Beas thrice on their outward journey instead of only once.

♆ *Hiriyānā* should be near the present confluence of the *Sutlej* and the Beas for it is here the boundaries of the four countries Jāṅgala, Jālandhara, Madhyadeśa and Kashmir meet; or it may be the Hariana of the Hoshiarpur district.

§ Cf. the *Kāsava jakh* of the Kangra district.

Now the party commenced its journey through the *Sapādalakṣa* Mountains. The pilgrims were astonished to find that the people below looked small like monkeys from the tops of the mountains. They experienced the cold of winter even in the midst of summer. At last they crossed the Beas once more and proceeded along the *Pātāla Gangā.** Here they were much pleased to see water-mills working, an invention of the mountain people. Now the party was able to have a sight of *Nagarkot* or *Suśarmapura mahātīrtha.* All praised its beauty and grandeur, and gave away money in charity.

Next came the *Bāṇaganga*† flowing at the foot of the fort. The party crossed it quite easily as if it had been a mere ditch. Now the local *Samgha* came out to receive the pilgrims' party which was led to the city in a procession headed by bands of musicians and singers. The party first visited the *Sāntinātha* temple built by Sādhu‡ *Kṣīmasimha*, and consecrated by Jineśvarasūri of the Kharatara gaccha, and worshipped the Jina on the *Jñānapancamī* day in Jyeṣtha. Thence they moved to the Vardhamāna temple built by Rājā Rup Chand§ on the model of the eternal images. Finally, the *Ādinātha* temple was visited.

Next day the party paid a visit to another Ādinātha temple standing in *Kangadaka*|| fort. Rājā Narendra Chandra,¶ who was the ruler at that time, allowed the party to pass through his palaces to reach the temple. *Herambha* was deputed to guide the party through the seven gates of the fort. Old people there narrated the history of the temple and disclosed certain miracles about the idols At this moment the party was invited by the Rājā to a *Durbar* held in its honour. As soon as the party came into the Rājā's presence the monks praised him in verses specially composed for the occasion.

A poetic symposium was arranged between the monks and the Rājā's pandits which proved very interesting. Thereafter a Kasmirian pandit who carried a philosophical debate with the monks on certain topics, was silenced with sound

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* The Pātālagaṅgā is the Guptagangā which consists of a series of springs. Perhaps it is called so because it has no visible source.

† *Bānagaṅgā* still flows below the Kangra fort.

‡ *Sādhu*, meaning a Jaina monk, also means a jeweller, a merchant or a money-lender (Monier-Williams). This word is either directly Sanskrit or a Sankritised form of the Pers. Sāh 'king' now used for a big merchant or banker.

§ Cunningham regards Raja Rup Chand as a contemporary of Feroz Shah Tughlaq of Delhi, flourishing about 1360 A. D.

|| This is the Sanskritised form of Kangra found no where else.

¶ Cunningham gives 1465 A. D. as the probable date of Narendra Chandra (A. S. R. V p. 152). According to Vijnapati-Triveṇī he was alive in 1428.

arguments. Lastly the Rājā showed to the monks his own temple, with images of precious stones. The monks were then permitted to leave to enable them to reach their halting place before sunset.

On the third day the Saṃgha performed worship at all the four temples and made generous donations. Amusements were provided and a sumptuous feast was held.

On the fourth day corresponding to the eighth Tithi a *nandi* was proclaimed among the citizens assembled to take part in the great celebrations at the temple of Śāntinātha. Amid such festivities the party stayed at Nagarkot for ten days. The Śrāvakas of the city requested Jayasāgara to stay there for a *cāturmāsa* to convert them into pucca Jains as upto then they were so only in name. The Upādhyāya, however, regretted that he could not accede to their request.

From Nagarkot, a Tīrtha which takes people across the ocean of the world and which is continually served by *Jvālāmukhī*, *Jayantī* and *Ambikā* together with *Vīra Laṅgaḍa*, the party commenced its return journey on the seventh day after paying farewell homage to the temples. It arrived at *Gopācalapura** where it visited the temple of Śāntinātha built by *Dhirirāj* and stayed for five days. From there the pilgrims came to *Nandavana*† situated on the other side of the Beas adorned with a grand temple dedicated to Vīrasvāmin and together with the local Jains worshipped the Jina. They next stayed at *Koṭillagrāma*‡ with its newly built temple of Pārśvanātha. While the laymen were busy with worship of idols, the monks recited *Stotras* in praise of Jina. Leaving the place the party performed the difficult journey through the mountains and reached *Koṭhipura*§ a great town surrounded by hills and populated by Śrāvakas of different sects. Here homage was paid to Mahāvīra and a great feast was arranged by *Somāka*. After a halt of ten days here the party resumed its journey full of hardships. The last forty *Kos*, however, as for as *Devapālapaṭṭana* along the great stream called the *Saptarudra** were done easily by means of boats. At Devapālapura the party was befittingly received by the *Sanghavī Ghaṭasiṃha* of Mṛdupakṣa and Sāh Saraṅga of Kharataragaccha and was led in a procession headed by bands. Here, too, like Koṭhipura, Pūjā celebrations and dinners were held which elicited praise from the lips of even the opponent sects. After ten days the party again set out on its journey and leaving the Beas behind, arrived at the place from where it had started on its pilgrimage. The Saṃgha of Faridpur had already come there to receive the pilgrims. All were happy to meet one another and the pilgrimage formed the main topic of their talk.

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* *Gopācalapura* is the modern Guler about ten miles to the south of Kangra. Its old name was Gwalior because it was founded by Harichandra in sam. 1462 on a site indicated by a cowherd.

† Modern Nandaun situated on the south bank of the Beas. It is about 20 miles from Kangra. Guler falls on its way.

‡ The modern form of Kotilla is Kotlā and means a small fort or fortress. Several places bear this name. Some times a word is added to distinguish one from another, e. g. Mālerkotla, Kotlā Paṭhānān etc. Koṭillagrāma is most probably the present *Kuṭlaihr* some twenty miles to the south of Nadaun and from here the party came to Saptarudra travelling through the Hoshiarpur and Jullundhur districts. Less possibly it may be Kotla near Nūrpur.

§ No Suggestation can be made about *Kothipura*. There are one or two places named Koti or Kothi. It lay amidst the hills and had a large population of Jains.

How and when such a magnificant state of Jainism in the Kangra vally came to an end cannot be answered definitely. Shri Agar Chand Nahtā of Bikaner has published a number of hymns in praise of Nagarkot one of which was composed in sam. 1634. This shows that Nagarkot did exist as a Jaina Tīrtha at least upto that year or a little later. Another work of sam. 1874 states that the Jaina idol at Kangra in the north is worshipped by the common people as a local deity and that it should not be worshipped by the Jains as such. It is possible that the Kangra fort was destroyed by an earthquake like that of 1905, and the other places were left by the Jains on account of political changes when they found themselves oppressed or their trade ruined.

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* Saptarudra is a problem; the word is not met elsewhere. The Sanskrit text सप्तरुद्राख्य-महाप्रवाहमयं जलनिवेशमक्लेशेनैव क्रोशच्चत्वारिंशत्प्रमाण तरीभिरतिवाहयन्तः is not quite clear. It refers to 40 *Kos* boat-journey. जलनिवेश usually denotes standing waters, a lake; but here it points to a river named *Saptarudra* having a very strong flow. Leaving the boats the party had to do some land-journey to reach Devapālapura. Saptarudra may be the name of a portion of the Beas or perhaps it stands for the Sutlej which has a phonologically clearer connection with Saptarudra than with the commoner word *Śatadru*. Saptarudra may have been coined by Jayasāgara. Dipālpur can be reached by a short journey from a point on the Sutlej.

SCHISM AND RAPPROCHEMENT

Dr. H. L. Jain, Nagpur

It is now accepted in scholarly circles that Mahāvīra did not found a new jeligion, but reformed an old faith which was current in his time.* The followers of the old faith were known as *Śramaṇas* who formed a *monastic* order which differed fundamentally in its creed from the *Brahmaṇas* of the Vedic school. The Śramaṇas practised and preached the four abstinences (*cāturyāma*), namely abstinence from Violence, Untruth, Theft and Worldly possessions. When Mahāvīra roined the order he found that the behaviour of the Śramaṇas was not always sufficiently unworldly and free from anxiety. He therefore split up the last vow of abstinence from worldly possessions (*Aparigraha or Bahiddhādānāo Veramaṇam*) in to two, namely, chastity (*Brahmacarya*) and Poverty (*Aparigraha*). This did not mean that formerly chastity was not religiously practised by the monks On the contrary, the emphasis used to be on this vow only, and the company of women being abstained from, some latitude prevailed as to the other belongings which a Śramaṇa may possess. Mahāvīra's intention in mentioning Brahmacarya as a separate vow was that Brahmacarya should not be the be-all and end-all of *Aparigraha*, but the latter should be practised to its logical conclusions by abstaining even from the slightest use of cloth. Consistently with this ideology he formulated the twentytwo endurances (*Pariṣahas*) which a monk ought to practise.† His followers thus confirmed fully to the *Nirgrantha* creed and came to be known as *Acela*, the clothless, distinct from the older *Śramaṇas* of the *Cāturyāma* school.

Mahāvīra's successor Gautama was able to convince the leader of the older school that the innovations introduced by the last Tīrthaṃkara were not only not contrary to their ancient creed, but they brought out fully the true spirit and essential features of that faith. The two groups thus merged into one and five vows were accepted by them all in place of the older four.‡ The compromise on the question of cloth appears to have been on the basis of allowing an option (*Kalpa*), as may be inferred from the emergence of the *Jina-Kalpa* i. e. the practice of nakedness as preached by the last Jina Mahāvīra, or that of wearing some cloth as the older section, *Sthavira Kalpa*, did. This compromise, form its very-nature, could not be lasting, because it was not possible to secure the spirit of equality between those who claimed to practise the harder vow of nakedness and those whom they considered to be weaker in their austerities. According to the succession list of *Ācāryas* after Mahāvīra, the order remained united for three generations only i. e. under *Gautama*, *Sudharma*, and *Jambū*, the '*Kevalis*'. After them the leadership got split up and we find two separate genealogies of Ācāryas, the one starting with *Nandi* and the other with *Prabhava*.* From the various subsequent accounts of these two branches, we learn that the former were *Jina Kalpi*, the naked, and the latter were *Sthavira Kalpi* the clothed. It was, however, not yet that the Digambara and Śwetāmbara Sects had emerged in their rigid form, because we are told that deflections from one side to the other were frequent and easy.

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* Cambridge History of India, Vol 1 p. 150ff.

† Uttarādhyayana Sūtra 2.

‡ Uttarādhyayana Sūtra 23.

The J*ina Kalpa* branch had one handicap as compared to the *Sthavira Kalpa*. The austerity of nakedness was not easy to be practised, particularly by those who had come from affluence, or had a bodily defect, and in any case, by the women folk. Numerically, therefore, the strength of the sect was less. This deficiency was attempted to be made up by *Ārya Śivabhūti* who, according to the Śvetāmbara traditions, renounced *Sthavira Kalpa* in favour of J*ina Kalpa*, and whom I identify with Śivārya, the author of *Mūlārādhanā*.† In this work we find nakedness prescribed as a rule (*Utsarga*) for monks, but an exception (*Apavāda*) has been made in favour of the rich converts, the shy, the physically defective and women who may wear cloth. Thus, within the Jina Kalpa itself certain amount of option came into vogue.‡

But the seeds of dissension were inherent in the arrangement, because, logically the rule of nakedness became indefensible thereby. If some persons, for whatever reason it may be, could be considered monks and qualify themselves for absolute purification without abstension from cloth, why not others ? So the rule of nakedness tended to be observed more in its breach than observance. At this stage *Kundakundācārya*$ appeared on the scene. In his attempt to solve the problem for ever, he focussed his attention upon the religious practice of the last Tīrthaṃkara, Mahāvīra, who, without doubt, had exemplified nakedness.

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* Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama Vol I p. 65 & Intro. p. 21; Kalpa--Sūtra Sthavirāvali.

† 'Śivabhūti and Śivārya, by Dr. H. L. Jain Nagpur University Journal Vol. 9 p. 62.

‡ मूलाराधना 79-84.

$ A Hidden Landmark in the History of Jainism By Dr. H. L. Jain, B. C. Law Voume Part II p. 57.

Kundakunda, therefore declared that nakedness was the absolute and indispensable minimum for ascetic life, and those who could not practise it, had no right to be included in the *Muni Saṃgha.*

Since women could not be advised to give up their apparel they were allowed to continue in the Saṃgha merely as apprentices, though their stage of spiritual purity could not be admitted to be higher than that of the householders. It was only now that women were considered absolutely disqualified for true ascetic life and salvation which could not be achieved without unqualified renunciation of every thing worldly including cloth* – an impossibility for women. As a corollary to this, those texts which laid down equal possibilities of spiritual purity in man and woman, became inadmissible. It appears to me that this was one of the reasons why the sacred *Aṅgas* prevalent amongst the Śvetāmbaras were not recognised by the Digambaras. Not only that, but even the sacred texts like the *Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama* which were, without doubt, composed by the Jina Kalpis, could not be regarded as authoritative in the Mūlasaṃgha of Kundakundācarya.

Compromise was however, once more effected by *Devanandi* who for his great achievement was honoured by the title of *Pūjyapāda* (of adorable feet) a a designation by which he became famous in subsequent history. In his commentary called '*Sarvārthasiddhi*' on the Tattvārtha Sūtra of Umāsvāti, he tried to reconcile, the provision of woman salvation in the older texts, with the prohibition of the same in the Kundakunda school, by his well known formula of *Bhāva Strī* attaining salvation, but not so the *Dravya Strī.*†

The implication of this cryptic formula was that a man with a male body could be female in his sex feelings, and such a person being *Bhāva Strī* could qualify himself for absolute purity, but not so a person with a female body-*Dravya Strī.* It was on this basis that Pūjyapāda succeeded in establishing unity between the warring elements within the J*ina Kalpis* who now became consolidated in the Digambara community as distinct from the Śvetāmbaras who admitted no such qualifications in the elegibility of women for salvation. The Digambara faith now rests upon Pūjyapāda's formula, so far as woman salvation is concerned.

The validity of Pūjyapāda's formula, is however, questionable. Attainment of salvation is a part of the laws of *Karma.* The same laws regulate the biological formations of bodies in accordance with the abstract potentialities which allow no mutual disparity in *Bhāva* and *Dravya* as presumed in Pūjyapāda's formula. Subsequent writers like Akalaṃka[*] and Vīrsena[†] have tried to support the formula in their own way, but their explanations only expose its inherent weakness.[‡]

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* सूत्रपाहुड 10, 17, 20, 22, 27.

† तत्वार्थसूत्र 1-7 com. क्षायिकं पुनर्भाववेदेनैव ;
10-9 com. त्रिभ्यो वा वेदेभ्यः सिद्धिर्भावतो न द्रव्यतः ।

This short review of the events within Jaina community goes to show that :-

Provision for woman-salvation existed in the oldest books of Jainism. But this was found to be inconsistent with the rule of nakedness for monks on the presumption that women could not be recommended to give up clothing. Repeated efforts were made to reconcile the two views, and the last rapprochement on the subject was effected by Pūjypāda Devanandi. His formula has served to keep the Digambara community united for about fifteen centuries.

But on examination in the light of the *Karma-Siddhānta*, Pujyapāda's formula is found to violate some of its fundamental rules. The position that emerges out of the examination is that either *Strī-Mukti* has to be admitted in an unqualified form, or the Karma philosophy as propounded in the most authoritative sacred texts has to be thrown over board. There is no escape from this position.[$]

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[*] तत्वार्थ राजवार्तिक 8·8·4.

[†] षट्खंडागमं I, I, 93 com.

[‡] क्या षट्खंडागम सूत्रकार और उनके टीकाकार वीरसेनाचार्यका अभिप्राय एक ही है ? by Dr. H. L. Jain जैन सिद्धान्त भास्कर Vol 11-1 p. 13.

[$] सिद्धान्तसमीक्षा part I, II & III by Dr. H. L. Jain हिन्दी ग्रंथ रत्नाकर कार्यालय, बम्बई.

Section : History

Presidential Address

Prof. **V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar,** Madras.

Fellow-Delegates,

I am very grateful to the All-India Oriental Conference for having honoured me by electing me unanimously as the President of the History Section of this Conference. I shall not be reviewing today the work done in very recent years, as the published work is not very much on account of the Second World War, now happily over. Among the important revised editions mention may be made of Dr. B. C. Law's Aśvaghoṣa and Buddhaghoṣa. I shall discuss some ideas which to all intents and purposes seem to have been well and truly established but which, in my opinion, require drastic revision.

Indian historical studies, on modern scientific lines, were first inaugurated by European scholars and thanks to their patient and painstaking research, the conception of Indian History has been much extended. Even when I was a student in the High School forms, our text-books on Indian History began only with Alexander's invasion. In the Mauryan period we knew only of Aśoka, and in the Gupta period of one or two Gupta monarchs. There was all darkness in the entire period covering the Sunga, the Kaṇva, the Āndhra, the Vākāṭaka and the Bhāraśiva periods. Thanks to the researches of scholars, Indian and European gaps are being filled up. The pioneers of Indological studies further explored the mass of our literature, especially Sanskrit and Pali, which still form the chief source of information for the history of ancient India, and arrived at some conclusions about the civilisation and culture of India. A set of enthusiasts have been working in the other direction of archaeology. Their explorations and excavations resulted in the reconstruction of history in the prehistoric period. In the meantime brilliant orientalists like Max Muller, and after him Macdonald and the late lamented A. B. Keith, and a host of other scholars came into the field of Indian historical studies. Their services to Indology were great. But in formulating certain theories, they have done an unconscious disservice to the cause of India's culture. Several of them took it for granted that there was an Aryan race, and held that the Sanskrit speaking peoples were generally Aryans, and that these people entered India by the North-West Frontier and settled in the Punjab. The date of this invasion is said to be about 2000 B. C. This is also accepted more or less the date of the composition of the Ṛg Veda Saṃhitā which is agreed on all hands as the oldest composition of Indian literature. The scholars who have followed them adopted these theories as established facts without any rhyme or reason and we now begin our history of North India with the statements that the Aryans came into India from Central Asia or from S. E. Europe or from some other zone, settled in the Indus region and began composing Vedic literature one after the other. This is one side of the picture.

If we turn to the other side, we meet with another story. There was what is known as the Mediterranean race, and one branch of this race travelled through the Middle East and finally reached India. They spread all over North India and then came to the south. These were Dravidians or perhaps proto Dravidians who are said to have borne the torchlight of civilisation from the civilised Mediterranean regions for the benefit of India, South India in particular. The protagonists of this theory hold the view that this Dravidian invasion of India preceded the Aryan, and perhaps the authors of the glorious civilisation now revealed to us by the buried cities of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, are a branch of the Mediterranean race. Long before the epoch-making discoveries in the Indus region, Bishop Caldwell, the specialist as he was in the new science of philology, which by the way cannot to treated as an exact science, laid emphasis on the differences between our languages in the South and the North Indianl anguages and interpreted that we the Dravidians of the South are entirely a different people from the so-called Aryans.

The net result of the studies of these pioneers was the promulgation of a theory of an Aryan race and of a Dravidian race, This has unfortunately led to a certain extent to the rise of rampant communalism in our country where it never existed. The European pioneers were honourable men, actuated by most honest motives. Their imagination and vision were however limited. They could not approach the Indian problems in the right perspective, because they had no background of our culture. They were bookish and had only linguistic literary material before them. From them they could arrive at certain conclusions. It is for the discerning historian to accept or reject these conclusions. But our scholars would rather accept than reject them.

What are then the facts ? The exploitation of historical sources has not been conducted with a careful apparatus of criticism and applied judgement. Let me take up first the theory of an Aryan invasion. If the Ṛg Veda Samhitā furnishes the evidence, as has been pointed out to us in season and out of season, I challenge any Vedic scholar or other, to produce the relevant texts bearing on the question. What astonishes is that the entire Ṛg Veda is silent on the matter both of an invasion from outside and of a race. Again, the Dasyus are supposed to have been of Dravidian stock and hence the cruel treatment given to them by the Aryans. If the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII.18)[*] could be believed, the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmitra, the Holy Priest of King Hariścandra, and a sage of the hymns in the third maṇḍala of the Ṛg Veda. In the light of this text can we imagine for a moment that racially the Dasyu was different from the so-called Aryan. That Dāsa or Dasyu was alone the enemy and all others allies under the comprehensive term Ārya, is a myth, can be vouchsafed from several texts of the Ṛg Veda. The hymn (VI. 33 3) asks Indra to destroy both the foes, whether Dāsa or Ārya. Another text (VI. 60. 6) beseeches Indra to slay all enemies, Āryas as well as Dasyus. The hymn VII. 83. 1 further prays to Indra and Varuṇato slay both Ārya and Dasyu enemies. See also X. 38.3; 83. 1; 102. 3.

It is therefore absurd to suppose that native Dasyus were alone enemies. The fact was that both were enemies of the Dasyus interpreted by Sāyaṇa as havirdattave-performers of sacrifices. This is enough to show that Dasyus were not non-Aryans but degraded Aryans as Lassen would have it. Among the older European writers themselves, there were some who looked at things without coloured glasses.

Before I go into the subject, I shall quote the views of some scholars. Professor Weber remarks : " The oldest hymns of the Veda show us the Aryan people still dwelling beyond or at least only on the N. W. Frontiers of India, viz. in the tract between the Kabul rivers and the Indus as well as in the Punjab. " (quoted in Muir : Original Sanskrit Texts II p. 339) Professor Roth has expressed his opinion that the bulk of the peoples which we may designate as the Vedic peoples dwelt nearer to the Indus than the Jumna (op. cit. p. 338). J. Muir's view was that none of the Sanskrit works contains any distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of the Hindus. Elphinstone in his History of India wrote : " Neither in the code of Manu, nor I believe in the Vedas, nor in any book that is certainly older than the Code is there any allusion to a prior residence, or to a knowledge of more than the name of any country out of India. Even mythology goes no further than the Himalayan chain in which is fixed the habitation of the Gods " : (Vol. I, p. 97, 1st edition). Add to this the statement of the author of Ch. IV in the Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. P. 79 'The Ṛg-Veda offers no assistance in determining the mode in which the Vedic Aryan entered India'. From this negative conclusion, we shall try to fix as a positive fact that India has been the home of the ancient Bharatas, for according to ancient geography as reflected in our Purāṇas and other literature India's ancient name was Bharatakhaṇḍa.

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[*] Vaiśvāmitrāh dasyūnām bhūyiṣṭhāh.

We are told of an Indo-Iranian period where Varuṇa who bears the epithet Asura and is equated with Ahura-Mazda pales into insignificance before Indra who gets exalted after the Aryans had entered India. Sten Konow remarks: 'Mitra and Varuṇa were kings Rājan and even Samrāj, supreme rulers. Indra, on the other hand, is svarāj a ruler with his own will, who need not feel himself bound and restricted.' That this is only an assnmption is proved by the text of Ṛg Veda (II. 281) where Varuṇa is also svarāṭ, while Indra is also called Samrāṭ in some places (IV. 19. 2 : 21-10). The epithet Asura again is not peculiar to Varuṇa but is applied also to the Ādityas (VII. 36. 2; VIII. 25. 4; 27. 20). Even Indra is designated Asura in I. 174-1. So the supposed parallelism of Asura Varuṇa to Ahura-Mazda goes to the wall. All these gods are invoked at the same time for preservation and protection (see for instance I. 16. 1 & 2). No difference is made between the peaceful Varuṇa and the martial Indra as is made out by our scholars.

Still more interesting is that even in the Ṛg Veda we see a glimpse of hostility between the Brāhmaṇ and the Kṣatriya. The Vaśiṣṭha-Viśvāmitra episode furnished in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki is not a new story of the epic times. It is an old Vedic tale of which the Ṛg Veda in III. 53. 24 gives a definite hint. It says that the sons of Bharata who belonged to the Kṣatriya caste were not friendly to the Brahmanic Vaśiṣṭhas and this is not unnatural as the sage Viśvāmitra belonged to that family of Bharata. And Bharata Dauṣyanti who is said to have conquered the region to the east of Sadānira, according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, must have been a scion of this Kṣatriya family. This may not be the peaceful penetration of Brahminism but the actual conquest of a Kṣatriya hero. From these random reflections one is compelled to conclude that the term Aryan belonged to the region of religion, not of race or people. The people of the Vedic civilisation were autochthons who evolved a culture of their own in the Indus region and spread themselves gradually over all Hindusthan.

The various hypotheses of an Aryan invasion are creations of fancy and cannot be supported by any reliable and indisputable evidence. Any country had its own heretics and the Dasyus probably constituted heretics (see Ṛg Veda, I. 101. 5). The term avratam in several passages 1. 132. 3; VI. 14. 3 shows that they were irreligious.

Turning to the other side of the picture, there is the geological evidence of irrefutable character that the tribes of S. India evolved stage by stage. The history of man in the past shows that his evolution was progressive. If we analyse the progressive evolution of the South Indian peoples and apply the test of geology, archaelogy and anthropology, we meet them in their old stone age culture, new stone age cluture, iron age culture. They then got mixed in the Sanskrit, Muslim and Western cultures. These peoples of S. India and lower Deccan were original inhabitants of the soil. They passed from forest culture and coastal culture to pastoral and riverine cultures. In the iron age they became quite civilised and had international communication by way of commerce to the West and East. Their goods reached Rome and Greece, Egypt and Babylon, China, Arabia and the Archipelago Islands. They were an adventureous people and travelled by sea long distances. They migrated to North India and N. West India and Baluchistan. The present Tamils are the lineal descendants of these ancient peoples. They came to be known as Dravidians as their country was known in Sanskrit works as Dravida. It is absurd to speak of a Dravidian race a pre-Dravidian race and a proto-Dravidian one. All of them were one and the same people and were authors of one and the same culture running through the ages.

The theory of the Meditarenean race is an assumption which has no legs to stand on. But the evidences available which cannot be referred to in a short address like this, point out distinctly that there was a migration from India to Europe, Asia Minor and Egypt not to speak of the Far East. It is just possible some of those who migrated, settled in these foreign lands and spread their culture in them. Arrested by the superior elements in our culture, these foreign peoples adopted them, and this is how we can account for similarity of religious forms of worship and ritual practices in ancient Crete, Egypt or Sumer. Hall, the author of the Ancient History of the Near East, was right when he stated that the Sumerians came into Western Asia from India. There is no element of truth therefore in the hypothesis of 'an immigration of Dravidian speaking peoples into India from the West' (Cambridge History of India, p. 42). The truth is just the opposite. Again, what about the statement of the Manusmṛt which says that the Dravidians were degraded Kṣatriyas and yet Kṣatriyas? What about the theory which is accepted by Tamil scholars as a fact that the Velir or Vellalas are a branch of the great Vṛṣṇi tribe which began to spread for fresh shelter in different places of India? If Dravidians were Kṣatriyas and the Velir the Vṛṣṇis, how could they be separated as a race?

It cannot be assumed for a moment that only Dravidians and Aryans lived in ancient India. There were several tribes who flourished side by side with their ideas and institutions. In the restatement of past events we must not pick out one statement here and another statement there, and make them support current ideas of the present day. The historian should call a spade a spade and face the facts squarely. There were Yakṣas, Rākṣasas and Nāgas, Vānaras and other tribes. These tribes have become completely extinct. We believe that the

Nāgas had for their totem serpent. This may be true. Students of mythology like Sir George Cox are of opinion that serpent worship is the same as the worship of the phallus.

These rambling considerations raise problems which would baffle any student of Indian History. I feel there is justification for us to revise the date of the composition of our Vedic literature, to dismiss the untenable theory of an Aryan invasion or a Dravidian migration, to refute the theory of separate races Aryan and Dravidian, and to restudy the myths and legends with a view to reconstruct history. We must also pursue the currents of archaelogy and build up a continuous story of India's history. Unless we do this, we are still in the beginning stage of serious historical research, notwithstanding conjectures, assumptions and hypotheses propounded by orientalists for nearly 150 years. The fact is that personal elements have coloured the growth of historiography among the several generations of Indian historians. Just think, for instance, the presentation of Aśoka, Samudra Gupta, Pulakeśi, or Rājarāja. Guessing motives from ancient records, more often of a conflicting nature, leads to distortion from true perspective by the projection of later and present day ideas. Even in the presentation of heroes like Akbar and Śivāji and national movements like those of the Marathas, the Sikhs, and even of provincial and local cultural achievements, there is the double current of partial and impartial history. Such studies should be very carefully done and this alone would make the true historian.

In writing a history of India, the principle of unity should be observed and stressed, as between one age and another, and one cultural unit and another and one geographical region and another. True historical interpretation must thus have a continental background and be as wide as the nation, even comprehending international ripples. Much has been made of the strategic importance of the N. W. Frontier for the defence of India. Historians of India seem to have forgotten that there are also seas on either side of Peninsular India which are equally strategically and culturally important. The other day I read an interesting brochure of Sardar K. M. Panikkar on the role played by the Indian Ocean in India's past, and the more significant part it has to play in the future history of India.

Again, much uncritical matter has been written on caste in India. Has any writer paused and asked himself the question, what is the real explanation for the stratification of the Indian society ? How many students even in India know that the Hindu society was based on economic co-operation, without which no amount of conferences and planning would produce social harmony and world order ? Can we maintain still the thesis that India has been a rigidly inelastic land in all aspects of social, political and economic activity ? Is conservation a crime ? What is the secret of the endurance of our culture ? Has any one analysed that it is due to its cosmpolitan character ? How many of us know that we were radically conservative ? Take war weapons, political institutions, or even pottery. We have the polished wares of the Mauryas, grey coloured bowls of the Śungas, newer shapes of the Kushans, floral designs of the Guptas. The uniformity of the products of the village potters, whether it was Punjab, United Provinces, Bengal or S. India, through successive ages, demonstrates the fundamental unity of Indian culture. Every where there has been progressive evolution. In the matter of the Hindu–Muslim relations, for example, there has been much misunderstanding of late. Individual princes are taken and particular deeds of theirs interpreted by a set of scholars. But we should take the whole range view of things that had happened and draw broad conclusions. In other words, impartiality in historical judgement is a very high ideal.

The genius of Muslim writers has not yet been fully and truly interpreted nor the extent to which Islam has really entered into the web of Indian life in some of its remote phases. Now is the time for us to go thoroughly into the yet unexplored sources of Muslim history and try to arrive at correct conclusions about the synthesis of Muslim and Hindu cultures. Notwithstanding some provocation or other in certain periods of history, the fact remains that both these communities have lived nearly a thousand years in concord and amity. We have to study afresh the character and achievements of the great Mughal emperor Aurangzeb though some attempt has been made in this direction by the veteran scholar Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

Coming to the British period the sources of information are vast and hence the work of coordination is made more difficult. Romanticism and commonplace sentimentalism have a smaller place here than in the interpretation of earlier periods in Indian History. But the danger of an unconscious bias in favour of the ideals and institutions and policy of the governing power is all the greater particularly in the analysis of the causes of the decay of the Muslim and Maratha powers and the rise and establishment of the British, in preference to other European domination. The utilisation of our archival material should be done to the utmost extent possible. The publication of a fully arranged and carefully edited corpus of every kind of first class original records, in the different languages has become fully recognised as the desideratum for a really constructive historical work in the Mahratta and British periods.

Personalities claim a disproportionately large attention in the Muslim and British periods. This has led to the lack of coordination between the military and political aspects on one side and the social and economic aspects on the other. The interpretation of the achievements of the builders of European dominion like Albuquerque, Dupleix, Clive and his English successors is indeed very difficult. The biographical and historical literature of this period is generally vitiated by violent oscillations of sympathy and condemnation. Similar has been the unfortunate theme of the decline of Indian trade and industry under the British rule.

Partisanship in anything is bad and it is particularly bad in historical treatment. Even the national minded Indian writers are not entirely free from the reactions of a western mentality and disproportionately stress their admiration for English political and constitutional ideals and practices. These and other defects have produced a lack of really objective treatment of our history. There is also the fear animating writers as to the possible repercussions of their views and expressions. You state to.day that Aśoka was not a Buddhist, then there is the danger of Buddhists disowning you. If you say that Aśoka was a Jain, the Jains begin owning you. If you say that ancient India possessed knowledge of fire-arms and aerial vehicles, then you are put down for uncritical scholarship. The historian should shed prejudices and false sense of patriotism. This fear, I am afraid, has exercised a constant silent censorship on recent writers of history. The historian has the right to speak out on the evidences he commands. There must be shown considerable tolerance where scholars differ. Then and then alone truth will come out. We should have courage and freedom to express accurately marshalled conclusions. If this could not be done, research is not worth its name.

At the same time we must guard against another danger. Historians should not go beyond the extant evidence before them and should never undertake the politician's bidding and uphold and plead for political views of any sort. Adverting again to the British period we may set much value by the works of poineer historians like Robert Orme, generally known as the 'Thucydides' of British India, John Bruce* and Lt. Col. Mark Wilks, the historian of Mysore. But it is necessary, that indigenous material should be fully utilised to check up their views if any, and to supplement their opinion if any. The tendency to overlook the part played by Indian co-adjutors and cooperators is to be deplored. For example, the genesis of the diversion on Arcot in 1751 was certainly due to the suggestion of Nawab Muhammed Ali, though its implementing is due to Clive.†

Thus there are several problems which await further discussion and interpretation. Among them the more urgent are :

1. The exact filiations of South Indian culture and its relation to the Indus Valley culture.
2. The continuity and endurance of Dravidian and Aryan cultures, their extent and nature.
3. The beginnings and early stages of Tamil literature and culture.

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* Annals of East India Company in 3 vols. (1810)

† Nainar Dr S. M. H : Tūzak-i-Wālājāhi. Trans. II p. 89, notes :

C. S. Srinivaschari : Proceedings of All-India Modern History Congress, 1935, II pp. 10-23.

4. Further investigations in the regions of the North-West Frontier and the Punjab to reconstruct their ancient history. So far as the Greeco-Buddhist pericd has been investigated.
5. The amount of penetration of Jaina and Buddhist influences in the Magadhan empire.
6. The Andhras : their origin, northern penetration of their empire; their naval and cononial enterprise.
7. The value of digvijaya of Samudra Gupta.
8. The true origins of the Rajputs.
9. The origins of Vijayanagar.
10. Correct estimate of the achievements of the Indo-Moslem Sultanate including those of the Deccan; rapprochement between Hindu and Muslim thought and society, art, architecture, etc.
11. An elaborate study of mediaeval Hindu renaissance.
12. Extra Indian factors, oceanic and insul indian, on early European enterprise.
13. Proper and sequential presentation of the Indian States in their relations with the British in the different stages-Danger to be guarded against the theory of Paramountcy being read backwards into their development.
14. Stress needed on the achievements of Indian heroes, statesmen, etc. in the British epoch-achievements of Mulliks, etc. of Calcutta, Dubashes of Madras, Yusuf Khan and potentates.
15. Syntheses of culture contacts between the East and the West.

Gentlemen, I am aware of some of the schemes for writing the history of India by Indian scholars. I feel that it would be serving the cause of history if we have one uniform scheme. I shall feel amply rewarded if our scholars consider seriously and academically the above problems and the equally important other problems which require further discussion and elucidition.

SAMUDRAGUPTA IN THE PURĀṆAS

Shri **D. R. Mankad**, Karachi

It is generally believed that the *Purāṇas* do not refer to any of the Gupta kings by name. I have, however, found that the Purāṇas not only mention *Samudragupta*, but describe his career and character vividly, though briefly. I shall substantiate this statement in what follows.

It will be seen that after the *Āndhras*, there is a section in the Purāṇas, which is named by Pargiter* as ' Various Local Dynasties. That section ' describes the various local dynasties which were ' more or less ' contemporaneous ' as Pargiter says. Or to be correct, they were the various local dynasties which ruled during the period of 400 to 500 years during which the Āndras, according to the Purāṇas ruled. The last king of this section is *Vindhyaśakti*, who was the founder of the *Vākāṭaka* House. And according to the modern scholars the rise of Vindhyaśakti was some 70 years before the rise of the Guptas, so that this section brings the history to 70 years before Samudragupta.

Then follows the section which Pargiter names as " *Dynasties of Vidiśā* etc." That section comes down to *Pravīra* i. e. *Pravarasena* I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, and to the four sons of Pravarasena I. Now *Rudrasena* I (Vākāṭaka), who was defeated by Samudragupta, was the son of one of the four sons of Pravarasena I.† Therefore, this section, which closes almost at the rise of Rudrasena I, comes down practically to the time of Samudragupta.

Then follows the section named by Pargiter as " *Dynasties of the third century A. D*". In this section, various local dynasties are described and brought down actually to the rise of Samudragupta. The section says " In Makata seven kings will reign seventy years. " Jayswal has taken (Hist. of India p. 181) these seven kings to be the early 7 Pallavas, making last Viṣṇugopa, a contemporary of Samudragupta. Along with this is described, in the same section, a king of Magadha named Viśvasphaṇi, whom I identify with Samudragupta.

Then follows the section called by Pargiter as ' *Contemporary dynasties of the early fourth century* '. These dynasties also come down to the time of

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* See his " Dynasties of the Kali Age. "

† It should be remembered that none of these four sons seems to have ruled and that, therefore, Rudrasena I succeeded Pravarsena I, almost directly.

Samudragupta. Kanaka or Kāna of this section is actually taken by Jayaswal (same, p. 129) as a contemporary of Samudragupta. In fact, both the sections named by Pargiter as '*Dynasties of the third century A. D.*' and as '*Contemporary Dynasties of the Early fourth century*' form one section, giving various local dynasties that ruled from the time of the establishment of the Vākāṭaka dynasty by Pravarasena I to the time of the rise of Samudragupta. Even Pargiter says that these lists come up to the rise of the Guptas (i. e. early fourth century). Thus, it is quite evident that these Puranic descriptions come up to and stop at the rise of the Guptas i. e. at the time of Candragupta I and Samudragupta. Viśvasphaṇi is the latest king named and described as the king of Magadha. I think that he is Samudragupta.

The description of Viśvasphaṇi, which I shall just quote in full, suggests a great conqueror and an emperor. The question is this : who was this great conqueror and emperor, *who ruled over Magadha just after the time of the four sons of Pravarasena I and contemporaneously with Viṣṇugopa and Kāna*? My emphatic answer to this question is this : he can be none else than the great Samudragupta himself. The description and the position are unmistakable. At the period at which Purāṇas put Viśvasphaṇi i. e. at the period which followed the period of the four sons of Pravarasena I, there was no other king of Magadha, with whom the description and the position given to Viśvasphaṇi in the Purāṇas can fit in.

Jayswal has identified (Hist. of India p. 42ff) *Viśvasphaṇi* with *Vanasphara*, the *Satrap* of *Kaniṣka*, and has placed him in c. 90–120 A. D. But his identification is untenable. Viśvasphaṇi of the Purāṇas was a great conqueror and an emperor, Vanasphara was neither. Viśvasphaṇi was the ruler of Magadha; Vanasphara is not known to have ruled at Magadha. Purāṇas put Viśvasphaṇi, as we have just seen, after Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena I and the latter's four sons Jayaswal himself puts the rise of Vindhyaśakti in c. 248 A. D. How, then, Vanasphara, who lived in c. 90–120 A. D. can be the same as Viśvasphaṇi ? The identification is, therefore, to be rejected. Nor is Viśvasphaṇi the same as Vihdhyaśakti or the same as one of the four sons of Pravarasena I, as is suggested by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar.* It is a mere query and there is nothing whatsoever to support it. On the contrary the Purāṇas very clearly distinguish between Vindhyaśakti, Pravarsena I, his four sons on the one hand and Viśvasphaṇi on the other.

Jayaswal's desperate suggestion is due to sound-similarity between the names Vanasphara and Viśvasphaṇi. I think that this name Viśvasphaṇi in the Purāṇas stands for the original tribal name of Samudragupta. His grand-father, we know, bore an outlandish name like *Ghaṭotkaca*. I think that his original name must have been something like *Vindapharṇa*, a name which we know as the original of the name Gondopharnes. The ending '*Pharṇa*' or '*Pharṇes*' is found in other names also. *Xenophan* has '*Phan*' at the end, which is clearly a remnant of pharna. The Behistun rock inscription (Column iv, para 18) of Darius mentions two names like *Vidafrana* and *Vayaspara*. Herodotus spells *Vidafrana* as *Intafarnes*. Mahābhārata also mentions* a name which ends in *Pharna*. And *Phaṇi* of Viśvasphaṇi is the same as Pharṇa. A name like *Vindafrana* or *Vindapharna* can easily be Sanskritised into *Viśvasphaṇi*. There can hardly be any doubt that phonetically the name Viśvasphaṇi is meant to represent a name like *Vindapharna*; and the very fact that the name is spelt variously in the Mss. (Pargiter notes as many as 9 to 10 spellings of the name) shows that it was a non-Sanskritic name, unfamiliar to the Paurāṇikas, and which they have tried to transliterate into Sanskrit as faithfully as they could.

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* **Ancient India, Vol. 1, 176.**

I shall now show that the career and the character of Viśvasphaṇi as described in the Purāṇas, tally exactly with the career and character of Samudragupta as we know, them to be. I shall first quote the whole passage which describes Viśvasphaṇi. It runs thus : (I quote Pargiters texts.)

मागधानां महावीर्यो
विश्वस्फणिर्भविष्यति ।
उत्साद्य पार्थिवान्सर्वान्
सोऽन्यान्वर्णान्करिष्यति ॥
कैवार्तान्पञ्चकांश्चैव
पुलिन्दान्ब्राह्मणांस्तथा ।
स्थापयिष्यति राजानो
नानादेशेषु ते जना ॥
विश्वस्फणिर्महासत्वो
युद्धे विष्णुसमो बली ।

मागधानां तु भविता
विश्वस्फूर्जिः पुरंजयः ॥

करिष्यत्यपरान्वर्णान्
पुलिन्द–यदु–मद्रकान् ।
प्रजाश्चाब्रह्मभूयिष्ठाः
स्थापयिष्यति दुर्मतिः ।
वीर्यवान्शत्रुमुत्साद्य
पद्मावत्यां स वै पुरी ॥

विश्वस्फणिर्नरपतिः स्त्रीवाकृतिरिवोच्यते
उत्सादयित्वा क्षत्रं तु क्षत्रमन्यत्करिष्यति ॥
देवान्पितृंश्च विप्रांश्च तर्पयित्वासकृत्पुनः
जाह्नवीतीरमासाद्य शरीरं यंस्यते बली ॥
संन्यस्य स्वशरीरं तु शक्रलोकं गमिष्यति ॥ (Pargiter : p. 52–53)

These verses bring out the following points of the life of Viṣvasphaṇi.

(1) He was a great hero (Mahāvīrya, Mahāsattva). (2) He was a foreigner or non-Brahmanic in his outlook. (3) He had conquered practically all the ruling

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* Ṛtuparṇa of Nalākhyāṇa.

kings of his time. (4) He had created a new ruling class (Kṣatra) by uprooting the earlier ruling class. So far the description refers to the conquering hero. Then the Purāṇas say that (1) he had satisfied (i. e. worshipped) gods, manes and Brahmaṇas, not once but repeatedly. (2) He had retired to Jāhnavītīra (the banks of the Ganges) at the end of his life· (3) He had resorted to Yoga (*Yansyate*) and actually taken to *Sanyāsa*. (4) He had gone to heaven; and finally (5) he was Viṣṇu-samo balī, which may mean 'strong like Viṣṇu' or 'strong and like Viṣṇu'.

If we compare this description with that of *Samudragupta* as given in Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa (AMMK) and in Allahabad Praśasti of *Hariṣeṇa* we find that it is the same personality described in all the three. I shall note down what AMMK says about Samudragupta. It says the following.*

(1) He was of good fame. (2) He was lordly, (3) shedder of excessive blood, (4) of great powers and dominion, (5) heartless, (6) ever vigilant, (7) (mindful) about his own person, (8) unmindful about the hereafter, (9) sacrificing animals, (10) with bad conncillor he greatly committed sin. (11) His government was inundated with carping logicians (Tārkikas), and vile Brahmaṇas. (12) Men and manes had every luxury (in his reign).

Let us now study these descriptions. We shall first talk about the conquests of the king. The Purāṇas say about *Viśvasphaṇi* that he will uproot the existing ruling class and put others who will be a-*Brāhmaṇas* on their thrones. The reading *Brāhmaṇa* accepted by Pargiter is certainly wrong. The whole context requires it to be a-*Brahmaṇas*, which is the reading of *bvs*. The Purāṇas are actually complaining that this Viśvasphaṇi will uproot the existing kings and create i. e. put on the throne, other kings whom the Purāṇas name as *Kaivartas*, *Pulindas*, *Madrakas* etc. which ultimately comes to a-brāhmaṇa class. It only means that Viśvasphaṇi had conquered the ruling kings and given their thrones to persons of his class, who were a-brāhmaṇas.

Now, read in this connection, the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta suggests that even Samudragupta had done the same. Regarding the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha the Praśasti says-सर्व–दक्षिणापथराज–ग्रहण–मोक्षानुग्रह–जनित–प्रताप (sarva-dakṣiṇāpātharāja-grahaṇa-mokṣānugraha-janita-pratāpa) etc. He made the kings of the southern countries to accept his overlordship and then allowed them to rule as before. He did not uproot them. But about the kings of Āryāvarta, the inscription says-अनेकार्यावर्त–राज–प्रसभोद्धरणोद्धतप्रभावमहता (anekāryāvarta-rāja-prasabhoddharaṇoddhṛta-prabhāvamahatā). This means that he had uprooted these Āryāvarta kings, which evidently suggests that he must have put his own men in place of these uprooted kings. It is quite natural that being fresh, he would not trust the older families, at least nearer home (which was Āryāvarta), particularly as some of them might have been relatives and allies of the Magadha king whom he had defeated and whose kingdom he had himself taken over. The policy of Samudragupta of putting his own men (who are likely to have been a-brāhmaṇas) on the throne of the older orthodox kings, seems to have been disliked by the Brāhmaṇas, and, I think, that in the above verses regarding Viśvasphaṇi (i. e. Samudragupta) we have the first reactions of the Brāhmaṇas towards this policy of Samudragupta, recorded.

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* Jayswal : An Imperial History of India, p. 48.

Let us now consider the other points. If we compare the description of Viśvasphaṇi with that of Samudragupta as given in AMMK, we find that both call him a great hero, a conqueror, an oppresser. But there may appear at first sight, some conflict between the two. AMMK calls him non-Buddhistic i. e. Brahmanic in outlook, while the Purāṇas describe Viśvasphaṇi as un-Brahmanic. But this conflict is only apparent. Purāṇas call him un-Brahmanic only so far as his earlier military life is concerned. Otherwise even the Purāṇas call him a true Brāhmaṇa, when they say that he had worshipped the gods, manes and Brāhmaṇas repeatedly. This is exactly what AMMK also means, when it says 'men and manes had every luxury (in his reign). Both the descriptions taken together mean this (if they refer to one and the same person) : the king was originally neither Buddhistic nor Brahmanic but later on became Brahmanic in his outlook. The description of the Purāṇas is fuller and let us follow it.

In the Purānic description of Viśvasphaṇi, we have a personality that is at once marked out as unique. He seems to have started his career as a conquering hero, in which capacity he was mighty, strong, irresistible and even ruthless. But later, he seems to have changed his character entirely. He, who uprooted all the existing *kṣatriya* kings and put *a-Brāhmaṇas* on the thrones of the indigenous princes, later, worshipped, not once but repeatedly, the gods, manes and the Brāhmaṇas. This only means that though originally un-Brahmanic in outlook, he soon became a true Hindu by retiring to the Ganges as a *sanyāsi.* The description, though brief, reminds one of the very graphic picture, given by Jayaswal, of the very welcome change that came over the character of the Gupta rule in the days of Samudragupta.* The outlandish monarch became the truest of Hindu. Like the Raghus, he actually abandoned his body by Yoga. He, as the Purāṇas would suggest, was *parama bhāgavata* (*viṣṇusamo*). Such an emperor who, in the Pnrāṇas, is described as the monarch of Magadha and as coming soon after the four sons of Pravarasena I, I make bold to say, could be none other than the great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta.

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* See his Hist. of India p. 118.

Precisely the same is the character given to Samudragupta by *Hariṣena* in his praśasti. The praśasti, too,* like the Puranic description of Viśvasphaṇi, divides itself into two parts. The first part describes the conquering hero, actually mentioning, like the Puraṇas, that he had uprooted all the Āryāvarta kings, which would mean that he had put others of his own class to govern their conquered countries. This part, like the first part of Viśvasphaṇi's life in the Purāṇas, shows that he was a great conqueror and a great emperor. Only the court-poet of the great emperor cannot complain of his oppressive policy, as the Purāṇakaras, with a more native outlook and with a more honest insight, would do. That is only to be expected. But apart from this complaining mood of the Purāṇas, both the praśasti and the Purāṇas describe the same personality in the first part of their description. And if it is true of the first part, it is all the more true of the second part of the description, in both the sources. In the second part, the Purāṇas depict him as the truest of Hindus, as the most religious, almost as a Mukta, and like Viṣṇu. Hariṣena, with his natural bias, depicts him as Viṣṇu incarnate. To Hariṣena, he is so highly evolved spiritually that he, like the Supreme Reality, is '*acintya*,' 'sādhvasādhūdaya-pralaya-hetu-puruṣa,' 'bhaktyavanati-mātra-grāhya-mṛdu-hṛdaya,' and finally 'loka-samayakriyā-nuvidhānamātra-mānusa' and 'deva.' Both the praśasti and the Purāṇas invest him with the highest of spiritual achievements.

Thus, the Buddhist writer of AMMK, the Brahmanic writers of the Purāṇas, the courtpoet Hariṣena and the modern interpreter and historian Jayaswal-all speak of one and the same person, call him Samudragupta or Viśvasphaṇi as you like.

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* Cf. Indian Culture IX, p. 177 : Character of Samudragupta from his inscriptions and coins by R. K. Mookerji.

THE VĀKĀṬAKA QUEEN PRABHAVATĪ-GUPTĀ

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Calcutta

The Rithpur plates[*] of the Mahādevī Prabhāvatī-guptā refer to her as '*Sāgra-varshaśata-diva-putra-pautrā*. The editor of the plates translates it as follows: "Who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (in the end) live in heaven (or in case *diva* has been engraved for *divya*: Who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years)". It appears that the word read as *dīva* is really *diva* and is a mistake for *jiva*,[†] and that the passage really means that Prabhāvatī-guptā lived for more than hundred years and had her sons and grandsons living at the time.

Whatever may be the exact meaning, the passage clearly shows that the Queen-mother Prabhāvatī-guptā was more than 100 years old at the time when the grant was made, *viz.* the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasena II.

Although writers on Vākáṭaka history have ignored this point[‡] and even sometimes held views quite opposed to it,[§] there is absolutely no reason to discredit such a definite and categorical statement about the age of a ruler. Far from being conventional, it is somewhat unusual in Indian Epigraphy, and for the moment I can only think of one other inscription in which a ruler, the Chundella king Dhaṅga, is mentioned as 'living rather more than hundred years'. Now, all the scholars have accepted this statement as true and there is no reason why we should reject it in the case of Prabhāvatī-guptā.

Now assuming this statement to be true, we may hold, with tolerable certainity, that Queen Prabhāvatī-guptā was alive after 455 A. D. For, in the first, place it is only reasonable to assume that a centenarian would survive her brothers and sisters, and we know that Kumāragupta, probably the eldest of the brothers, died in 455 A. D. Secondly, as Chandragupta II ruled till 413 A. D., and personally carried on military expeditions about 400 A. D., he was not probably born before 335 A. D. His daughter was, therefore, most likely born after and not before 355 A. D. and her hundredth year would fall after and not before 455 A. D. Those who believe in the Rāmagupta episode should, rather place the birth of Chandragupta still later. For it is hardly credible that Chandragupta had passed his youth when, C. 375 A. D., Queen Dhruvadevī fell in love with and married him. The age of forty is rather too much for the part that Chandragupta is made to play in *Devīchandragupta*, particularly his disguise as the queen.

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[*] *JPASB*. XX. 53

[†] Dr. D. C. Sircar has also adopted this view in his ***Select inscriptions***, p. 416 f.n. 8.

[‡] Eg. Dr. A. S. Altekar in '*A New History of the Indian People*' Vol. VI, pp. III-13.

[§] *JPASB*, XX, p. 56; *JRAS*, 1914, p. 324.

It is thus difficult to avoid the conclusion that Prabhāvatī did not attain her hundredth years till after 455 A. D. As she was more than 100 in the 19th regnal year of her son Pravarasena II, the latter could not have come to the throne before 437 A. D. If, as is generally held, Pravarasena II is identical with Dāmodarasena, during whose minority Prabhāvatī acted as regent, Pravarasena II was born not before 416 A. D., assuming 21 years as the age of maturity. Prabhāvatī thus became a widow after 416 A. D. i. e. after the death of Chandragupta II, and Dr. Altekar's elaborate reconstruction* of the part played by the Gupta Emperor and his daughter in the Regency period falls to the ground.

But there is one difficulty in the assumption that Pravarasena is identical with Dāmodarasena. For in that case the 19th regnal year of Pravarasena II, would be equivalent to about his 40th year (as he must have ascended the throne immediately after attaining maturity at about the age of 21) when his mother Prabhāvatī was more than 100 years old. This would mean that the Queen gave birth to her son when she was more than sixty years old. This must be regarded as very unusual. We should, therefore, rather hold that Pravarasena II was the third son of Prabhāvatī. She acted as regent for her eldest son Divākarasena, and after his premature death, for her second son Dāmodarasena. After the Regency was over, Dāmodarasena ruled independently for some years, before he died and was succeeded by his younger brother Pravarasena. This seems to be a more reasonable assumption than that Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena II are identical.

There are two more current views which need be scrutinised. The first is that the great poet Kālidāsa lived in the Vākāṭaka court during the regency of Prabhāvatī, probably as a tutor for her sons. Dr. A. S. Altekar, the latest writer on the subject, refers as usual to the literary tradition about the relation of Kālidāsa with the king of Kuntala. It is held by some scholars that this Kuntala king was no other than the Vākāṭaka king, on the ground that the Vākāṭakas conquered Kuntala. This is hardly acceptable, for why should the conqueror of Kuntala be generally referred to as Lord of Kuntala, rather than that of his own dominions proper ? But even apart from this doubtful point, it is now well known that it is the Basim branch of the Vākāṭakas, and not the main branch to which Pravarasena II belonged, that conquered the Kuntalas. There is thus not even the remotest justification for regarding Pravarasena II as the Kuntala king referred to in literary tradition. Dr. Altekar's view in this respect is somewhat curious. Admitting that Vindhyasena of the Basim branch conquered Kuntala he adds : " It is, however, very probable that he received material assistance in this venture from Prithivīsheṇa; otherwise it would be difficult to explain how the rulers of the main branch should have been described as *Kuntaleśas* or lords of Kuntala in some literary works. "* This is a clear instance of begging the question in its worse form. You first assume a thing for which there is no evidence, and then use it as an argument for creating evidence. It may be added that there was also a king called Pravarasena in the Basim branch and he has much greater title to the authorship of *Setuvandha* than Pravarasena, son of Prabhāvatī-guptā. But the truth probably is that neither of them has any real claim to this honour.

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* *Op. cit.* According to Dr. Altekar Chandragupta probably helped the regency administration by sending experts, and sent *Kālidāsa* to train the young princes, while the Regent afforded all possible assistance to her illustrious father in his campaign against Gujarāt and Kāthiāwar.

Dr. Altekar also suggests the identification of Prabhāvatī-guptā with the daughter of king Chandragupta named Chandrāvatī who, according to *Srī Śailasthala-māhātmya*, daily used to offer a garland of jasmine flowers to god Mallikārjuna of Śrīśaila situated in the Kurnool district.† Here even the name does not agree and there is no reference to her association with the Vākāṭakas. Though it is difficult to see how the queen could send a garland every day to Śrīśaila from the capital of the Vākāṭaka king which was far away, something might have been said in favour of it if we knew on independent grounds that Śrīśaila was included in the Vākāṭaka dominions. But far from this being the case, the tradition itself is cited by Dr. Altekar as an evidence for the inclusion of Śrīśaila in the Vākāṭaka kingdom - another instance of begging the question.

We thus see that there is no reasonable ground for the assumption that Kālidāsa lived in the court of Prabhāvatī-guptā or that she sent daily a garland of flowers to Śrīśaila.

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* *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

ARE SKANDAGUPTA AND PURUGUPTA IDENTICAL?

Shri Jagan Nath, Lahore.

The discovery of the Bhitari Seal of Kumāragupta in 1889 raised many interesting problems, one of which was to determine the relation which the two names Skandagupta and Purugupta bear to each other. While editing the seal, Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle emphatically denied the idea of the identity of the two names in the following words :— "It seems hardly probable that in such genealogies the same person would be called by different names. The probability as I shall show further on would seem to be that Puragupta is a younger brother of Skandagupta and succeed the latter who died without an issue".* However, later on Hoernle gave up this opinion and suggested that Skandagupta and Purugupta were identical. The reason for the change of view has been set out as follows:— "The Buddhist writer Paramārtha who was practically a contemporary of the events he relates in his '*Life of Vasubandhu*' apparantly makes Bālāditya (i. e. Narasinhagupta) to be the immediate successor of Vikramaditya (i. e. Skandagupta) and ignores altogether the existence of Puragupta. The only conclusion that one can draw from that circumstance is that the two names Skandagupta and Puragupta neither of which occurs in Paramārtha's work belong to the same person, whom Paramārtha only mentions by the title of Vikramāditya".† But these considerations which influenced Dr. Hoernle's decision and induced him to propose the identification, are not really so weighty as to necessitate the identification. Vikramāditya is not only a title of Skandagupta, but it was also borne by Purugupta, and it occurs on his coins.‡ Therefore, there is no conflict between the statement of Paramārtha, and that of the Bhitari seal. Balāditya (Narasinhagupta) is actually the son of Vikramāditya (Purugupta).

The discovery of the Sārnāth inscriptions of Kumāragupta dated Gupta Samvat 154 and of Budhagupta dated G. S. 157 provided some further grounds in favour of the identification, as otherwise very short periods of rule would have to be assigned to Purugupta, Narasinhagupta and Kumaragupta.§ The objections were ably met by R.D.Bannerji and Panna Lal who emphasised that the identification was impossible on numismatic grounds.* After these discussions there was a consensus of opinion that Skandagupta and Purugupta were two different rulers. Recently Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has expressed a view which necessitates a re-examination of the problem. Dr. Bhandarkar has remarked, "There was a time when Mr. Allan's reading of the name Puragupta on some coins held the field. But Mr. Sarsi Kumar Saraswati has correctly pointed out that the name is not Puragupta but Budhagupta."†

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* JASB, Vol. 58 (1889), p. 93.

† JRAS, 1909, pp. 128—29

‡ Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties, p. 134.

§ cf. R.C. Majumdar, A, 1918, p. 165

However, the reading on the Hoey specimen is definitely Pura and it can never be Budha. Mr. Sarasvati says that the upper letter has 'a horizental top stroke and is, therefore, *b* and not *p*.‡ But we should see whether the horizontal top stroke is a mere top-mark made inordinately long or it is the upper bar of the sqare of *b*. A careful examination will reveal that it is thicker at the left end. It is, therefore, evidently a top-mark, which has been lengthened. There are numerous examples of such lengthening and the consequent resemblence of *p* with *b* in the Gupta inscriptions, e.g. lines 20-21 of the Allahabad Stone Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, in lines, 1,3,6 and 7 of the Eran Boar inscription of Toramana, in lines 7 and 10 of the Mandasor inscription dated 493 and 529 Malava Samvat and in line 7 of the Mandasor Pillar inscription of Yaśodharman etc.etc., Allan was perfectly right in taking it as *p*. Now let us examine the lower letter. It has clearly got a top mark, unless we are prepared to connect it with the upper letter and take it as the horizontal bar of the medial *ū*.

But even in that case it will go against Mr. Sarawati's view, for in Budha we require a short U. A long Ū can better fit in the name P*ū*ru. However, the small bar is really a top mark. In *dh* of the 4th and 5th centuries—to which period the coin evidently belongs—no top mark is to be found. It is purely a cylindrical form. Secondly what Mr. Saraswati has taken as the right hand curve of *dh* is really a part of letter of the 'degenerated' marginal legend. Therefore, with no stretch of imagination we can make the letter a *dh*. It is plainly a vertical line with a top mark and therefore a clear *r*. The name on the coin is, therefore, Pura (ru) as read by Allan, and the numismatic evidence relied upon by R. D. Bannerji and Panna Lal still holds the field.$

We may go a step further and say that even if the coins attributed to Pura (ru) gupta by Allan, may be ascribed to Budhagupta, the case for the identification still remains very weak. How are we going to explain the occurance of the name of Purugupta on the official seals on the one hand, and of Skandagupta in the inscriptions and coins on the other ? The seals of Narasinhagupta, and Kumāragupta do not mention Skandagupta's name while the inscriptions from the year 136 to 148 are absolutely silent about Purugupta. Hoernle rightly observed that 'it seems hardly probable that in such genealogies the same persons would be called by different names.' The case of Candragupta II is hardly a parallel. It stands on a distinctly different footing. It is only in the Vākāṭaka records that we find his name Devagupta. In all Gupta genealogies and on his own coins the name is uniformly given as Candragupta or in the abbreviated form Candra.

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* ABORI, I; pp. 73-75, Hindustan Review, 1918

† IC, XI p. 231.

‡ IC, I P. 691

$ It should also be noted that Hoey coin is not the only known coin of Purugupta. Mr. R. D. Bannerji has referred to two other coins in private collections at Gaya. ABORI, I, pp. 73-75.

Another argument frequently relied upon by the present protagonists of the identification is the occurance of the expression *pādānudhyāta* with the name of Purugupta. It is contended that *pādānudhyāta* was used only where the succession was immediate, as a different expression-*tatpāda-parigṛhīta* has been employed in the case of Candragupta II who was not the immediate successor of his father Samudragupta.* However, this contention is neither borne out by epigraphic nor by literary usage. Literally *parigṛhīta* and *anudhyāta* convey the same meaning, i. e. 'favoured.'† If any distinction is sought to be made it will go against those who uphold the identification on this ground. *Parigṛhīta*, also means 'consented to' 'admitted', 'accepted' and its use with the name of Candragupta would show that he was the nominee of Samudragupta and, therefore, his immediate successor which he actually was not. In the inscriptions we find the expression *pādānudhyāta* used for persons other than immediate successors. For example in the Bengal Asiatic Society Plate of Vināyakapāḷa dated V. D. 988 he is described as the *pādānudhyāta* both of his father Mahendrapāla and his brother Bhojadeva whom he had actually succeeded. Now we find here, that although Vināyakapāḷa was not the immediate successor of his father Mahendrapāla, but came to the throme some years later after the reign of Bhojadeva, he is still described as Mahendrapāladeva-pād-ānudhyātah. Therefore the use of the phrase *pādānudhyāta* with the name of Purugupta does not make him the immediate successor of Kumāragupta I and for that reason identical with Skandagupta.‡

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* Cf. Krishna Dev, EI. XXVI, pp. 237-38.

† On this point there has been a controversy between Drs. D. C. Sircar and B. K. Ghosh in the Indian Culture, but the literary references from Kālidāsa and Bhavabhuti clearly support Dr. Sircar's view.

‡ There is no difference in the import of the two phrases *Pādanudhyāta* and *pādaparigṛhita*. The use of the latter with the name of Candragupta II is simply due to the choice of the clerk who first drafted the Gupta genealogy in Candragupta II's records. Once the form was officially used, it was bound to be copied and become stereotyped.

Mr. Krishna Deva refers to the evidence of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa where the S initialled (Skandagupta) is called *vividhākhyah* (having many names), and his successor is *Bālākhyah* (i. e. Bālāditya). As Bālāditya is the son of Purugupta according to the seals, and of S according to the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Mr. Krishna Deva presumes that Purugupta and S (Skandagupta) must be identical. But the evidence of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is open to several objections. Firstly it calls Bālākhyah (or Balādhyakṣa according to some MSS) as the younger brother (*anuja*) of S and not his son. Secondly if Purugupta was another name of Skandagupta, it must have been more well known than his other names because we find it used in the official seals. But the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa does not at all seem to be aware of this name. It mentions instead the name Devarāja. Had Purugupta been another name of Skandagupta the author of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa would not have omitted it and given Devarāja. Moreover the account of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is neither exhaustive nor accurate. It does not mention Budhagupta who was certainly a grandson of Kumaragupta I and ruled shortly after Skandagupta from 157 to 176 G. S. It knows nothing about Rāmagupta, Vainyagupta or Viṣṇugupta. It is too much to believe with Mr. Krishna Dev that U initialled king of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is Viṣṇugupta. According to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, U stands for Budhagupta. The text of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa is so obscure and unreliable that it is not fit to be made the basis of important historical conclusions. We can understand its account only in the light of the information obtained from the inscriptions. Any problems left unsolved by the epigraphic evidence cannot certainly be solved with the aid af a text of so uncertain value. It will be just like determining one unknown quantity with the aid of another unknown quantity.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE WARS OF PULAKEŚIN II.

Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares

Pulakeśin II, the greatest of the Early Chālukya kings, has the good fortune of having a poet courtier at his court, who has carefully recorded the various victories of his patron. The Aiho!e inscription, where this has been done by the Jain poet Ravikīrti, is undoubtedly one of the most useful and important documents of ancient history. Its usefuleness is however considerably diminished by the failure of the author to give the dates of the different events, which are chronicled by him with so much care and enthusiasm. The modern historian therefore is by no means on sure grounds when he proceeds to arrange chronologically the different events in the career of Pulakeśin II. Fleet, who was the first writer to deal with the career of Pulakeśin in a detailed manner, assumes that Ravikīrti narrates the events in his record in the chronological order. This may be true to some extent, but not in the case of the whole narrative. For instance, he narrates the overthrow of the Kośalas earlier than the capture of Piṣṭapura. Now is it likely that a power whose headquarters were at Badāmī in Karnatak, could enter into Kośala without having previously occupied Piṣṭapura in Coconada district ? This is almost impossible from the military point of view. A perusal of the narrative of Ravikīrti shows that he has arranged the conquests of his patron on the geographical principle. In v. 17 he refers to the disturbances in the heart of the kingdom in Sholapur district where Govinda and Appāyika had challenged the Chāluky's power in the very heart of the kingdom. He then starts with Banavāsī in the south-west and narrates how the Kadambas were overthrown there. Gaṅgas and Alūpas, who were in their vicinity are then mentioned. Ravikīrti then proceeds northwards and discribes the overthrow of the Mauryas of Koṅkan, and of the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras, who lay to the north-west of the Chālukya kingdom. This is followed by the description of the overthrow of Harṣa, the battle with whom proabably took place somewhere in the Nimar district of the Holkar State in Central India. Ravikīrti then takes us to Kośala and then brings us back to Kaliṅga. He then proceeds further south and narrates the discomfiture of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. We are then taken further down to the country of the Colas the Keralas and the Pāndyas and then brought back triumphantly to Vātāpī with the victorious conqueror. This finishes the narrative.

It is clear that the principle followed by Ravikīrti is the geographical rather the chronological one. It will not be therefore right to assume that the wars of Pulakeśin II took place in the order in which they are narrated in the Aihoḷe inscription.

The sanguinary war between Pulakeśin II and his uncle had shaken the very foundations of the Cālukya kingdom. It is quite likely that even in the home districts like those of Sholapur, feudatories may have risen in rebellion, and one of the first concern of the new king must have been to reassert his authority in the heart of his kingdom. We may well therefore place to defeat of Appāyika at the beginning of his reign, say in c. 611 A. D.

Ravikīrti next narrates the overthrow of the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas and the Alūpas. These were occupying portions of southern Karnaṭak and Mysore state, and we may well assume that their overthrow was the next achievement of Pulakeśin. Pulakeśin had owed his restoration in no small degree to the assistance which he had received from Senānanda Sendraka, his maternal uncle and Indravarman of Bappura family, to which his grandmother had belonged. It is but natural that both these lieutenants of Pulakeśin must have urged him to overthrow these states. They could easily send their own contingents to participate in these wars. The Kadambas, the Gaṅgas and the Alūpas were the feudatories of the Cālukyas in the earlier reign, and it is but natural that Pulakeśin must have first thought of their subjugation when his power was firmly established in the home districts. The subjugation of these states may be placed in c. 612 or 613.

Ravikīrti next narrates the conquest of Purī in northern Koṅkana, and it is quite likely that Pulakeśin's expedition against it may have followed the overthrow of hostile powers in southern Koṅkaṇa and Karnaṭak. We may therefore place this incident in c. 616 A. D.

Ravikīrti narrates the conquest of Piṣṭapura after the subjugation of Lāṭas, Mālavas, Gurjaras and Harṣa. There is sufficient evidence to show that Pulakeśin's expedition to Andhradeśa proabably took place soon after 617 A. D. The records of the Eastern Cālukyas place the beginning of the reign of the first king of the dynasty, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II, in 618 A. D. It is therefore quite clear that the occupation of Andhradeśa must have taken place at about this time. It is true that Viṣṇuvardhana is seen functioning as a Yuvarāja in the western part of the kingdom down to c. 620 A. D. as shown by his Satara plates issued in the 8th year of the reign of Pulakeśin II. We need not however place the conquest of Andhradeśa at a date later than 620 A. D. It is quite likely that Pulakeśin may have conquered Piṣṭapura and part of Andhradeśa by c. 618 A. D., but decided after two or three years to depute his younger brother Viṣṇuvardhana to rule there. Later on when the eastern Chalukyas started to have a regular chronology of their kings, they may naturally have placed the beginning of the reign of the founder at the time of the Cālukya conquest and not at the actual date when Viṣṇuvardhana was transferred to Piṣṭapura.

Ravikīrti narrates the conquest of Kośala, Piṣṭapura and the sanguinary battle of Koleru lake in the stated order; most probably the case was just the reverse. An army marching from Badāmī will be naturally first opposed at Koleru lake; Piṣṭapura will next come in its way. The expedition into Kośala that is mentioned earliest in this place by Ravikīrti must be referring to some frontier skirmishes that may have taken place between the Cālukyas and the local rulers of Kośala, when the former had been firmly established there.

The occupation of Andhradeśa may have been complete by c. 622 A. D. It made the Cālukyas the northern and north-western neighbours of the Pallavas of Kāñchī and Pulakeśin, flushed with a number of successes, could naturally not resist the temptation of invading the Pallava dominion. The Pallava opponent of Pulakeśin was Mahendravarman, who is known to have died before c. 630 A. D. The war against him may well be placed in c 625 A. D.

The clash with the Lāṭas, the Mālavas and the Gurjaras and Harṣa has next to be considered. It is held by several scholars that the war with Harṣa took place in c. 612 A. D. The present writer has already shown elsewhere how this view is untenable.* In 612 A. D. neither Harṣa nor Pulakeśin were free from their commitments and entanglements within their own kingdoms. They could hardly have thought of leading an expedition to challenge each other for the sovereignty of the whole country. It is true that the Hyderabad plates of Pulakeśin, issued in 612 A. D. give him the title of Parameśvara. But we should not forget that it is only the grants of his successor Vikramāditya I, which state that Pulakeśin assumed the title of Parameśvara after the defeat of Harṣa; this statement does not occur in any records of Pulakeśin himself. Kandalgaon plates of Pulakeśin, dated 614 A. D., no doubt refer to the overthrow of Harṣa, but it is admitted on all hands that these plates are spurious. We have some plates issued by Pulakeśin II down to 631 A. D.; they describe in glowing terms Pulakeśin's victories over a numbers of kings in a general way; there is no reason why they should not have specifically mentioned the defeat of Harṣa, which was the most outstanding achievement of Pulakeśin. Since even the Lohanera plates of Pulakeśin, issued in 631 A. D. are silent about the overthrow of Harṣa and since it is mentioned by Ravikīrti in his *Praśasti* of 634 A. D., it is but reasonable to place the conflict between the southern and the northern emperor sometime between these two dates.

By c. 625 A. D. both Pulakeśin and Harṣa had acquired an undisputed ascendancy in their respective sphere of influence. The Indian history shows that the possession of Malwa and Gujarāt is the usual bone of contention between the paramount power of the north and the Deccan, and the same must have been the case at this time. Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harṣa, had come into conflict with the Mālavas and the Gurjaras and the steady rise in power of Harṣa must naturally have raised apprehensions in the minds of the rulers of these provinces. Ravikīrti tells us that they became model feudatories of Pulakeśin; we may assume that faced with the prospect of defeat at the hands of Harṣa, they welcomed a subordinate alliance with his rival, the Deccan emperor. The Gurjara king Dadda II claims to have protected the king of Valabhi against Harṣa. Dadda was a petty ruler and he could hardly have succeeded in foiling the efforts of Harṣa unaided. We may well assume that he had received substantial support from Pulakeśin II, his ally and overlord. 629 A. D. is the earliest known date of Dadda II. It is therefore clear that the clash between him and Harṣa could not have taken place much before 630 A. D.; it may be even a little later.

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* ABORI, 2. I A, XIV, 330

Harṣa however, turned the tables against his Deccan rival by winning over the Valabhi king by offering him his daughter in marriage. Pulakeśin tried to strengthen his northern frontiers by appointing two of his brothers as governors in northern Koṅkan.

We thus see that circumstances became ripe for a conflict between Harṣa and Pulakeśin only after c. 630 A. D. We can therefore place the war between the two sometime between 631 and 634 A. D.

The Chinese pilgrim had travelled through the dominions of both the Pallavas and the Cālukyas in 640-41 A. D. and describes how they were in peace and prosperity. It is therefore clear that it was only after this date that the second conflict between these two powers in the reign of Pulakeśin II took place. We cannot place it earlier. The period 634-641 seems to have been a period of peace for the Cālukya kingdom; it is however not unlikely that the skirmishes in Kośala may have taken place during this time. Foiled in his attempt to inflict a defeat on Pulakeśin, Harṣa may have incited the local rulers of Kośala to harass his enemy by starting some local troubles.

By c. 641 when Pulakeśin started his disastrous second war with the Pallavas, Pulakeśin was more than 50 years in age. His advancing age did not induce him to sheathe his sword, for his failure to capture Kāñchī in his first war was rankling in his heart. At Pallava capital a new king had ascended the throne who must have appeared to Pulakeśin as becoming dangerously powerful owing to his alliance with Ceylon and the Bāṇas of Bāṇawādi. He decided to inflict a decisive blow to the Pallava power and launched his offensive in c. 641-2 This time however he was completely crushed by the Pallavas in a series of battles and even his capital was occupied for some time. Pulakeśin seems to have died of broken heart in 643 A. D.

KRIṢṆA III AND THE CEDIS

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras

Among the achievements of Kriṣṇa III as Yuvarāja under his father Amoghavarṣa III is usually included an expendition into Northern India in which he inflicted a defeat on the Cedis. These achievements are detailed for the first time in verses 20 to 25 of the Deoli plates of Krishṇa III–A. D. 940. The Karhād plates of the same ruler issued 18 years later repeat the story in the same words as the earlier grant but introduce one new verse after No. 20 of the Deoli plates. It is upon that verse that the theory of Kriṣṇa's invasion of the Cedi kingdom is primarily based. That verse reads:

Rāma-hata-Sahasra-bhujo bhujadvayākalita-samada-rāmeṇa /
Jananī-patnī-gururapi Yena Sahasrārjuno vijitah //

This verse was translated by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar as follows :* Conquered Sahasrārjuna though he was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife, (Sahasrārjuna) whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i. e. Paraśurāma) who, maddened as he was, was in his turn (*only verbally*) put down by him (viz., Krṣiṇa Rāja) by means of his two hands, he having held intoxicated young women (*rāmā*) with his two hands". He also added a note pointing it out that Bhujadvayākalita etc. is to be interpreted in two ways. In the introduction to his edition of the Karhād plates, Sir Bhandarkar made the following remarks on the relation between the Deoli and Karhād plates over this section of the inscription. "The account in the Deoli plates ends with the coronation of Kriṣṇa III and all that he is therein represented to have done he did while he was a *Kumāra*, or Crown prince, and *Janakājñā-vaśa* i. e. acting under his father's orders, or subordinate to him. In the present grant there is one verse more about him in this part, in which he is represented to have conquered Sahasrārjuna, who was an elderly relative of his mother and his wife (v. 25). Sahasrājuna is the mythical hero to whom the Kalacuri rulers of Cedi traced their decent and who in the story in the Mahābhārata is represnted to have killed Jamadagni, the father of Paraśurāma and in revenge to have had his thousand arms cut off by the latter. Very likely;the rulers of Cedi generally, or some of them at least particularly were called by the name of Sahaśrarjuna after their mythical ancestor, and the name Arjuna does occur in the list of princes belonging to that

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1 EI. IV. p. 288

family. The Sahasrārjuna, therefore, conquered by our Krisṇa must have been a ruler of Cedi or must have belonged to that family, and it is also likely that he was a relative of his mother and his wife. For Amoghavarṣa, the father of Kriṣṇa, is in the Kurda plates represented to have married Kandakadevi, the daughter of Yuavarāja, how must have been the same as the fourth prince in the list given by Prof. Kielhorn; who the particular prince conquered by Krishṇa III was, it is difficult to say".

These statements are followed by an inconclusive discussion of names given in inscriptions and their relation to Kielhorn's list which is now rather antiquated and need not concern us here.

This view of a conquest of Cedi by Kriṣṇa III as Yuvarāja so tentatively put forward by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has held the field. Thus Prof. Altekar writes :* "Kriṣṇa then marched north-wards and defeated the Cedis though his mother and wife had been born in that family". So far Altekar only summarises Bhandarkar's suggestions, but he proceeds : "The forts of Kālanjura and Citrakūṭa situated in the very heart of the Chanḍela country were occupied by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army, and the Gurjarapratīhāra emperor lost hope of capturing them". This statement appears to be based on verse 30 of the Karhād plates (25 of Deoli) which in view of the use made of it by Altekar must be reproduced here. It reads :

> Yasya paruṣekṣitā-khila-dakṣiṇa-dig-durga-vijayam ākarṇya /
> Galitā Gurjara-hṛdayāt Kālañjara-Citṛkūṭāśā //

This verse states distinctly (1) that in the south Kriṣṇa captured many fortresses even by his fierce look i.e. very easily (2) the Gurjara ruler heard of these victories and (3) conseqently lost all hope of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa i.e. of capturing them for himself. It would be clear that not only did no Rāṣṭrakūṭa army occupy the forts of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa, but their victories in the South acted as a bulwork protecting these forts from falling into the hands of the Gurjara ruler who was evidently entertaining ambitions against them: Yet Prof. Altekar says in a note "It is not possible to argue that Kriṣṇa assisted his Cedi relations in holding these places against the Chanḍela; for the Deoli plates issued in May 940 A.D. soon after capture of Kālañjara, state that Kaishua III had conquered the elders of his wife and mother. This shows that Kriṣṇa was not cooperting but fighting with the Cedis". This is a very strange note. The Deoli plates say nothing about Kriṣṇa's conquest of the Cedis for as we have seen the verse occurs not in the Deoli but in the Karhād plates, and there is no warrant for assuming the capture of Kālañjara by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army. The general probablities are all against our assuming a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Cedi in this period. The Cedis and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were bound by ties of close political and dynastic alliances. But Amoghavārṣa and Kṛiṣṇa had spent some time in the Cedi court when the vicious reign of Govinda IV made it impossible for them to stay within the Rāṣṭrakūṭa country, and it was at Tripurī, the Cedi capital, that Amoghavarṣa gave the hand of his daugther Revakanimmadi, the elder sister of Kṛiṣṇa III, in marriage to Ganga Būtuga II (spurious Sudi plates), and for the best part of the reign of Amoghavarṣa, Kṛiṣṇa was engaged in fighting in the south on behalf of his brother-in-law Būtuga II, helping him to overthrow Rācamalla and seat himself firmly on the Ganga throne; and the verse we have last cited above means that the fame of these southern wars of Kṛiṣṇa reached northern India and served to some extent to strengthen the political position of the Cedi rulers and other friends of Kṛiṣṇa as against the enemies by whom they were surrounded, in particular the Gurjara Pratīhāras. It seems extremely improbable that Kṛiṣṇa led an expedition against Cedi or had any motive for doing so.

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* *Rāshtrakūtas* p.113. See also H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* pp. 589-90; 760-2

Prof. Altekar cites the Jura *Praśasti* as evidence in support of the supposed invasion of the Cedi kingdom; Dr. H. C. Ray has done likewise in his *Dynastic History of Northern India*;* but that *praśasti* was eagraved several years later, after Kṛiṣṇa's wars with Coḷa Parāntaka I and belongs to a much later stage of Kṛiṣṇa's career and has nothing to do with his achievements as Yuvarāja.

In fact the extra verse in Karhād plates is a mere fancy of the poet, a play upon words of no historical significance whatsoever. Bhandarkar did of course recognise, as we have seen, the *double entendre* in the verse, but he was not sure that there was no history behind it and offered some tentative guesses. But with our fuller knowledge of Cedi history and the Cedi–Rāṣṭrakūṭa relations, we should have no hesitation in treating the interpolated verse of the Karhād plates as a mere embellishment. The word 'vijitah' in that verse should not be understood as indicating a conquest in the physical sense, but should be translated into 'excelled.' or 'left behind'. The verse says that Kṛiṣṇa was superior to Arjuna of the thousand arms, for the thousand arms of Arjuna were cut off by Rāma (Parśurāma) where as with only two arms Kṛiṣṇa held within them the maddened Rāma (Rāma's–lustful damsels). So Arjuna of the thousand arms, though the ancestor (guru) of Kṛiṣṇa's wife and mother was easily excelled by Kṛiṣṇa. There is no history here, but only mythology and word play. It may be observed finally that a verse in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu† plates which contains a similar word play on the names Rājarāja and Bhīma based on mythical associations intrigued scholars for a long time by its apparent reference to historical events.

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* (i). pp. 589-90, (ii), pp. 760-2

† JAHS. Vol. XII pp. 45-7.

A word finally about Kālañjara. The fortress was captured by Yaśovarman, the founder of Chandella power, about this time.* He might have done so with the aid of Cedis and his success was a blow to the Gurjaras. Any hopes that the Gurjaras might have entertained of recovering the fortress must have been blasted by the resounding successes of Kṛiṣṇa, the ally of the Cedis, and of the Chandellas. Kṛiṣṇa might himself have aided Yaśovarman in the enterprise during the period of his stay at Tripurī in the reign of Govinda IV.

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* Ray : DHNI. p. 674

RĀJĀ GAṆESH OF BENGAL

S. M. Imamuddin, Calcutta

The story of the successful outsting of the Ilyas Shāhi dynasty by Rājā Gaṇesh from the throne of Bengal at the beginning of the 15th Century A. D. is one of the most exciting episodes in the Muslim history of Bengal. The Rājā's brief reign constitutes a temporary break in the continuous sequence of Muslim rulers from early in the 13th century till the beginning of the 19th century A. D.

Rājā Gaṇesh was the Rājā Kans of Ferishta and of Ghulam Husain Sahin, the author of the Reyaz-al-Salatin. He is also mentioned under the name of Kansi* in the Ain-i-Akabari.† Ghulam Husain Sahin mentions him as a Zamindar of Bathuriah, who gradually increased his power and prestige in the service of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty and ultimately seized the government.

The Tabaqat-i-Akbari merely notices Kans's usurpation of the throne. Ferishta says that the heathen named Kans, who was one of the courtiers of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty, acquired much power and strength and became the *defacto* ruler of the country during the reign of Shah Shamsuddin. When the latter died in 787 A. H., he openly declared himself as the king. Ferishta also says that though not a Musalman, Kans was a a friend of the Musalmans.‡

Ghulam Husain Shahin gives the best account of the reign of the Rājā based perhaps on local traditions.$ He relates that in 775 A. H. Ghiyasuddin was treacherously killed by Rājā Kans, a Hindu Zamindar of Bathuriah, and was succeeded by his son or adopted son Shamsuddin. In the year 788 A. H. the latter was attacked by Rājā Kans, who slew him and usurped the throne. Rājā Kans then subjugated the whole kingdom of Bengal and began to oppress the Muslims. His aim was to extirpate Islam from his dominions. He killed many of the learned and holymen including Sheikh Badr-al-Islam, the father of Sheikh Muinuddin Abbas. This enrajed Sheikh Nur Qutb-al-Alam, who invited Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur to invade Bengal. The latter responded to his call, reached Bengal and camped at Firuzpur. The Rājā Being frightened sued for peace. The saint Qutb-al-Alam agreed to make peace on condition that he should accept Islam. The Rājā excusing himself as being old, brought his son Jadu, who was then 12 years old, to his presence and asked the Sheikh to convert him to Islam. Jadu was accordingly converted to Islam and proclaimed king of Bengal under the Muslim name of Jalaluddin. The Sultan, being annoyed, returned to Jaunpur and died. Rājā Kans, hearing that Sultan Ibrahim had died, removed his son and himself usurped the throne. He also reconverted his son to his own creed, but Jalaluddin did not abandon his new faith. Rājā Kans again commenced his oppressions. Sheikh Anwar complained to his father Qutb-al-Alam against the Rājā's tyranny. The saint replied that unless Anwar's blood was shed, the Muslims would not be rescued from the Rājā's oppression. This soon proved true, for Rājā Kans died on the very day and at the very moment, when Anwar was murdered at Sunargaon. Ghulam Husain Salim says that according to some accounts, the Rājā's son Jalauddin, who was in prison, leagued with his father's servants, and slew him. The oppressive rule of the Rājā lasted for seven years.

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* Stewart, p. 93 spells the name Kanis. This seems nothing but an interpretation of Gaṇesh.

† The Ain-i-Akbari Vol. I pp. 413 and 415.

‡ The Parsian text of the Tarikh--i--Ferishta part II, p. 297.

$ The Riyaz--al--Salatin, translated into English by Abdus--Salam-pp. 111--117.

The above accounts, which have been summarised from the Riyaz-al-Salatin, throw a good reflection on the subject. The dates given by Salim are mostly incorrect as Blochmann has justly pointed out before; so they have been purposely left out here.

There is a Persian manuscript of the 16th century A. D. found in possession of some inhabitant of Pandua, as given in Major Franklin Hamilton's 'Historical Description of Dinajpur.' Some extracts from it are given below.

"Ghiyasuddin governed 16 years, and was succeeded by his son Syafuddin who governed 3 years, and was succeeded by his slave Shahabuddin, who also governed 3 years. Then Gaṇesh a Hindu and Hakim Dynwaj,-seized the government. Enraged at Sheikh Bador Islam and his son Feyz Islam, who refused to give him the compliment due to the rank, he had assumed, he put them to death. The saint Kotub Shah, who was still alive, disgusted at his action, wrote to Sultan Ibrahim, who, in compliance with the request, came from Rajmahol with an army, and encamped at Satra. The Rājā of Dynwaj was then terrified and applied, in great penitence, to Kotub Shah and obtained his forgiveness by making his son Godusen, a Muhammadan. This convert assumed the government under the name of Jalaluddin, having been reconciled to the saint, and attacked Ibrahim Shah and, having put him to death (?) seized on his Government. The old man Gaṇesh then confined his son and seized on the whole kingdom. After having been 4 years in confinement, Jalaluddin recovered the government, and compelled the Hindus to become Muhammadans, but many of them fled to Kamrup."[*]

The above extracts agreeing substantially with the account given by Salim, throw a good deal of light on the subject. This account is also perhaps based on local tradition. No Chronological account is given.

Then we find some coins of a certain king, named Danujmardan, issued from Sunargaon, Chatigram (Chittagong) and Pandunagar of the dates 1339-1340 Śaka era (1416-1418 A. D.) The issue of coins from the above mints clearly shows that he was the king of the whole northern and eastern Bengal early in the 15th century A. D. He was certainly a Hindu king, but we do not find any Hindu king other than Rājā Gaṇesh ruling Bengal at that time in the histories, written by the Muslims. As the periods of their rule coincide, it is very probable that Rājā Gaṇesh and Danujmardana were one and the same as supposed by Mr. N. K. Bhattashali.

In the Balyalila Sūtra it is mentioned that the Saint Advaita's grand father, Nṛsinha Narial, was invited from Sylhet (a town in Assam) by Rājā Gaṇesh to Dinajpur and that it was through Nṛsinha's advice as minister to the Rājā that the latter became king of Gaur in 1407 A. D. (2).[†] Side by side with this we find some reference to Danujmardana Deva also. In the auto-biography of the poet Kṛttihās it is mentioned that his great-grand father, Nṛsimha Ojha settled at Phulia[‡] and became minister to a king called Danuj.[§] Here, from the mention of probably the same man Nṛsimha Ojha (Nṛsinha Narial) in the two separate works, as the minister of both Rājā Gaṇesh and Rājā Danuj, it may be inferred that Rājā Gaṇesh and Rājā Danuj were one and the same king. The mention of 'Rājā of Dynwaj' in the Hamilton's Ms. may be a corruption of the first half of the regnal title of Rājā Gaṇesh–viz: Rājā Danuj. Rājā Gaṇesh might have adopted this title as he outsted the Muslim king from the throne, killed many Muslim saints and overcame the Muslims in general. 'Danujmardana Deva' means 'destroyer of demons'. The Muslims were considered demons by the Hindus of the time. Hence Rāja Kans was justified to adopt such a title.

The numismatic evidence of the period may thus be tabulated. Shahabuddin Bayazid and Alauddin Firuz Shah ruled Bengal in 817 A. H. (1414–1415 A. D.) and Jalaluddin ruled from 818–819 A. H. (1415–1416 A. D.) Danujmardana's coins minted at Pandunagar, Chatigram (Chittagong) and Sunargaon are found of Śaka 1339–1340 (1416–1418 A. D.) and some coins of certain Mahendra Deva are also found, issued from the same mints, of the dates Śaka 1340–1341 (1418–1419 A. D.). The coins of Jalaluddin are found of 821 A. H. (1418-1419 A. D.) and onwards.

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[*] See JASB for 1930 p. N 6.

[†] Mr. H. E. Stapleton's Tour in the Districts of Maldah and Dinajpur JASB, for 1932, p. 166.

[‡] Phulia is close to Santipur, district Nadia, Bengal.

[§] See JASB, for 1930, pp. N 6-N 13.

In clearing up the controversial point we have to rely entirely on the statements of the Muslim historians and the numismatic evidence of the period. The only actual gap in the dates between 817 and 821 A. H. is in the year 820 A. H. (1417 A. D.), when Rājā Gaṇesh was ruling over Bengal, and this is completely covered by the coins of Danujmardana Deva dated Śaka 1339–1340 (1416–1418 A. D.). A short review of the above summary of the dates on the coins of this period shows how completely they fit in with the story as given by the Muslim historians.

The following is a brief account of the circumstances leading to the rise and fall of Rājā Gaṇesh on the basis of the date at our disposal. The Muslim historians say that Rājā Gaṇesh was the Zamindar of Bathuriah* and was serving under the Ilyas Shahi dynasty. Prof. Blochmaun identifies the present 'Rājā Kans' with 'Rājā Kans Narayan' of Tahirpur, which is included in Bathuriah. He identifies the latter place as part of old Barendra in Rajshahi proper, between Amrul and Bagura and signifying Northern Rajshahi proper including Tahirpur. He also considers that the name 'Rajshahi' is connected with Rājā Kans, who was a Rājā Shaha, that is, a Hindu Rājā, who ascended a Musalman throne'.† Mr. Westmacott identifies Rājā Gaṇesh with the well known but hitherto legendary Hakim Gaṇesh of Dinajpur, an inference that may already be found in Hamiltons manuscript and in the Balyalila Sūtra. There is a strong tradition current in the Dinajpur district that Karanji‡ was the birth place of Rājā Gaṇesh. Near the village of Karanji there is a spot called Gaṇeshpara which is one mass of large bricks, and immediately to the west of this, there is a half ruined temple called Sachikā Devi Thān or Kans Rājar Pūjar Thān (place of worship of Rājā Kans i. e. Gaṇesh).$ Mr. S. K. Saraswati says "Gaṇeshpara and Kans Rajar Pūjar Thān lend support to the local tradition in the district of Dinajpur that Karanji was the native village of Rājā Gaṇesh".||

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* Bathuriah was a tract of country which lay on either side of the Atrai river i. e. south east corner of the present Rajshahi Division.

† See JASB, for 1875 p. 287.

‡ Karanji is situated at a distance of five miles south of the Katihar Dinajpur Parbatipur Railway line and nine miles north-east of Brajaballabhpur, Bengal.

$ Mr. H. E. Stapleton's tour in the districts of Maldah and Dinajpur JASB, for 1932 p. 167.

|| Notes on two tours in the districts of Maldhah and Dinajpur by Mr. S. K. Saraswati JASB, for 1932 p. 180.

Mr. H. E. Stapleton says. " Gaṇesh was a Hindu Rājā of Koch descent, whose original Zamindari was at Karanji. Possibly he had enrolled the local Kochs round his Zamindari as paiks and trained them into a sufficiently useful militia to enable him to establish himself as a more than ordinarily powerful nobleman under Ghīyasuddin Azam Shah : or he may have established his authority over the Kochs by offering them for a consideration nominal admission into the Hindu caste system. As his influence at the court increased, he extended his Zamindari south ward to include the moated city of Ekdala–Bairhatta, where he placed his son Mahendra as governor, to gather in more Koch recruits from the north and draft them on, when trained, to increase his father's " Command at Pandua ".* But according to the accepted tradition and genealogical table, given by Bhattashali, Rāja Kans belonged to the Barendra Brahmin family. The Brahmine families of Sautra and Bathuriah are said to have been granted jageers by Ilyas Shah. Rājā Gaṇesh's fore fathers, according to the Muslim historians, were serving under the Ilyas Shahi dynasty as there were many tolerant kings in this dynasty. However, he began to acquire power and influence over the political affairs of Bengal during the last part of the reign of Sultan Ghiyasuddin whom he killed treacherously in 813 A. H. (1410 A. D.) and placed his son Saifuddin Ham Zah on the throne, who ruled for about two years (814–815 A. H.).

Hamzah was succeeded by his adopted son or slave Shahabuddin Bayazid (816–817 A. H.). He died a natural death or might have been slain by Rājā Gaṇesh who was then trying to accupy the throne. Rājā Gaṇesh did not sit on the throne but placed the prince Alauddin Firuz on it as a mere puppet king. The Hindu noble at last gained so much power and strength that he killed his own worthless young master and usurped the throne. All this happened in 817 A. H. (1414 A. D.), but perhaps the de facto ruler could not issue coins in his own name in 817 A. H. partly because of his unsecure position and partly because soon he had to abdicate in favour of his son Jadu (or chitmul).†

Rājā Kans killed Sheikh Badr–al–Islam, father of Sheikh Muinuddin Abbas perhaps in order to safeguard his prestige and many learned Muslims due to jealousy. This caused the Muslim saint Nur Qutb–al–Alam, son of Ala–ul–Haque‡ of Pandua to persuade Ibrahim Sharqi of Jaunpur to invade Bengal circa 817 A. H.§ Accordingly, the Sultan came upto Firuzpur (perhaps Maldah) when the Rājā being alarmed at once sued for peace. The saint agreed on condition that the Rājā should accept Islam. Rājā Kans told him that he had become old and so his conversion would not be of so much importance and beneficial to Islam as that of his son Jadu, to this the saint agreed. Accordingly Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi returned to Jaunpur, Jadu was converted to Islam and was named Jalaluddin and Rājā Gaṇesh abdicated throne in favour of his converted son.

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* See JASB, for 1932 p. 169.

† See the Tarikh--i--Ferishta--Newal Keshore press edition part II. p. 297.

‡ The Mirat--al--'Asrar gives a long biography of the saint Ala 'ul Haque — see Ivanow RASB, Ms. No. 64 pp. 482--485.

§ For the correspondence between Ibrahim Sharqi and Nur Qutb--al--'Alam, see the Maktubat--i--Makhdum Ashraf Jahangiri Samnani letter Nos. 45 and others. I have consulted this book in the private library of my supervisor Dr. Mohammad Zubair Siddi, Calcutta University. It belongs to shah Shahid Subuk Dush of Gurakhpur.

In 818 A. H. (1415-1416 A. D.) Nur Qutb-al-Alam died[*] and according to Salim, Sultan Ibrahim also died in the same year. But Blochmann differs from the view and puts the Sultan's death in 845 A. H. Rājā Gaṇesh being freed from the Sheikh atleast, ejected his son from the throne, imprisoned him and even tried to re convert him to Hinduism, but perhaps did not succeed in this attempt. He, however, usurped the throne of Bengal.

It is said that Raja Kans greatly oppressed the Muslims and even wanted to extirpate Islam from his dominions. In support of this view the historians say that he was poisoned to death by his converted son Jadu to save the Muslims from tyranny. This, however, does not appear to be true. Rājā Kans was no longer in a position to curb the Muslims, for they were still powerful, as is proved by the episode of Nur Qutb-al-Alam and Ibrahim Sharqi. Later on his son Jadu (Jalaluddin) had to depend on the help of the Muslim nobles. After Gaṇesh there was a king, named Mahendra Deva, who issued coins in imitation of those of Danujmardana Deva, dated 1340 and 1341 Śaka era. This Mahendra was probably a son of Rājā Gaṇesh, who was set up as his successor after his death. The references to a younger brother of Jadu by Ferishta appears to corroborate the theory that he might have succeeded his father Rājā Gaṇesh with the support of the Hindu nobles, but soon he was perhaps slain by his elder brother and rival Jadu (Jalaluddin). The superiority of the Muslim nobles is further proved by the immediate fall of the new dynasty and the restoration of the Ilyas Shahi dynasty. Rājā Gaṇesh ruled Bengal in various capacities, virtually for 7 years, but the period between 1339-1340 Śaka (1416-1418 A. D.) marked the climax of his power. He died in 1418 A. D. He founded a dynasty which, although it lasted for a short time, was a great patron of literature, art and architecture.

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[*] According to Beveridge the inscription, "Kitaba," which is in the possession of the Khadim of the shrine of Nur Qutb--al--Alam at Pandua, gives the 7th Zilqada 818 A. H., as the date of Sheikh's death and Nur Banur Shud as the Chronogram-see JASB, Vol. LXI part I, 1892 A. D., p. 124. Again, according to Beveridge, this date is confirmed by Mirat--al--Asrar (B. M., Ms. No. 216 p. 479 b). It gives the approaching date as the 10th Zilqada 818 A. H. and also gives the same Chronogram see JASB., Vol. LXXI part I, 1902 A. D. p 46. But after comparison I find that the RASB, Ms. No. 64 pp. 482--485 of this book is silent in this case.

THE BAGHELA DYNASTY OF REWA, EARLY HISTORY[*]

Akhtar Husain Nizami, Rewa

Baghelkhand in the 13th century.

on the occupation of Northern Baghelkhand by the Chandelas in the second half of the 12th century and the gradual extinction of Kalachuri rule, the centre of gravity shifts to Kālinjar. Mahmūd of Ghaznī had led an expedition against Kālinjar in 1023 A. D. The attack of Pṛthvīrāja Chauhān on Mahobā in 1182 administered a rude shock to the Chandela power of Jejākabhukti but Paramārdideva (Parmā-I) continued to rule until in 1196 the fort of Gwālior surrendered to Qutbuddīn Aibak who advanced upon Kālinjar in 1202 A. D. and defeated Paramārdideva. The Chandelas as a great power ceased to exist. After their expulsion from Kālinjar they ruled for at least three generations and Trailokyavarman (C. 1203-45), son and successor of Paramārdi, continued to hold Baghelkhand, North of the Kaimur, as is evident from inscriptions. The Chandelas seem to have made Ajaigarh their military capital after the fall of Kālinjar to the Turks. From inscriptions of Bhojavarman, grandson of Trailokyavarman, found at Ajaigarh, their last known date is 1288.[†] In Baghelkhand itself no Chandela inscription has been found after Trailokyavarman.

Both Gwālior and Kālinjar were lost to the Turks on the death of Qutbuddīn Aibak for we find Iltutmish reducing Gwālior after a long siege (1231-32) and Nusratuddīn Tayasi invading Kālinjar from Gwālior (1234). According to the Mahobā Qânūngo's tradition recorded by Smith, Mahobā was held in succession by the Mewātīs and the Gonds till it was occupied by the Bhars.[‡] Minhājus Sirāj writes that the country "between Kālinjar and Karrā" was ruled by an independent and refractory chief 'Dalki-wa-Malki' whose country was invaded by Balban in 1248.[§] Smith identifies Dalki-wa-Malki of the Tabqat-i-Nasiri with the Bhar chief ruling from Kálinjar. The Qānūngo family of Mahobā are in possession of a copy of a translation of a grant dated V. S. 1337-1280 A. D. from "Raja Kīrat Singh Ju Bhar" which Smith believes to be genuine. The rule of Rājā Kīrat Singh is further confirmed by another Muslim tradition which records Kīrat Pal as Rājā of Kāliñjar in 1252. If Kīrat Singh and Rīrat Pal are identical, as supposed by Smith, Kāliñjar could not have been in the possession of Vīravarman Chaṅdela (C. 1245-87). The Bhar rule is said to have been overthrown in Mahobā by a Muslim attack led by the saint Malik Hasan Shāh. But the Bhars "probably retained a hold on Bundelkhand for many years" and continued to rule from Kālañjar while Mahobā passed to the Khaṅgārs who governed it as a dependency of Delhi from Circa 1300.[*] Mohabā was soon after occupied by the ancestors of the Bundelas (Circa 1340) and was finally included in the province of Karrā (Circa 1352).

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[*] For genealogical sources read the writer's paper read before the 8th session of the Indian History Congress held at Annamalainagar in December, 1945.

[†] J. A. B. S. B., VI, 882. C. A.S. R , XXI., E. I., I, 330.

[‡] J. R. S. B No. 1, 1881, p. 30. For literature on the Bhars — J. A. S. B., XIV. (i), 297 XIVI. (i), 227. Sherring — Tribes and Castes. I. A., I., 265. Russel — Tribes and Castes. II., 242-48.

[§] R. T., 682. E. & D , II., 348--66.

Advent of the Baghelas.

According to the tradition prevalent in Baghelkhand, the whole of the region from Kāliñjar to Bindhāchal, North of the Kaimur, was under the Bhar dominion when the ancestors of the rulers of Rewa arrived in these parts from Gujarāt and took service under the Bhar Chief of Kāliñjar. The Vīrabhānūdaya Kāvya makes Bhīmadeva the first ancestor of the family.[†] But according to the Kathāsaritsāgar genealogy the first to obtain a rise under the Bhars was Vīśaladeva and many rulers showered wealth upon him.[‡] Vīśaladeva is stated to be the son of Saraṅgadeva, the grandson of Karṇadeva of Gujarāt.[$] To Vīśaladeva was born Bhīmadeva, the first hero of the Kāvya.[||] Bhīmadeva had Raṇiṅgadeva (Raṇika, Anika) as his son who took possessian of Gahorā and "decorated it with palaces."[¶] According to tradition Gahorā was ruled by zamindars of the Lodhi tribe[♆] whose ministers were Hannahā (Harnahā i. e. of Harnā, a village supposed to be in Saryūpār) Tiwārīs. The Tiwārī ministers of the Lodhī Chief of Gahorā were won over by the Baghelas and it was stipulated, that on the Baghelas coming to power the conquests will be shared equally with the Tiwārīs. On some festive occasion when the Lodhīs were dead drunk, the Baghelas organized a Coup De Etat, attacked and ousted them from Gahorā which now became the Baghela capital. The RĀJYĀBHIŚEKA of the Baghelas was preformed by the Tiwārīs who obtainad the title of Adhrajī by which they are still known. The Adhrajī Tiwārīs ever since mark the 'tikā' on the forehead of Baghela kings on their accession to the throne[*] and enjoy a general precedence over other local families. The old name of the country was Bhatha of which Gohorā was now the Baghela capital.

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[*] J. R. S. B. I., p. 45.

[†] I., 6.

[‡] Sloka 12.

[$] Op. Cit.

[||] Some State genealogy makes them brothers.

[¶] I. 10. Gahorā is about 13 miles east of Karvī in the Bāndā district, U. P.

[♆] For the Lodhis : Russel's Tribes and Castes of C. P. I., 30. IV., 112-15.

Vālanadeva, son of Raṇiṅgadeva, succeeded his father. Before his death, Vālanadeva anointed his son Vallāradeva as king in Gahorā. Vallāradeva married Rājala Malla Devī, a Chandela princess, daughter of Yaśarājdeva, the Lord of Kārī.[†] This queen dug a tank in Gahorā near her palace and it still bears her name. The tank was afterwards deepened and beautified by king Vīrabhānu. On the bank of the tank stood the shrine of Śitala Devī, the titulary goddess of Gahorā. The Baghelas, it seems, had come to prominence in Gahorā by the middle of the 14th century when they attracted notice of the imperial power. Vallāradeva, according to tradition. played some part in imperial politics of his time during the decline of Tughlaq power when Taimūr invaded and sacked Delhi. For his services rendered to the emperor in the Aṅtarveda, he got the TARIHĀR (lowland), south of the Ganges "including the country of the Gaharwārs "[‡] (in the Allahabad and Mirzapur districts). Vallāradeva got imperial recognition of the title of Rājā, the Baghela chiefs of Gahorā so long styled THĀKURS. A satī incription of the time of "Mahārājādhirāja Sri Vallāladeva", dated S. 1417 was found in Gahorā and is preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum. If Vallāladeva of the inscription is identical with Vallāradeva (Bollār deva) of the Kavya, we may infer that in 1360 A. D. he had assumed the royal title of Mahārājādhirāj and ruled probably as an independent chief. Tradition is now silent as regards the Bhars of Kālinjar.

Villāradeva had a son, Sinhadeva, who took Samādhi in the life time of his father at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayāga. He thus ended his life, as tradition has it in order to perpetuate the rule of his family. According to the family tradition of the Tiwārīs, Rām Ratī Tiwārī was a partner of Simhadeva in his meritorious act of suicide. On the death of Simhadeva, Vallāradeva brought up his grandson, Vīramadeva, but died "before the latter came of age". Vīramadeva grew to be a warlike ruler and impressed his Mohammadan contemporaries. He conquered the town of Sihuṅḍā.[§] According to State genealogies Viramadeva conquered the PĀTH (highlands). He had 18 sons. He dug the Padmākara lake in Gahorā.[||] From his queen Apurvadevi, he had Narharideva, the eldest son, who succeeded him when he breathed his last on the bank of the Ganges. Narharideva extended his dominions still further.[*] The bards, however, state that he lost hold over the Aṅtarveda lands as a result of local disturbances[†] His queen Rājalā Devī was the daughter of Arjunadeva, the Gāhaḍavāla Chief of Karṇatīrtha (Kantit) who had the credit of constructing at Kantit a magnificent Siva temple.[‡] Rājalā Devī gave birth to Bhaida Caṅdra who was crowned by his father before his death.

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[*] Family history of Tiwārīs by Harbans Rāi, S. 1937.

[†] Kārī has not yet been indentified.

[‡] State genealogies.

[§] North of Kālinjar in the Bāṅdā district, U. P.

[||] Kavya-II. 26.

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[*] Ibid. I., 50.

[†] Ajbes Baghela Vaṅśāvali.

[‡] I., 53.

FISCAL AND REVENUE REFORMS OF ALĀUDDĪN KHALJĪ

(1296-1316 A. D.)

Dr. K. S. Lal, Nagpur.

Alāuddīn was perhaps the first sovereign of the Turkish period to have taken a keen interest in the revenue and fiscal reforms. His predecessors from Quṭbuddīn Aibak to Jalāluddīn Khaljī either did not get the time, or had not the aptitude to delve into this complicated branch of administration. They utilised the existing machinery. At least such is the conclusion to which the silence of Minhājus Sirāj and Ziyāuddīn points. Of these two writers the latter was certainly interested in agrarian problems even though superficially.*

No doubt Alāuddīn's revenue reforms were as distasteful to the nobility and landowners as those others in other spheres of administration, but they were in consonence with the general spirit of administration. The reasons which prompted the sultan to effect drastic measures to secure the largest amount of revenue from lands and other sources of income are quite obvious. The number and intensity of Mughal invasions in his reign, and the internal menance of the refractory nobles and princes made him into "an absolutely ruthless ruler". Therefore whatever measures he undertook, either in the civil or revenue administration, or for social welfare, his one object was to bring about security from internal as well as external dangers. His first step towards resumption of royal grants and other landed property was undertaken to clip the wings of a contumacious nobility, for, according to the political philosophy of the sultan it was "wealth" that bred disobedience and vanity. His other measures, concerning the measurement of land, fixation of the rate of land-revenue and its realisation were undertaken to ensure subsistence for a huge army which he had recruited to repulse the Mughal invasions on the one hand and extend his dominions on the other.

Alāuddīn ordered resumption of all landed grants which the nobility, government officials and other rich individuals held as gifts, grants or rewards from the state. It was an old custom to reward nobles, learned men and theologians with grants of land. The grants were not hereditary, but ordinarily the descendants were left unmolested with their possession. These land-holders in course of time became lazy and proud as they had a certain income to fall back upon. Sultan Balban had determined to take harsh measures against the nobility who possessed such lands, but the appeal of Malik Fakhruddīn restrained him from proceeding to extremes. Thus Khāns and Maliks were saved from being shorn of all their property. Neverthelss they lost much of their former prestige and power and meekly submitted to the strong sovereign.

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* Also see Moreland : Agrarian System of Moslem India. pp. 26-7 and Qureshi : Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi. P. 103.

At the time of his accession ' Alāuddīn had to bestow gold and lands upon barons and influential people to secure their sympathy and suport. But the moment he found himself firmly seated in the regal saddle he punished all such turn-coats on the charge of their being disloyal to their former king Jalāluddīn. Besides other punishments which included blinding and execution, they were deprived of all the wealth that they had received from Alāuddīn. Even their household goods and private properties did not escape confiscation. Their houses were appropriated for the royal use and their estates were annexed to the crown lands. In 1297 these steps were confined only to a certain section of Maliks and Amīrs; but on his return from Ranthambhor the scope of their application was considerably widened. They were now directed against all the rich people of the state, nobles, traders and even petty zamindārs, in short, whosoever possessed any property. The king ordered that all the estates, villages and other lands which the people held as *milk* (property), *inām* (remuneration or reward) and *vaqf* (gift) should forthwith be resumed and turned into the *khalsa* or crown lands. It is probable that all assignments were not confiscated, but their management was taken over by the government.* The state officials were asked to treat the people as tyrannically as possible, and to try to extort money from them on any and every pretext, so that nobody should be left in possession of much wealth. These instructions were literally enforced and people were compelled to surrender their property. After a short time, says the contemporary chronicler matters had gone so far that in the houses of the nobility and the Multani (Merchants) not much money remained. All pensions, grants of land and endowments were confiscated, and the people had to earn their livelihood by the sweat of their brow. In such circumstances "no one even had time to pronounce the word ' rebellion. "†

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* Bananī Tarīkhi Firoz Shahi Bib. Ind. Text pp. 250-51. The system of granting lands, however, was never gived up in the time of ' Alāuddīn. Malik Qabūl Ulugh Khani got an estate after his appointment as *shahnah* of grain market (Barani p. 305). Baranī also mentions that the nobles who had no landed property got rationed grain (p. 309) in times of scarcity which clearly indicates that there *were* nobles who had landed property. But the Sultan preferred paying in cash, e. g. Amir Khusrau got a fixed salary. Also see Qureshi : Administration p.119.

† Baranī pp. 283-84. The language of this passage is awfully defective but the sense is quite clear.

The orders regarding the resumption of crown lands which were meant to impoverish the nobility, were followed by others which affected the chief-men (*Muqaddams*), petty zamindārs (*Khūṭs*) and even ordinary peasants* (*balāhars*). The sultan asked his councillors to suggest ways and means for suppressing the Hindus, whose wealth was as much a "source of rebellion and disaffection" as that of the nobility. The complaints of Alāuddīn about *Khūṭs* and *Muqaddams* were not that they put on white garments and rode horses. They evaded to pay any of the prevalent taxes like *Kharāj*, *Jaziya*, *Karī* and *Charaī*. Not only that, they even charged extra share as their collection labour (*Khūṭī*) and whether called or not they never came to the Dīvān and paid no heed to revenue officials.† The king's advisers suggested to him to rescind all the privileges of the landlords (*Khūṭs* and *Muqaddams*) and to enforce one law regarding the payment of revenue for both landlords and tenants and not to leave anything as collection charges so that "the revenue due from the strong might not fall upon the weak", and that so much should not be left to the Hindus as to enable them to ride horses, wear fine clothes and indulge in sumptuous and luxurious habits.‡ It follows from this statement that formerly the revenue due from the strong used to fall upon the weak. In other words the land holders used to exact as much as possible from the peasants and give only the due share of the revenue to the state. Consequently they approprited to themselves much more than their own share. This surplus income naturally made them rich and even overbearing. As Mr. Moreland aptly remarks it appears on the study of Baranī that the population consisted not "of two elements but of three—Moslems, Hindus, and the 'herds' or peasants...The question really at issue was how to break the power of the rural leaders, the chiefs and the headmen of *parganās* and villages......"$ That the Hindu chiefs with constant desire for independence were very domineering in their behaviour is quite clear from the complaint of Jalāluddīn against them. They chewed *pān* unmindful of anything, put on white garments and moved among the musalmans with comfort and ease.|| Although Baranī lends a communal colour to it and says that Sultan Jalāluddīn could not tolerate such

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* *Khūt* and *balāhar* appear to be vernacular vocables which Baranī so frequently uses in his Persian From the trend of the text it appears that a *Khūt* was a sort of zamindār or revenue collector and *balāhar* was peasant, so that the latter paid revenue to the former. Prof. Hodivala's interpretation (studies in Indo Muslim History, pp. 277-78) is quite convincing when he says that *Khūt* appears a decapitated form Sanskrit of Gramkūta or village headman. Baranī also uses it in the same sense. pp. 277- 78, 287.

† Baranī p. 291.

‡ Ibid pp. 287-88. Land revenue is known as Kharāj.

$ Moreland : Agrarian System p. 36 footnote.

|| Baranī pp. 216-17.

behaviour on the part of the Hindus as they were the arch enemies of the religion of Mustafa, yet one fact is clear that the Hindu middle class was economically well-off and in no way inclined to show an attitude of servility to high officers of the state. 'Alāuddīn who had crushed the nobility ruthlessly was not expected to leave other "refractory" elemements unsubdued, and he took measures to see that nobody in his dominions continued to be so rich or powerful as to be a source of danger to the state. The statement of Ziyāuddīn Baranī that the sultan undertook a series of measures to crush the Hindus expresses the sentiments of the orthodox historian rather than those of the matter-of-fact sultan.

By another ordinance the emperor fixed the government share at fifty per cent of the produce and laid down the method of assesment. 'Alāuddīn was the first Muslim king in India who fixed the revenue on the actual measurement of land. The system of measurement was known to the Hindu kings and was in practice in the south, but it seems to have fallen into disuse in the north. It was now revived. Not being as good a historian as Abul Fazl, Baranī does not give the details with regard to the method and instruments of measurement. He however, speaks of revenue collection according to "*bisvah*" which is known even to this day. From this it may be inferred that a uniform system of measurement was introduced. Under this system all the land occupied by the rich and the poor was brought under assessment at the uniform rate of fifty per cent. This measure, as Mr. Moreland correctly thinks, reduced the chiefs practically to the position of peasants. The position of land lords unquestionably became deplorable. Their surplus income, which they were suspected of levying, stopped; half of the produce was sent to the imperial treasury, and from the remaining half grazing and other sundry taxes were paid leaving a bare munimum to them. Thus it is certain that the chiefs who had been accustomed to live a life of ease and comfort were reduced to the position of ordinary peasants; and if Baranī does not exaggerate the Hindus, who had the monopoly of agriculture, were impoverished to such an extent that there was no sign of gold or silver left in their houses, and the wives of *Khūṭs* and *Muqaddams* used to seek jobs in the houses of the Musalmans, work there, and receive wages.*

The demand of fifty per cent of the gross produce was a very harsh measure indeed. Under Hindu sovereigns the state demand was one-fourth to one-sixth. The revenue rose to one-third or fell as low as one-sixth of the produce as the emergency required.† Under Muslims sovereigns like Iltutmish and Balban also the rate does not seem to have risen above one-third. The demand of 'Alāuddīn for one-half, therefore, could not have been welcome either to the landlords or the peasantry. But this demand was not unlawful as the Muslim jurists permit fifty per cent as the maximum revenue.[*] Moreover the sultan's orders about prohibition and closing of gambling dens meant a considerable loss to the royal exchequer.[†] 'Alāuddīn made up the deficiency by raising land revenue to the permissable maximum. The revenue was accepted in cash as well as in kind but since the Sultan accumulated grain in state granaries he preferred to take the revenue in kind from certain fertile regions near the capital.

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* Baranī p. 288.

† Moreland : Agrarian System p. 5.

After the realisation of the land revenue and other taxes which will be described hereafter, the peasants were compelled to sell their surplus grain to the travelling marchants (*caravanians*), who were assisted by government officials in obtaining it. In short if the revenue regulations of 'Alāuddīn were meant to crush high landlords, they were in no way less prejudicial to the interests of the peasantry.

Beside the land revenue 'Alāuddīn levied house tax and grazing tax.[‡] According to Ziyāuddīn all milk producing animals like cows and goats were to be taxed. Baranī neither mentions limitations of, nor exemptions from, the grazing tax. According to Ferishtah, however, animals upto two pairs of oxen, two buffaloes, two cows and ten goats were free from taxation.[$] The taxable minimum (*niṣāb*) in Muslim law is thirty heads for cows and buffaloes and forty for goat and sheep.[||] Considering this *niṣāb*, the figure of Ferishtah is quite normal; but since neither Ferishtah's source of information is known nor does Baranī talk of any exemption, Ferishtah's figures cannot be literally accepted. It seems probable that Alāuddīn exempted only such animals as were indispensable for cultivation, but not cows, buffaloes and goats to the number of a dozen as they gave milk, went for pasture and were a source of income to the possessor.[¶]

Another tax realised was *Karī* or *Karhī*. Nothing definite is known about this tax. It appears that the word is a derivative from the

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[*] Aghnides : Muhammadan Theories of Finance p. 378.

[†] Baranī p. 284.

[‡] Baranī p. 287.

The words clearly mean that a tax was levied on pasturable animals (?) and besides that from every house a residence tax was taken. Dr. Qureshi (Administration pp. 232-23) thinks that " it is obviously a mistake. It may be pointed out that *Kari* or *Karhī*, which is altogether a different tax from house tax has been mentioned by Baranī on pp. 288-289 and should not be confused with the latter. For implications about house tax in Muslim law see Aghnides Muhammadan Theories of Finance.

[$] Ferishtah p. 109.

[||] Aghnides pp. 251-52, 253-54.

[¶] See *Zakat* taxes.

Sanskrit word *Kar* (कर) which means tax. Baranī does not give any details about it and it can safely be presumed that *karī* was one of the various minor taxes which from time to time have been realised in Hindu and Muslim periods of Indian history.

Jaziya was levied from non–Muslims as the cash equivalent to "the assistance which they would be liable to give if they had not persisted in their unbelief, because living as they do in a Muslim state, they must be ready to defend it."* "Moreover, the main object in levying the tax is the subjection of the infidels to humiliations ...... and ...... during the process of payment, the *dhimmi* is seized by the coller and vigourously shaken and pulled about in order to show him his degradation. ......"† As time passed Jaziya could not be levied in such spirit and became a tax, pure and simple. Jaziya was not imposed upon women and children, the insane and the imbecile.

The sultans of Delhi charged ten, twenty and forty *tankas* as *Jaziya* from the poor, the middle class and the rich respctively. Alāuddīn realised *Jaziya* from his Hindu subjects, but he does not seem to have imposed it in the spirit of orthodox jurists cited above. Complaining about the contumacy of *Khūts* and *Muqaddams* the Sultan said, "they themselves did not pay any of he taxes —*Kharāj*, *Jaziyaī*, *Karī* and *Charaī*.‡ This clearly shows that *Jaziya* was one of the major taxes prevalent. The vanquished Deccan princes sent annual tribute to the imperial capital. What they sent may be termed as *Jaziya*, but it was more of a political tribute rather than a tax levied from non–Muslims- Of the same nature were the tributes from the Rajput States.

Contemporary chroniclers do give the figures of the revenue collected from *Jaziya* but they do not give figures for *Kharāj* and other taxes either. It is, however, not unreasonable to surmise that the income from *Jaziya* was not inconsitderable since it was levied from so vast a population of non-belivers. *Jaziya* was realised only from non-Muslims and was naturally cancelled by conversion to Islam. Thus, though conversion to Islam meant glorification of the faith it also meant loss to the royal exchequer. Consequently the sultans who were more in need of money, and not very much religiously inclined, must have disfavoured conversion. It is obvious that such kings cannot receive so favourable a treat at the hands of the orthodx 'Ulama as sultans like Fīroz Tughlaq, who, strangely, enough, were enthusiatic both about *Jaziya* and conversions at the same time. To astute administrators like Balban, Alāuddīn and Muhammad Tughlaq replenishment of the Royal Treasury was of greater importance than conversion of the infidels. They suffered the non-Muslims not necessarily because they were broad-minded and cosmopolitan in their outlook but because they gained by the non-Muslims remaining non-Muslims. Alāuddīn succeeded as the king, what if he invited the anathema of the priestly class.

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* Aghnides p. 309.

† See Yūsuf in Aghnides pp. 406-7, 530. Compare in this connection Qāzī Mughis's inveighing to Sultan 'Alāuddīn about the status of the *zimmī*. So far as the status of the *zimmī* in Muslim law was concerned the information of the Qāzī was correct.

‡ Baranī p. 291.

Khums, as the word signifies, was one-fifth share of the state in the spoils (*ghanāim*) of war. The four-fifth share was distributed among the soldiers. Sultan Alāuddīn, who was always much in need of money and also disliked people to grow opulent, disregarded the law and appropriated four-fifths to the state treasury. This scale continued to obtain till Fīroz Tughlaq reverted to the old practice of appropriating one-fifth of the booty to the exchequer.

Zakāt is a religious tax levied only from the Muslims. By paying *zakāt* and thereby sharing his property with the needy a Muslim purifies himself of avarice. Thus the payment of *zakāt* is an obligation between God and man and it cannot be collected by force.* But since it is an act of piety to pay *zakāt* and since it is based on a clear injunction of the Quran it must be realised by the Imām. *Zakāt* is not levied on primary necessaries of life like dwelling houses, clothes, utensils, slaves and animals used for ploughing or riding.† It is charged only on "apparent property" such as gold and silver, herds and merchandise, and only when such property exceeds a certain taxable minimum (*nisāb*). The Muslim jurists have been very liberal in fixing the *nisāb*. On non-apparent property the owner has an option to pay whatever he likes without being coerced in any way. Generally speaking *Zakāt* amounted to 1/40th of the property.

In India *Zakāt* ceased to be a religious tax imposed only on the Muslims‡ though an orthodox sovereign like Fīroz Shah included it in the list of state taxes. In India *Zakāt* was levied in the shape of import duties, of grazing fee on milk producing animals or those which went for pasture and was realised both from Muslims and non-Muslims. According to the Islamic law import duties for Muslims were 5% and for non-Muslims 10% of the commodity.*

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* Aghuides p. 297.

† Aghnides p. 207. Tripathi : " Aspects " p. 345.

‡ Dr. Qureshi (administration p. 93) state that " *Zakāt* was levied by the sultans of Delhi, though the chronicles do not expressly mention this fact. The reason for this silence seems to be that they were writing for Muslim readers, to whom the levy of *sakāt* by an Islamic administration would be too obvious a fact to be mentioned". The argument is not convincing. *Zakāt* tax was perhaps the most difficult to assess and still more difficult to realise. It was levied on " apparent property ". Now, we know that in medieval times people used to hide their possessions lest the sultan should come to know of their wealth. It was so especially in Alāuddīn's times. Thus no *sakāt* could be realised on property carefully enclosed in the four-walls of a house or buried underground. Moreover it is human nature to avoid payment of a tax until it is almost forcibly realised by the state, and if a man can avoid payment with impunity.

A large number of graded officials was appointed to carry on the revenue administration. The credit of the success with which the orders of the Sultan were enforced and full share of the revenue realised goes to the deputy *vazīr* (Naib *vazīr*) Sharf Qayini.† For several years this officer made strenuous efforts to apply the ordinances of the sultan to most of northern India. He was successful in introducing the system of measurement in the districts round Delhi like Pālam, Revārī, Afghānpūr, Amrohā, Badaon and Koel as also in the divisions of Deopālpūr, Lahore, Samanah and Sunam in the west, upto Katehar (Rohilkhand) in the east and portions of Malwa and Rajputana (e. g. Bayana and Jhain), in the south but not in Gujarat, Malwa and Avadh. Thus it is clear that the system of measurement, 50% revenue, and grazing tax were enforced in the centre of the empire and some out-lying provinces in north and west but not in the whole of the empire. Nevertheless even this was a great achievement for Alāuddīn and his deputy minister Sharf Qayinī, to whose accomplishments and efficiency Baranī pays a well deserved tribute.

Sharf Qayinī took drastic steps to remove the mal-administration in the revenue department. The conversion of large areas into crown lands, and their direct relations with the state necessitated steps for realisation of revenue in full. " One of the standing evils in the revenue collection consisted in defective realisation which usually left large balances to be accounted for. As the revenue system was yet in the making and the machinery for assessment and collection was yet undeveloped, unrealised balances were probaly inevitable. "‡ Moreover, the lower revenue officials, whose number must necessarily have been increased with the increase in the area of crown lands, were corrupt and extortionate. Alāuddīn

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He would never like to pay. *Zakāt* could not be realised forcibly since " compulsion vitiates its character ". Again it could only be applied to a property held in possession of the owner for at least one year. If a person, just to avoid *Zakāt*, transferred his taxable property to somebody else even a day before the date of payment, he escaped from making payment (Aghnides pp. 530-33). Lastly the collectors of *Zakāt* are not subject to audit. There was no check to a collector's realising a certain sum of money in *Zakāt* and depositing a lesser amount in the exchequer. Such a vague tax had no place in Alāuddīn's system of revenue administration.

* Aghnides p. 318.

† The Calcutta taxt of Baranī has *Qaī* (p. 288) but Major Fuller's Ms. has *Qainī*. The latter is the correct form and is well known in Persia.

‡ Tripathi : Some Aspects of Muslim Administration.

determined to do away with these evils. He created a department known as the *Dīvān*-i-*Mustakhraj*. The Mustakhraj was entrusted with the duties of inquiring into the arrears lying in the name of collectors, and of realising them.* He freely punished the *āmils* and *kārkuns* to realise the balances in full. Equally drastic measures were taken to stop corruption among *patvārīs* and other lower officials of the revenue department. Realising that the low salaries of the officials tempted them to accept and even extort bribes, the Sultan increased their salaries so that they could live in respectability and comfort. But this did not improve matters and corruption among the lower officials continued. The Sultan ruthlessly punished all those found guilty of corruption. The punishments seem to have been severe indeed, for, as Alāuddīn told Qāẓī Mughīs he had brought to book thousands† of clerks and collectors, had reduced them to beggary and had made their flesh sore. The strict vigilance of Alāuddīn over the conduct of the *patvārīs* and *āmils*, the inspection of their revenue books by superior officers and the Sultan himself, and the ruthless punishments with which they were visited for accepting bribes and falsifying accounts, brought the lower offices of the revenue department into disrepute. The revenue officials regarded their office worse than plague, and for five hundred or one thousand *tankahs* they were kept in jails for many years. Baranī hyperbolically says that one would not give his daughter in marriage to a revenue official, while the office of the superintendent was only accepted by one who had no regard for life, for these officials passed most of their days in jail frequently receiving blows and kicks.‡ At last the stern punishments of Alāuddīn had their effect. Ziyāuddīn affirms that it was no longer possible for any one to take even a *tankah* from either a Hindu or Musalaman by way of bribe or extortion.$

Before closing the discussion on revenue administration it may be pointed out that Alāuddīn neither abolished the *iqtā'* nor the *Khūṭī* system. He only abrogated the privileges of the landlord class, crushed their contumacy and compelled them to lead a life of frugality if not of destitution. By his excessive demands he in no way benefitted the peasantry for which Ziyāuddīn bitterly criticises the monarch. It is certain that Alāuddīn's regulations were an outcome of political exigencies, yet it was not impossible for him to be less tyrannical to the tillers of the soil, to the merchants and to his own revenue officials whose flesh he made "sore." Everything in Alāuddīn's administration smacked of force, and if Shaikh Bashīr pointed out that Alāuddīn's government had very shallow foundations, he was not incorrect. Economic prosperity and not force is the foundation of a stable government. But Alāuddīn wanted to impoverish his countrymen so that the word "rebellion" should not pass their lips. He exploited them economically.

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* Baranī pp. 288--89, 292.

† Ibid p. 296. has 10,000, but the figure may not be accepted literally.

‡ Ibid. p. 289.

$ Ibid. p. 289.

But Baranī's invectives that Alāuddīn's measures were meant to crush the Hindus as such are quite baseless. Nobleman, traders, cultivators, all bore the brunt of Alāuddīn's regulations; but since agriculture was confined mainly to the Hindus they suffered most. Land was the main source of state revenues then, as it is now, and Sultan increased it to the maximum possible. The result was the grinding down of the peasant class, while the *Khūts* and *Muqaddams* were reduced to the status of low peasantry, shorn of their time honoured privilege.

JODHPUR'S TIMELY HELP TO JAIPUR

M. M. Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Jodhpur.

Maharaja Ajitsingh was the posthumous son of Maharaja Jaswantsingh I of Marwar and, as soon as the latter died at Jamrud, Emperor Aurangzeb annexed Marwar and tried to take the infant son of the late Maharaja in his custody. But on account of the devotion of the Maharaja's loyal Sardars, all his plans were frustrated and, on his death at Ahmadanagar, in the Deccan, Maharaja Ajitsingh defeated the Mughal officers and took possession of the Jodhpur fort.

When this news reached Muhammad Muazzam, the son of the late Emperor, who ascended the throne of Delhi under the name of Emperor Bahadurshah, he marched against Marwar. In this campaign he was accompanied by Savai Raja Jaisingh of Amber. As Savai Raja Jaisingh sided with prince Azam, Bahadurshah placed Vijaising, the younger brother of Jaisingh, on the throne of Amber and took Savai Raja with him in the campaign against Jodhpur. But shortly afterwards the new Emperor received the news of the rebellion of Kambakhsh in the Deccan and therefore he concluded a treaty with Maharaja Ajit and proceeded towards the Deccan, taking along with him Maharaja Ajitsingh and Savai Raja Jaisingh. The emperor Bahadurshah showed great respect to the Maharaja, yet, on the pretence of managing the Jodhpur state, he sent some of his nobles there and took it again under his control. Maharaja Ajit was watching all these developments and when the Imperial army crossed the Narbada he, with Savai Raja, returned to Jodhpur and retook Jodhpur. After this, he set out to annex Sambhar and in this he was accompanied by Savai Raja Jaisingh. After defeating the Sayyads there, the armies of Jodhpur and Amber made a joint occupation of Sambhar. Then the combined armies of the Maharaja and Savai Raja marched against Amber and seized it.

On receipt of this news, Savai Raja went to Amber, while Maharaja Ajitsingh, after subduing Rao Indrsingh of Nagaur, returned to his capital.

Owing to the Sikh rebellion in the Pnnjab in 1710 A. D. Bahadur Shah was compelled to acknowledge the right of the Maharaja over Jodhpur and that of the Savai Raja over Amber.

In 1718 A. D. the friction between Emperor Farrukshiyar and the Sayyad brothers rose to its highest pitch and therefore the Emperor sent for the Maharaja to gain his help. But before the Maharaja arrived at Delhi, Savai Raja

Jaisingh poisoned the ears of the Emperor against the Maharaja. We learn from a letter of the Maharaja, dated the 4th May, 1719 A. D. addressed to his officer Dayaldas, that when the Maharaja noticed the changed attitude of the Emperor, he joined hands with the Sayyad brothers. This resulted in the assassination of Farrukhsiyar and the installation of Rafi-uddarjat in his place on the throne of Delhi. After this, when the Sayyad brothers despatched a detachment against the Savai Raja to punish him and deprive him of Amber, Maharaja Ajitsingh again came to his rescue and the detachment had to be recalled.

In 1719 A. D., in the time of Emperor Shah Jahan II, Savai Raja joined Shaistakhan in organising a rebellion at Agra, which was soon suppressed. This time again the ruler of Amber was saved from the fury of Sayyad brothers by the influence of Maharaja Ajitsingh. This fact is evidenced by another letter of the Maharaja written to Dayaldas.

We learn from a third letter of the Maharaja, dated the 12th November, 1722 A. D., written to Dayaldas from Sambhar, that when Gesukhan, removing the military post of Savai Raja Jaisingh, annexed Hindon, the Maharaja helped the Savai Raja with his contingent in order to recapture the town.

In 1787 A. D., when Maharaja Bijayasingh was the ruler of Jodhpur and Maharaja Pratapsingh was that of Jaipur, the Sindhiya, siding with Rajkumar Mansingh, son of late Maharaja Prithviraj of Jaipur, sent out a Mahratta army to install the said Rajkumar on throne of Jaipur. The Jodhpur Maharaja detailed a contigent to the help of Maharaja Pratapsingh and this led to the defeat of the Maharattas in the well known battlefield of Tungan.

These are some of the noteworthy instances of assistance given by the Maharajas of Jodhpur to the Maharajas of Jaipur in their hour of need, and had these been withheld, the history of Jaipur would have been written in a different manner.

INTRIGUES AT THE MUGHAL COURT IN THE REIGN OF EMPEROR MUHAMMADSHAH

M. M. Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Jodhpur.

Introduction

When Muhammadshah, the Mughal Emperor being displeased with Raushanuddaula, appointed Nawab Shamsamuddaula as his minister, the latter soon deputed Maharaja Abhayasingh as Governor of Gujrat and asked him to proceed to take charge of the province and send back Sarbaland, the previous Governor. The Maharaja accomplished this task and also persuaded Peshwa Baji Rao I, the Peshwa of Shahu the Raja of Satara to side with the Mughal Emperor against Tryambak Rao the commander of the ruler of Satara. But the intrigues of the Mughal court upset all his (Maharaja's) future plans as will be seen from the letter, dated the 18th May 1731 A. D., wrritten by Maharaja Abhayasingh of Jodhpur to his ambassador at the Mughal court.

(Transtation of the letter)

(Top lines in Maharaja's own hand writing)

Your letter was brought to our notice. Whatever we have done is known to every body. If the Nawab (Shamsamuddaula) does not require our help, we would also do accordingly. Do what we have ordered you in writting. Get all the things done and if he (the Nawab) is not willing to do any thing then write to us in clear words and you should also ask permission to leave the place.

It is our command.

(Contents of the Royal seal)

By the grace of Almighty Goddess Hingulaj, glory be to sovereign ruler, King of Kings, supreme prince, Maharaja Shri Abhayasingh Deva, who shines like the sun on the earth.

Hari, Amba, Shiva, Sun and Vinayak-may these five deities always bestow favours.

(Approval of the letter in Maharaja's own calligraphy)

It is our command.

(Letter)

By command of the illustrious, king of kings, paramount soveriegn, Maharaja Shri Abhayasinghji Deva and Maharaj-kumar Shri Ramsinghji

Deva, Bhandari Amarsingh and Purohit Vardhaman should note their favours.

We have received your letter and noted the contents. When you had a talk with the Nawab (Shamsamuddaula) after our victory over Tryambak Rao; Yadgarkhan put forward a plea that the rewards would be given when Baji Rao would be finished, and if the same are given now, the Mughals would take it ill. He (Yadgarkhan) further added that the rewards to the Maharaja and Jai Singhji (the ruler of Amber) would be got considered simultaneously. On this point you had a discussion and submitted a detailed application to the Nawab, a true copy of which you have sent to us, and written everything in this connection (to us), which we have noted. You should tell the Nawab, what the status of the Mughals is, that he places so much reliance on them. We have brought Baji Rao to the Emperor's side, with the same intention, under the orders of the Emperor and on the words of the Nawab. But the Nawab neither realised it nor sent a Farman (letter) of assurance (to Baji Rao). But as he received letters from other persons (about the evil motives of the Emperor), he went away dissatisfied. We do not mind it. If the Nawab wants to get these things done, he should carry out whatever we write from here for the work and expenses, and also patronise Raja Sahu. Then we would arrange for all these and if he wants to pick up a quarrel with Baji Rao, he would arrange for the required expenses, and we shall manage it. Refer both these points (to Nawab) and inform us (of his reply). Further he says that the rewards will be paid after killing Baji Rao, but formerly when we punished Sarbaland Khan, then also we were promised everything to our full satisfaction. Now they tell us thus. There are some persons, who spoil others work and therefore the Nawab ought not to pay heed to their words, and those persons, who spoil the work in this way should be brought round. They say that the rewards to Jai Singhji and to the Darbar would be got considered simultaneously, but it is not known what rewards are due to Jai Singhji now. For his work at Ujjain, Agra was kept under his charge and he was also given expenses and helpers. Whatever he did there is fully known to the Nawab. There was only one Holkar Malhar Rao, a servant of Baji Rao, but he (Jai Singh) paid him ten lacs of rupees, and instead of this whole of the country was devastated (by Malhar Rao). Even with this result, he was paid so much. The State like Bundi was given to Budh Singh's servant, his (Jaisingh's) Diwan's son was given a Mansab of five thousand. Gujar Juj (?), who was a servant, was given a Mansab of two thousand and a title of 'Rao'. Moreover, his other requests were also granted. Whereas we in the case of Sarbaland did not care for our life and money and this is known to all. But all this is to no effect. Though we had to face an enemy, who attacked us with one lac of cavalry yet, neither expenses were sent nor helpers were deputed, or any other consideration was given. Even then, we successfully tried to win over one of the two leaders of the enemy, who were servants of the same master, and prepared Baji Rao (one of them) to fight on our side and helping him with a large army of our own routed Tryambak Rao and Asaf Jah's armies, as well as Pilu and Panwar Anand Rao, who were advancing against us at the head of 60,000 men. But Yadgar Khan belittled everything. The Nawab is a man of sagacity and he should not be unaware of the facts. If Yadgar Khan says such thing on your face then it is your duty to bring him round. Do not keep Yadgar Khan with you in your future talks with the Nawab. Keep a man who can be relied on and who would not oppose our plans, and help in securing rewards and Jagirs for us and Rajadhiraj. There is not much difference in these demands, as we are asking for only those that were held by Maharaja Shri Jaswant Singhji and Maharaja Shri Ajit Singhji and it is not justifiable for the Nawab to reduce them, as we hope still for something more. Put this matter plainly before him. Further, the Nawab as well as you yourself have written to us about the cases of the Jagir holders, but the situation here is this. It is very difficult to meet the administrative expenses of the province from the lands under the direct state control and those under the Jagirdars. But the Nawab thinks of something grand about the revenue of the province. Therefore ask the Nawab to write to the Diwan (Revenue Officer) that after inspection, he should pay us the expenses, which are actually required for our forces, and send the surplus whatsover may be to the Nawab, but if there is any dificit it should be made up by the Nawab from there (Delhi). If he wants to retain us here and at the same time takes away the Khalsa and Jagir lands from our control, then he should, in addition to our holdings and Jagir fix an amount for us according to the recommendations of the Diwan (Revenue Officer) and Bakhshi (Military Officer) and the same may be paid to us every month. If he gives no consideration to any of these demands, you should take his permission and come here to us. Tell him in clear words that as there is no hope of our request being granted, and the local Jagirdars here are clamouring, it is not advisable for us to prolong our stay here under these conditions.

We have also written direct to the Nawab in clear terms, that with great efforts we have punished the enemies this year, and saved the province from devastation, that after the rains, we have to strengthen the landings of the Narbada and chastise the invaders, but this cannot be done without sufficient men. Therefore put all this plainly before him.

Kantha has come this side. In a view to punish him, therefore, our army is after him. He is inclined to join our service. If he does this, so much the better, otherwise he would be punished. The purport of your talks with the Nawab and his letter was submitted to us, which we have noted, and the reply there of will be sent afterwards. We have come to know about your sending a draft. The next draft (Hundi) should be dispatched in his (Nawab's) presence and you should also inform us of the discount rate.

You wrote us about the requests of Urjan Singh and Dalel Singh; we had already passed orders about Dalel Singh, and if the Nawab is willing, he should be sent, but if he .... you should acquaint the Nawab with the position. The letter addressed to the Nawab may be shown to him and everything should be settled accordingly. It is our command. Dated the 9th day of the dark half of Jyestha, 1787 V. S. (1788 V. S. Chaitradi) (18th May, 1731 A. D.).

SWISS COMPANIES AND CAPTAIN POLIER IN THE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY

Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, Patna

The Court of Directors in England sent to India four Companies[*] of Swiss troops, each composed of 100 men. Their services were enlisted by the English East India Company in India, particularly against the French. Orme refers to the arrival at Madras in 1752 of two Swiss Companies commanded by Swiss Captains.[†] When the French had reached the proximity of Fort St. David in 1752, a company of Swiss under Captain Schaub was sent on boats from Madras to intercept them.[‡] But they were captured by some Frenchmen sent by Dupleix on a vessel from Pondicherry and were detained there as prisoners of war.[§] Immediately on hearing of this news, Major Lawrence embarked for Fort St. David with another party of Swiss troops under Captain Gaupp.[||]

Captain Paul Philip Polier was commander of one such company. The services of his company were for some time transferred from Madras to Bengal[¶] most probably early in 1753. On the 11th January, 1753, he presented himself before the Council in Calcutta and informed the members there that his men were daily deserting that place, and that sixteen of them some belonging to his own town and enjoying his greatest confidence had already gone away. He observed that the French (at Chandernagore) seduced them by indirect means and sent them to Pondicherry, the "open situation" of Calcutta making it impossible for him to prevent their flight. He proposed to take back his officers and men to the southern coast, where he hoped to take effective steps against the inconveniences and to render better service to the Engliah Company.

To prevent prejudice to the interests of the Company[♆] Captain Polier joined Major Lawrence with 100 soldiers of his party on 1st April, 1753. With this reinforcement the Major wanted to storm the French camp at Trivadi.[*] On arriving at Trichinopoly on the 6th May, 1753, Major Lawrence found that among others one Serjeant and 15 men of a Swiss Company had deserted his detachment.[†] But Captain Polier and his party remained faithful, though they unknowingly committed a tactical military blunder.[‡] On the 12th May, 1754, Captain Polier commanded the British troops as Major Lawrence was confined to bed from illness. While he was then trying to assist one detachnent under Captain Caillaud, the French "disabled one of his field pieces" as also one of the latter.[$] Captain Polier's battalion was present in the army under Colonel Alexander Heron during its march from Madura towards the end of May 1755.[‖] Advised by the Madras Council to return to Arcot, the Nawab of the Carnatic left Trichinopoly for his capital on the 9th July, 1755, accompanied by an escort of 300 Europeans and 1000 sepoys under the command of Captain Polier.[¶]

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[*] Letter from Court, 11th February, 1756, para 113.

[†] Indostan, Vol. I, p. 259.

[‡] Lawrence, *A Narrative of the War on the Coromondal Coast*, p. 34.

[§] Ibid.

[||] Ibid.

[¶] Letter to Court, 11th February, 1756, para 61.

[♆] Letter to Court, 15th January, 1753, para 4.

Towards the end of 1755, the Court of Directors in England decided to stop the recruitment of men from Switzerland and for the four Swiss Companies and to put them on equal footing with the English battalions in all respects except in the number of each of the former which was to be limited to 140 men.[₱] Captain Polier being the oldest of all the Swiss military officers in India was given a new Commission investing him with the senior most rank among them.[§] Captain Paul Philip Polier was the uncle of his better-known kinsman Antoine Louis Henry Polier.[@]

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[*] Orme, *Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 283; Lawrence, *Narrative*, p. 42.

[†] Orme, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 287.

[‡] Ibid, p. 289.

[$] Orme, Vol. I, p. 357; Lawrence, *Narrative*, p. 65.

[‖] Orme, Vol. I, p. 393.

[¶] Ibid, p. 395; Lawrence, p. 87.

[₱] Letter from Court, 11th February, 1756, paras 108-113.

[§] Ibid.

[@] *Bengal: Past and Present*, Vol. VI, pp. 176-77; *Proceedings, Indian Historical Records Commission*, Vol. XX,

PĀRĪKṢITA JANAMEJAYA IN THE BRĀHAMAṆAS AND THE UPANIṢADS IDENTICAL WITH THE PĀRIKṢITA JANAMEJAYA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

Lt. Col. **R. D. Karamarkar**, Poona

Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji, in his Presidential address, delivered at the History Section of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference, Mysore, in 1935, has asserted that the Pārīkṣita Janamejaya who is referred to in the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas and in the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad must be regarded as different from and older than the person of the same name referred to in the Mahābhārta, who performed the snake-sacrifice at Takṣasilā, and at whose court the Mahābhārata was recited for the first time by Vaiśampāyana. It is proposed in this paper to show that the arguments urged by Prof. Mookerjee are unconvincing and that the Janamejaya referred to in Vedic Literature mainly on the strength of the evidence about the contemporaniety of Yājñavalkya, Janamejaya and Vaiśampāyana. There is nothing inherently improbable about the information according to Vedic traditions as Prof. Mookerjee puts it, so as to make it impossible to be associated with the Janamejaya in the Mahābhārata. Prof. Mookerjee accepts 2000 B. C. as the date of the Brāhmaṇa works and Janamejaya referred to in them, while he places the Janamejaya in the Mahābhārata about 1400 B. C. Our position is that the Mahābhārata war and Janamejaya, the descendant of the Pāṇḍavas mentioned there-in, should be placed about 3000 B. C. or the traditional date, and the other Janamejaya, the ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas about 3600 B. C.

Even admitting that the lists of the kings in the Purāṇas are not quite *reliable* and contain errors, both of commission and omission, we think that it is possible to arrive at some satisfactory solution by considering dispassionately all the evidence contained in the Purāṇas. As a matter of fact, it would have been a wonder if there had been no such inaccuracies as regards details, events etc. in the Purāṇas, written as they have been under very adverse conditions. But the testimony of the Purāṇas as regards main and important events is surprisingly trustworthy and cannot lightly be brushed aside.

The Prācīna Caritra Koṣa (in Marathi) has listed as many as nine Janamejayas, but only two are Janamejaya Pārīkṣita (son of Parīkṣit). For our present purpose, therefore, it is only the two Pārīksita Janamejayas that have to be considered, The following facts which cannot be disputed can be culled from the

Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas about the two Janamejayas in question (Janamejaya, the ancestor of the Pāṇḍavas is referred to below as senior Janamejaya and the descendant of the Pāṇḍavas as Junior Janamejaya)

The Mahaābhārata (Adiparvan, 89) says

ऋक्षात्संवरणो जज्ञे राजन्वंशवरस्तव। (जनमेजयस्य) ॥ 30

… … … …

ततः संवरणात्सौरी सुषुवे तपती कुरुम् ॥ 42

… … … …

अश्ववन्तमभिष्वन्तं तथा चित्ररथं मुनिम् ।
जनमेजयं च विख्यातं पुत्रांश्चास्यानुशुश्रुमः । 44
अभिष्वतः परिक्षिन्तु शबलाश्वश्च वीर्यवान् ।
अभिराजौ विराजश्च शल्मलश्च महाबलः ॥ 45
उच्चैः श्रवा भद्रकारो ज़िताश्चिाष्टमः स्मृतः ।
जनमेजनादयः सप्त तथैवान्ये महाबलाः
परिक्षितोऽभवन्पुत्राः सर्वे धर्मार्थकोविदाः ॥ 47
कक्षसेनोग्रसेनौ च चित्रसेनश्च वीर्यवान् ।
इंद्रसेनः सुषेणश्च भीमसेनश्च नामतः ॥ 48
जनमेजयस्य तनयाः भुवि ख्याता महाबलाः ।
धृतराष्ट्रः प्रथमजः पाण्डुर्बाल्हीक एव च ॥ 49
निषधश्च महातेजास्तथा जाम्बूनदो बली ।
कुण्डोदरः पदातिश्च वसातिश्चाष्टमः स्मृतः ॥ 50
धृतराष्ट्रोऽथ राजासीत्तस्य पुत्रोऽथ कुण्डिकः । etc.

In the very next Adhyāya (Ādiparvan 90) on being asked by Janamejaya to give more details about his dynasty, Vaiśampāyana makes no mention of Janamejaya as the son of Parīkṣita, while describing the decendants of Kuru :—

कुरुः खलु दाशार्हामुपयेमे शुभाङ्गीं नाम । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे विदूरथः । 41
विदूरथस्तु मागधीमुपयेमे संप्रियां नाम ।……………अरुग्वान्नाम । 42
अरुग्वान् खलु ……………अमृतां नाम ।…………… परिक्षित् । 43
परिक्षित्खलु बाहुदामुपयेमे सुशयां नाम । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे भीमसेनः । 44
भीमसेनः खलु कैकेयीमुपयेमे सुकुमारीं नाम । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे पर्यश्रवाः ।
यस्याहुः प्रतीपं नाम ।

It is possible to equate अरुग्वान with अभिष्वान् and to say that in this Adhyāya details about the wives are given and that there is no real contradiction between the two versions.

The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives four sons to both the परिक्षितs

सुधनुर्जन्हु परिक्षित्प्रमुखाः कुरोः पुत्राः बभूवुः IV-19-19

परिक्षितो जनमेजय श्रुतसेनोग्रसेन भीमसेनाश्चत्वारः पुत्राः ॥
जह्नोस्तु सुरथो नामात्मजो बभूव IV-20-1-2

(In IV. 21-1-2 where the Viṣṇupurāṇa mentions the future kings, we read अतः परं भविष्यानहं भूपालान् कीर्तयिष्ये योऽयं सांप्रतमवनीपतिस्तस्यापि जनमेजय-श्रुतसेनोग्रसेन-भीमसेनपुत्राश्चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति ॥ The सांप्रतमवनीपतिः is परिक्षित् and Parāśara is predicting these future events for the benefit of Maitreya. It appears to us that the reference to these four sons in both the places may be due to the fact that the line परिक्षितो जनमेजय etc. in IV 20-1 above was intended to be inserted in IV. 21-1 by some copyist who, on the strength of the passage mentioning future events which had been known to him to have happened long before, noted that fact there as a past event. Or this is but a pure coincidence that both the परिक्षितs happened to have exactly the same number of sons bearing the same names).

The Harivaṁśa (I. 32) says that Janamejaya was the son of Parikṣita the second son of Kuru. Janamejaya had five *sons* श्रुतसेन, उग्रसेन, भीमसेन, सुरथ, and मतिमान्. विदूरथ is mentioned as a son of सुरथ. The Harivaṁśa also mentions that in the Kuruvaṁsa there were two Parikṣitas, three Bhimsenas, and two Janamejayas. So according to this authority श्रुतसेन, उग्रसेन and भीमसेन are not the brothers, but sons of Janamejaya. The Agnipurāṇa mentions these three as brothers of Janamejaya.

Junior Janamejaya :— We have more detailed and certain information about him from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Thus the Mahābhārata (Ādiparvan, 90) says

परिक्षित् खलु माद्रवतीं नामोपयेमे तस्यामस्य जनमेजयः ॥ ९३ ॥
जनमेजयात्तु वपुष्टमायां द्वौ पुत्रौ शतानीकः शङ्कुश्च ॥ ९४ ॥
शतानीकस्तु खलु वैदेहीमुपयेमे । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे पुत्रोऽश्वमेधदत्तः ॥ ९५ ॥
इत्येष पुरोर्वंशस्तु पाण्डवानां च कीर्तितः ॥ ९६ ॥

The names of the brothers of Janamejaya are given in Ādiparvan III-1.

जनमेजयः परिक्षितः सह भ्रातृभिः कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रमुपास्ते ।
तस्य भ्रातरस्त्रयः श्रुतसेन उग्रसेन भीमसेन इति ।

This Janamejaya performed the sarpa-satra, when the Mahābhārata was for the first time recited to him by Vaiśampāyana. Vyāsa was also present at that time. Ādiparvan 48, gives the names of the priests who attended the sarpa-satra.

सदस्यश्चाभवद् व्यासः पुत्रशिष्यसहायवान् ।
उद्दालकः शमठकः श्वेतकेतुश्च पञ्चमः ॥ ७ ॥

अंसितो देवलश्चैव नारदः पर्वतस्तथा ।
आत्रेयः कुण्डजठरो द्विजः कुटिघटस्तथा ॥ ८ ।
वात्स्यः श्रुतश्रवाः वृद्धस्तपः स्वाध्याय शीलवान् ।
कहोडो देवशर्मा च मौद्गल्यः शमसौभरः ॥ ९ ॥

The Purāṇas give more details as follows. Janamejaya is there called वाजसनेयक or महावाजसनेयक who invited Yājñavalkya to act as the Brahman priest at the Aśvamedha sacrifice, thus superceeding Vaiśampāyana, who, aided by a section of the Brāhmaṇas, revolted against Janamejaya, cursed him and forced him to abdicate in favour of his son शतानीक ।

Janamejaya is stated also to have performed two Aśvamedha sacrifices. Thus, Vayupurāṇa says.

परिक्षित्तनयश्चापि पौरवो जनमेजयः ।
द्विरश्वमेधमाहृत्य ततो वाजसनेयकम् ।
प्रवर्तयित्वा तद्ब्रह्म त्रिखर्वी जनमेजयः
विपादाद् ब्राह्मणैः सार्धमभिशप्तः वनं ययौ ॥ (Adh. 99)
ततः सुतं शतानीकं विप्रास्तमभ्यषेचयन् ।

The Matsyapurāṇa (Adh. 50) uses practically the same words to describe the events, sxcept that instead of ततो वाजसनेयकम्, it reads महावाजसनेयकः, and for the last time, जनमेजयः शतानीकं पुत्रं राज्येऽभिषिक्तवान् ।

The Viṣṇupurāṇa (IV. 21-2) mentions Yājñavalkya as the teacher of Śatānika, तस्यापरः (after Janamejaya) शतानीको भविष्यति योऽसौ याज्ञवल्क्याद् वेदमधीत्य कृपादस्त्राण्यवाप्य विषयविरक्तचित्तवृत्तिश्च शौनकोपदेशादात्मविज्ञानप्रवणः परं निर्वाणमाप्स्यति ।

It is not necessary to refer to other Purāṇas for our present purpose. The following reliable facts can be said to have emerged about the two Janamejayas, from the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas :—

Senior Janamejaya	*Junior Janamejaya*
(1) He was a grand-son of Kuru.	(1) He was the grand-son of Abhimanyu.

There is no definite evidence as regards the numbers of generations between the senior J. and Junior J. At any rate the number must not have been less than ten. It could have been as much as 20.

(2) The name of his son was सुरथ or राधिक. (He is sonless according to one account.)	(2) The name of his son was शतानीक who succeeded him.

Senior Janamejaya	*Junior Janamejaya*
(3) श्रुतसेन, उग्रसेन and भीमसेन were his brothers or sons (and two more).	(3) श्रुतसेन, उग्रसेन and भीमसेन were his three brothers.

(On the authority of the Prācīna Caritra Koṣa.)

(4) He was a contemporary of कुशलव and भानुमत of Mithilā.	(4) He was contemporary of जैमिनि, याज्ञवल्क्य, वैशंपायन and possibly कृतजनक of Mithilā.
(5) *He had preformed one Aśvamedha to get rid of ब्रह्महत्या, when Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka acted as the priest.	(5) He had preformed two Aśvamedha Sacrifices and the famous सर्पसत्र.
	(6) †He had also some ब्रह्महत्या and पापकृत्या to his discredit but no details have been given in the well-known Purāṇas.
	(7) According to the Bhāgavata, तुरकावषेय was his Purohit at the सर्प–सत्र.

According to the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇa, as many as eighty Janamejayas in all are going to be kings.

Now we shall turn to the 'Vedic traditions'. As the Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads do not definitely state to which Parikṣita Janamejaya they are referring, it would be our endeavour to find out from the information obtained from these sources, which Janamejaya could have been in the mind of the writers of the compositions, in the light of the facts concerning the Janamejayas given above.

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* This is mentioned in the Śāntiparvan (Adh. 150--52). As the story is given as a पुरातन इतिहास, it cannot refer to the Junior Janamejaya unless we regard these Adhyāyas in the Śāntiparvan as interpolations. It is also mentioned in the Purāṇas that as a result of the ब्रह्महत्या, the divine chariot secured by Yayāti, which had been in the possession of the Puru dynasty up to Janamejaya passed on to Vasu from whom it passed on to Bṛhadratha and Jarāsaṃdha and ultimately to Kṛṣṇa. (This chariot episode could refer only to the Senior Janamejaya). The mention of Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka raises some doubt about Aśvamedha sacrifice episode, as that priest is shown below to be a contemporary of Janamejaya Junior.

† The Mahābhārata Ādiparvan, (3), simply says स (जनमेजयः) तस्मिन्सत्रे समाप्ते हस्तिनापुरं प्रत्येत्य पुरोहितमनुरूपमन्विच्छमानः परं यत्नमकरोद् यो मे पापकृत्यां शमयेदिति ॥ The Kathākalpataru (A big work in Marāthi, in the Ovi containing about 40000 Ovis, by one Madhukara, date 1610 A. D.) gives very full and amazing details about Janamejaya's Brahmahatyā.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa tradition, says Mookerjee, is older than that of the Śatapatha or the Bṛhadāraṇyaka. He also quotes Keith. " The time of the Aitareya is that of Bharatas of Madhyadeśa, the time when the fame of Janamejaya was at its height. "

This statement by itself may equally well apply to both the Janamejayas.

(1) The Atharvaveda (XX. 127. 7-10) refers to the Kuru kingdom under Janamejaya as very prosperous.

This applies equally well to both the Janamejayas.

(2) The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII-27) refers to Janamejaya's hostility to the Kaśyapa Brāhmaṇas and it (VII-34) describes him as a great king like Āditya in prosperity. This description corroborates what is described in detail about the Junior Janamejaya in the Purāṇas.

(3) The Aitareyabrāhmaṇa (VIII-21) refers Janamejaya's Aindramahābhiṣeka under Tura Kāvaṣeya and mentions Āsandivant as his capital.

This may apply to the Senior Janamejaya for Āsandivant is not mentioned as the capital of the Junior Janamejaya in the Mahābhārata or the Purāṇas. It must be remembered, however, that no mention is made any where in the Purāṇa literature of any Aśvamedha sacrifice by the Senior Janamejaya. Such a fact undoubtedly deserved notice. The Mahābhārata (Ādiparvan, 90-11) describes one Janamejaya son of Puru, the remotest ancestor of the Kauravas, in a very brief way, but does not fail to record the fact of his having performed three Aśvamedhas (पुरोर्भार्या कौसल्या नाम । तस्यामस्य जज्ञे जनमेजयो नाम । यस्त्रीनश्वमेधानाजहार विश्वजिता चेष्ट्वा वनं प्रविवेश)

On the other hand, Purāṇic tradition definitely mentions the two Aśvamedhas of the Junior Janamejaya. If some credence is given to the Kathākalpataru version, could Āsandīvanta be the new capital of Janamejaya on the Pipīlikā mountain ? According to the Bhāgavata, Tura Kāvaśeya was a priest at the sarpa-satra. This could not have been possible if he lived during the time of the Senior Janamejaya. We admit that different individuals, living centuries apart, might have the same names and the lists given in the Purāṇas are often suspicious (for instance, in the list of priests attending Janamejaya's सर्पसत्र, we come across the names of नारद and पर्वत, who could not possibly be the same individuals as are mentioned in the story of Hariśchandra and Śunaḥśepa in the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa); but when there is some corroborative evidence from different sources, such mention has got its own value.

As regards the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa (and also the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad), it must be remembered that the Śukla Yajurveda to which the Śatapatha belongs was first promulgated by Yāj͂avalkya after he had discarded the Yajurveda (which came to the called Krishṇa Yajurveda), which he had learnt from his teacher Vaiśampāyana, owing to a quarrel with him. Yāj͂avalkya called the new Yajurveda which he secured from Āditya (the sun) white Yajurveda. There is unanimity about this tradition. Yāj͂avlkya was also a protegee of the Junior Janamejaya who had preferred him to his former preceptor Vaiśampāyana. In spite of Vaiśampāyana's opposition, Yāj͂avalkya succeeded in getting Janamejaya perform two Aśvamedha sacrifices. With this back-ground the Śatapatha is expected to refer to the Junior Janamejaya rather than the Senior one who lived about six centuries before.

(4) The Śatapatha, like the Aitareyabrāhmaṇa, mentions the capital Āṣandivan and the great prosperity of the kingdom, with special reference to the sweet drinks and the prize-winning horses (XI-5-5-13)

The details given by the Kathákalpataru show that this description applies more properly to the Junior Janamejaya.

(5) The Śatapatha mentions an Aśvamedha sacrifice by Janamejaya under Indrota Daivāpa Saunaka to get rid of his पापकृत्त्या and ब्रह्महत्त्या. (एतेन हैन्द्रोतो दैवापः शौनको जनमेजयं पारिक्षितं याजयाञ्चकार तेने चेष्ट्वा पापकृत्यां सर्वां ब्रह्महत्यामपजघान सर्वां ह वै पापकृत्यां सर्वां ब्रह्महत्यामपहन्ति योऽश्वमेधेन यजते । 13-5-4-1)

Reference had been made before to this Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka and the reference in the Śāntiparva. It appears to us that the story about the chariot refers to the senior Janamejaya, but the Aśvamedha sacrifice under Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka refers to the Junior Janamejaya, for he and Indrota Dāivāpa Śaunaka can be shown to be contemporaries. The Śatapatha (XIII-5-3-5-6) definitely says that the two were contemporaris नानैव चरेयु रितीन्द्रोतः शौनकः । अथ होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः । सकृदेव प्राजापत्याभिः चरेयुः ।

Mr. Kolangade, also proves indirectly the same point thus :— The Śatapatha (XI-6-2-2) says जनको ह वै वैदेहो ब्राह्मणादिभिः समाजगाम श्वेतकेतुनारुणेयेन सोमशुष्मेण सात्ययाज्ञना याज्ञवल्क्येन तान्होवाच कथमग्निहोत्रं जुहोति । The वंशपरंपरा given in the Śatapatha is इंद्रोत, दैवाप, दृतिपुलूष, सत्यज्ञ, सोमशुष्य also about तुरकावषेय as कुश्रि, उपवेशि, अरुण, उद्दालक, याज्ञवल्क्य.

This shows that Indrota Daivāpa must have been a very old man when he officiated for Janamejaya, but so also व्यास and वैशंपायन who were living at the time of Janamejaya In the same way उद्दालक, श्वेतकेतु, देवल and कहोड, who figure as important persongcs in the Śatapatha could have very well acted as the priests at the सर्पसत्र as is described in the Mahābhārata. At any rate इंद्रोत दैवाप शौनक could not have possibly lived during the time of the Senior Janamejaya. To get rid of the difficulty it is possible to suggest that an ancestor of इंद्रोत दैवाप bearing the same name might have been a contemporary of the Senior Janamejaya, but in the face of the direct and indirect evidence mentioned, the balance is undoubtedly in favour of इंद्रोत दैवाप being a contemporary of the Junior Janamejaya.

We now pass on to the evidence in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka (III-3). As this is a very important piece of evidence, we shall quote Prof. Mookerjee's view on this point and make our comments on them in detail.

Prof. Mookerjee says :— The Bṛhadāraṇyak-opaniṣad (III-3) has the following question :

> 'Whither have the Parikṣitas gone ? ' and also the reply :
> " Thither, where Aśvamedha sacrificers go. "

This reference shows, according to Prof. Mookerjee, that — (1) The Parikṣitas had already become a part of history and a vanished glory by the time of this Upaniṣad. (2) They must have committed some grievous sins leading to their extinction. (3) They performed Aśvamedha sacrifices to atone for their sins, but in vain; and that (4) these particular Parikṣitas, by their performance of horse sacrifice, are to be distinguished from the Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata who was known for his snake-sacrifice.

In order to understaned thoroughly the implications involved in the above, we quote below the full passage in the original. अथ हैनं भुज्युर्लाह्यायनिः पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्येति होवाच । मद्रेषु चरकाः पर्यव्रजाम । ते पतञ्चलस्य काप्यस्य गृहानैम । तस्यासीद् दुहिता गन्धर्वगृहीता । तमपृच्छाम कोऽसीति । सोऽब्रवीत्सुधन्वाङ्गिरस इति । तं यदा लोकानामन्तानपृच्छामाथैनमब्रूम क्व पारिक्षिता अभवन्निति । क्व पारिक्षिता अभवन् स त्वा पृच्छामि याज्ञवल्क्य क्व पारिक्षिता अभवन्निति ।

Bhujya Lāhyāyanī and his colleagues were wandering about as Carakas and in course of their peregrinations happened to reach the Madra (North Punjab) where they came to the house of Patañcala Kāpya, whose daughter was credited with the possession of supernatural power, having been possessed by a spirit Gandharva Sudhanvan Angirasa by name. (Just as one might now be consulting a planchet or a proved ' medium ' for information about the departed). Bhujyua asked where the sons of Parikṣita Janamejaya and others had gone.

The Gandharva gave the answer (which Bhujyu regards as authoritative, for the spirit apparently was not a bogus one) and wants to find out by asking the same question to Yājñyavalkya at the assembly conveyed by Janaka to find out whether Yājñyavalkya who was very proud of his scholarship could give the right answer. (Bhujya hoped that Yājñavalkya would not be able to give the correct answer). Now this passage, taken at its face value, does not mean much, but if we look at the back-ground (which can be known from the details furnished by the Purāṇas) of this question by Bhujyu, the passage becomes very important and informative. This passage is a typical instance where the warning given in the following familiar couplet — इतिहास–पुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपवृंहयेत् । विभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति can be illustrated.

One is sure to misinterpret the present passage if the evidence of इतिहास and पुराण is not taken into account, and this is exactly what Prof. Mookerjee has done.

The Vāyupurāṇa (Adhyaya 61) gives all the necessary details as regards the origin of the antagonism between Yājñavalkya and Vaiśampāyana. The Brāhmaṇa sages had once decided to meet on the Meru mountain within a certain period. Vaiśampāyana failed to keep the appointment and became liable for a ब्रह्महत्या (he happened to accidentally trample upon his sister's child). As alread agreed to, Vaiśampāyana requested his pupils to go about wandering on the earth to expiate his son. Yājñyavalkya replied that he alone would expiate for the sin and the other pupils need not bother themselves about it. Vaiśampāyana took this as an insult, asked Yājñavalkya to return to him the Veda (Yajus) vidya taught to him. Yājñavalkya did so and secured the white Yajurveda from Āditya. Thus started the feud between the preceptor and the pupil Janamejaya transferred his patronage from Vaiśampāyana to Yājnavalkya and though Janamejaya succeeded in performing Aśvamedha sacrifices with the help of Yājñavalkya, Vaiśampāyana and his admirers made it too hot for him and he had to abdicate the throne in favour of his son Śatānīka. Now, Bhujyu Lābyāyani was a Caraka, that is, one of those pupils who stood loyally by Vaiśampāyana and took the vow of wandering all over to expiate the sin of ब्रह्महत्या incurred by their preceptor (ब्रह्महत्या तु यैश्चीर्णा चरणाच्चरकाः स्मृताः । वैशंपायनशिष्यास्ते चरकाः समुदाहृताः ॥) He was also an antagonist of Yājñavalkya. He presumably had been wandering about for several years, away from his head–quarters. In the meanwhile the Pārikṣitas had performed the Aśvamedha sacrifices and had expired. Bhujyu who had heard of the death of the Pārikṣitas in the far off Madra country, was naturally curious to find how the Pārikṣitas had fared without the support of his preceptor Vaiśampāyana. He therefore asked the question क्व पारिक्षिता to the Gandharva. Yājñavalkya by his answer conveyed to Bhujyu the information. The Pārikṣitas, inspite of the opposition of Vaiśampāyana, did succeed in performing the Aśvamedha sacrifices as planned, and went to the worlds reserved for the performers of Aśvamedha.

This undoubtedly is the correct implication of the question and answer in the Bhujyu story.

Prof. Mookerjee sees here a reference to the Pārikṣitas who had lived about six hundred years before Bhujyu's time and had been responsible for some grievous sins which they tried to expiate in vain, and ultimately became extinct. There is hardly any argument in support of this calculation. In the first place the use of अभवन् (imperfect tense) in the question, क्व पारिक्षिता अभवन्, clearly shows that the death of the Pārikṣitas was a recent event which, it would have been possible for Bhujyu to witness personally (the imperfect is used to describe a recent event which has happened in the past, but which could have been witnessed by the speaker). The question does not point out to the extinction of the Pārikṣitas, but to the feud between Yājñavalkya and Vaiśampāyana.

It is thus clear that Janamejaya Junior was the patron of Yājñavalkya who was the author of the Śukla Yajurveda and most dominating personality in the Śatapatha and the Bṛhadāranyaka.

Prof. Mookerjee also is unnecessarily cautious in regarding 2000 B. C. as the date of the Śatapatha and Aitareya Brāhmaṇas. The date 1400 B. C. accepted by Prof. Mookerjee for the Mahābhārata war cannot stand, and every thing points out to the view that the traditional date 3000 B. C. for the Mahābhārata war may after all be the correct one.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Thirteenth Session, at Nagpur October 1946.

(IRANIAN SECTION)

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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IMPORTANCE OF NON-ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURES FOR THE STUDY OF PAHLAVI

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By **Dastur Dr. Hormazdiar Mirza, M.A. (Bom.); Ph.D. (Lond.), High Priest of the Parsis, Udvada.**

Delegates, Members, and Friends,

I take this opportnuity, at the very outset, to thank the authorities of the Conference for the honour they have done me by appointing me President of the Iranian Section of the XIII Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, and also to thank you, Friends, for your very kind co-operation.

As President of the Iranian Section, I have to address you on 'Importance of the Non-Zoroastrian Literatures for the Study of Pahlavi'. This subject was very kindly suggested to me by my learned friend, Dr. J. M. Unvala. But before I come to the subject proper of my Address, I have to make some general observations in connection with the Iranian Studies.

SAD LOSS TO THE IRANIAN STUDIES

Since we met last in Conference at Benaras in 1943, Iranian Studies have suffered great loss by the sad and untimely deaths of Professor Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, M.A., and Professor Sohrab Jamsedji Bulsara, M.A, who passed away on the 25th November 1944 and on the 20th May 1945, respectively.

Both these eminent Iranists of great erudition have rendered invaluable and selfless services to the Iranian Studies. Both were professors of Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian in Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy Madresa, and the Mulla Firoze Madresa, Bombay. Prof. Anklesaria was also the Principal of both the Madresas; and Prof. Bulsara was the Principal of the M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, Andheri, Bombay. They were members of this Conference since its inception in 1919; and had graced the Presidential Chair of this Section.

Prof. Anklesaria was appointed President of the Iranian Section of the Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Mysore in December 1935. The valuable work done by Prof. Anklesaria in connection with the important and unique Iranian manuscripts of the Pahlavi texts, a cherished heritage from his illustrious father, will ever remain a fitting memorial to the selfless and devoted services, rendered by him for the advancement of Iranian Studies.

Prof. Bulsara was appointed President of the Iranian Section of the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Trivandrum in December 1937. Among Prof. Bulsara's improtant works in the field of Iranian Studies may be mentioned the monumental translations of two of the most difficult Pahlavi texts, namely *Ēhrpatistān and Nērangistān* and *the Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān.*

Both these great Iranists—Prof. Anklesaria and Prof. Bulsara—had deep and unflinching love, and unflagging zeal for things Iranian in general, and Zoroastrian in particular. With great devotion to duty, they had dedicated their lives for the cause of advancement of learning, and of the Iranian Studies. The Parsi community will ever remain indebted to them for their selfless and devoted services to the community, to the religion and to the literature.

It is a well-known and regrettable fact that some of the important works of both these scholars still remain unpublished, we hope these will be published as soon as possible, which publications will, indeed, be a tribute to their revered memory and selfless services, rendered by them.

PARSI SCHOLARSHIP

We know that the father and the founder of the Iranian scholarship in India was the great Iranist, the late Mr. K. R. Cama. His disciples have done excellent work in the field of Iranian research. The disciples of the disciples of Mr. Cama, in their turn, have excellently served, and are still serving, the Iranian literature. But the apathy and lethargic attitude of the Parsi community towards these scholars and their scholarly works is deplorable. Little encouragement has been given by our community to our learned scholars. Leaving aside the question of maintenance and labour, our scholars often find it difficult to get their works printed and published. It must, of course, be noted with gratitude that good work in this respect has been done, and is being done, by the honoured Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat, and the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. But much more remains to be done.

For their maintenance, the Parsi scholars have to devote most of their time and energy to the activities other then Iranian. In India, an Iranian scholar has to work somewhere for his livelihood, he has to do some job, or as a teacher he has to teach High School subjects, not connected directly or indirectly with Iranian studies. Such circumstances are unknown in Europe. The Iranian studies in India, therefore, have naturally been, and are being, handicapped. It is worthwhile to recall in this connection the words of the great Iranist, Professor Christian Bartholomae, who very rightly says; 'The fact is that no research can flourish along with material cares; and material troubles of every kind are nowadays more pressing than ever'. Taking these extremely adverse circumstances into account, we can say all the more emphatically that the Parsi scholarship has done glorious work in the field of Iranian studies.

It is a matter of regret that we Parsis do not run a single institution for the Iranian research work, not to speak of an institution on the lines of the European seminaries. We hope the Parsi community will take up this question as soon as possible.

The learned Preface to *Iranian Bibliography* (unpublished) by Dr. J. M. Unvala shows the excellent work in the field of Iranian studies done by the European, American, and Parsi scholars. The excerpts from this Perface have been published by Dr. Unvala in his article on 'A Survey of Work done in India and Outside During the Last Twenty-five Years in the Field of Iranian Studies,' in *Progress of Indic Studies 1917-1942*, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Silver Jubilee, Poona 1942. In this connection also I refer to Dr. Unvala's learned Presidential Address on 'Wide Scope Of Iranian Studies' to the Iranian Section of the XII Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Benaras in December 1943.

IMPORTANCE OF NON-ZOROASTRIAN LITERATURES FOR THE STUDY OF PAHLAVI

INTRODUCTORY

The Pahlavi[1] language was the official language of the Parthians (250 B. C.—226 A. C.), and during the Sasanian period the same language, with dialectical differences, was the offical language of the Persians and also the church language of the Zoroastrians. The Phl. language flourished as the church language of the Zoroastrians even after the downfall of the Sasanian empire, upto the ninth century A. C. Most of the extant Phl. works were either composed or edited in the ninth century. In this way, the Phl. language flourished as the important language of Iran, and played a prominent part in the national life of the Iranians for a very long period of about 12 centuries. Similarly, it occuied a pre-eminent position as the religious language of the Zoroastrians of Iran for a long period of at least seven centuries.

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[1] On the origin of the term *pahlavi*, *pahlavīk* from *pahlava-*. *parθava-*, see E. Wilhelm, 'Die Parther', *Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies*, Strassburg 1901, translated by R. Sanjana, 'The Parthians', *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1918; E. Blochet, *Études de Grammaire Pehlvie*, Paris, pp. 6 seq.

EARLY PAHLAVI WRITINGS AND THE EXTANT PAHLAVI LITERATURE

According to West[1], the earliest traces of the Phl. writings may be found in the legends on the so-called Abd-Zohr coins, the coins of Abd-Zohr, a satrap in Cilicia[2] under the Achaemenides. As to the Abd-Zohr coins, Haug (*op. cit.* p. 133) observes that for numismatical reasons, they 'cannot be later than the latter part of the Achaemenian rule; ....and they may even go back to the fifth century B.C.'

On the authorty of M. Levy, Haug gives an account of the Parthian and the so-called sub-Parthian coins with Phl. legends. The sub-Parthian coins are 'the coins of local dynasties which existed and ruled in the East, under the shadow of the Arsacidan empire' (Haug, *ibid* p. 30).

There are numerous Sasanian coins, seals and gems[3] with Phl. legends; and the Phl. inscriptions[4] of the Sasanian period. There are also post-Sasanian coins of the Arab governors of Iran, and also the post-Sasanian coins of Ṭabaristān[5], bearing Phl. legends. Moreover, a silver dish with a Phl. inscription has been discovered in the Ural hills. We have two more similar silver dishes with Phl. inscriptions. These dishes, presumably of late Sasanian or early post-Sasanian period, are described, and the inscriptions published, by F. Rosenberg in his paper in Russian, a brief account of which is given by W. Ivanow in his article on 'Two Silver Dishes of Sasanian Times' in *the Journal af the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, No. 22, Bombay 1932.

Again, we have a number of coins with Phl. legends belonging to the Hephthalites, who had become north-eastern neighbours of the Sasanian Empire in the 5th century A.C. The Hephthalite coins with various legends in various scripts have been published by A. Cunningham[6]. The

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[1] *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, II. 3, p 75.

[2] Old Pers. *karkā*, according to Haug, *Essay on the Pahlavi Language*, p. 135, occuring in the Nakš ī Rustam inscription 3, see Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 45, 46, 82; Bartholomae. *Altir. Wörterbuch*, 452.

[3] F. D. J. Paruck, *Sasanian Coins*, Bombay 1924; Paul Horn. 'Some Inscriptions on Sasanian Gems' *Avesta, Pahlvi and Ancient Persian Studies*, pp. 224-230.

[4] E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli, Monuments and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sasanian Empire*, 2 Vols. Berlin 1924; M. Sprengling, 'A New Pahlvi Inscription', *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Vol. 53. No 2; 'Zur Parsik-Inschrift an der "Kaaba des Zoroaster", ZDMG, Vol. 91. No. 3. with a photograph of the inscription to face page 664; W. Henning, 'The Great Inscription of Sāpūr I', BSOS, Vol. 9 Part 4.

[5] J. Unvala, *Coins of Ṭabaristān and Some Sasanian Coins from Susa*, Paris 1938.

[6] A. Cunningham, 'Later Indo-Scythians' *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1894.

Hephthalite coins with Phl. legends have been published and commented upon by J. M. Unvala[1]. These coins, according to Unvala, belong to the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries; and either they bear Phl. legends in Phl. script or they are bilingual, bearing Indian legends in Brahmi script and Phl. legends in Phl. script, or they are trilingual, having Indian, Phl. and Hephthalite legends in Brahmi, Phl. and Greek scripts respectively, or they bear Phl., Hephthalite and Arabic legends in their respective scripts[2].

Besides these coins and inscriptions, we have a specimen of early Phl. writing in the Phl. document from Avroman[3], probably written in the 1st century B.C., now preserved in the British Museum, London. Among the numerous mss. of Turfan Phl. texts, we have one fragment written in Phl. script. This is a fragment of a Palavi Frahang, now preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, a photograph of which has been published by K. Barr in BSOS., Vol. 8, parts 2-3, Plate III. We have also the fragments of a Phl. ms. on papyrus, written probably in the 8th century A.C. and discovered in the Fayum district in Egypt.[4]

Among the early specimens of Phl. writings may also be mentioned the following Phl. inscriptions found on the east and the west coasts of India:

(1) The Phl. inscription on the Christian cross of the Mount Church of St. Thomas Mount near Madras.[5]

(2) The Phl. inscription on the Christian cross of the Valyapalli Church of Kottayam in Travancore.[6]

(3) The ten signatures with attestations, in Phl. script, on a copper plate grant to the Syrian Christian church in Malabar, Southern India.[7]

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[1] J. Unvala, 'Hephthalite Coins with Pahlavi Legends'. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. 4. Part 1.

[2] In 1941, four gold coins of Kushān king Sita, belonging to the 4th century A.C., and bearing the Brahmi and also presumably Phl. legends were dicovered. It is not quite certain whether one of the legends is really Phl. and in Phl. script. The supposed Phl. legend has not yet been satisfactorily deciphered. See R. B. Dikhshit, 'New Coins of Sita', with the opinions of F. D. J. Paruck, and J. M. Unvala on the subject, in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1944.

[3] See Cowley, JRAS. 1919, pp. 147-154; J. Unvala, BSOS., Vol. 1. Part 4, pp. 125-144; H. Nyberg, MO. Vol. 17, pp. 182-230; E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 83.

[4] West, *Grund. der iran. Phil.* II. 3, p. 79.

[5] J. J. Modi, ઇરાની વિષયો, ભાગ 3 Bombay 1902, pp. 193-196

[6] D. Sanjana, 'The Pahlavi Inscription on the Mount Cross in Southern India', *Sir, J. J. Madressa Jubilee Volume*, Bombay 1919, pp. 193-198.

[7] Haug, *Essay on Phl.*, pp. 80-81; West, *Grund. der iran. Phil.* II. 3, p. 79.

(These inscriptions are undated. West and Haug conjecture that these might have been inscribed in the ninth century A.C.)

(4-6) Three Phl. inscriptions, dated 10th October 1009, 24th November 1009, and 30th October 1021, in the Buddhist Kanheri caves in Salsette near Bombay. These inscriptions contain names with dates (in Yazdagardi era) of some Parsis who visited the caves in the 11th century.[1]

The most important and most extensive part of the extant Pahlavi literature is the theological, historical, legal and traditional writings, in the Pahlavi languge, of the Zoroastrians, generally known as the Book-Pahlavi literature, mostly composed or edited, as stated at the outset, in the 9th century A. C , a general account of which has been given by West, 'Pahlavi Literature', *Grund. der iran. Phil.* II. 3, pp. 75-122.

OLD AND MIDDLE IRANIAN LANGUAGES.

The extant literatures written in various Iranian languages and in various scripts distinctly belong to three linguistic periods : (1) Old Iranian — from earliest times upto the 4th century B. C. ; (2) Middle Iranian — from the 4th century B. C. upto the 7th century A. C. ; (3) Modern Iranian — from the 7th century A. C. upto the present times.

The central deserts divide the plateau of Iran into two parts : Eastern Iran and Western Iran. This physical division of Iran has effected the liguistic development, and in all periods of linguistic history, the Iranian languages were divided into two distinct groups : (1) East Iranian languages, and (2) West Iranian languages.

OLD IRANIAN LANGUAGES

The Avesta literature and the Old Persian inscriptions of the Achaemenian emperors have preserved two of the Old Iranian languages. The Av. language belongs to the East Iranian guoup[2], and the language of the OP inscriptions, to the West Iranian group of languages. The provinces of Media, Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana and Scythia are mentioned in the Av. literature, or in the OP. inscriptions, or in both; and they were known in the late Old Iranian period. But no traces of the languages spoken by the people of these and other provinces in the Old Iranian period have been found. As to the language of Media in the Old Iranian period, various theories have been hazarded, as noted by E. Brown.[1] In connection therewith, Brown himself says that 'all this is mere conjecture, which at best can only be regarded as plausible hypothesis' (Brown, p 28). In this connection we can say only in general terms, as done by Nöldeke, and Brown (p. 22), that 'the Mede were speaking an Iranian language closely akin to Old Persian'. Herodotus records that in the language of the Medes the dog was called *spaka* which word corresponds to Av. *span-* and Skt. *švan-*. It appears that the words connected with this Median word *spaka* have been presesved in Modern Iranian dialects, *e.g.* Ormuri gives *spuk* for 'dog', and Parīci *espaγ*. Pašto has *spai*: see G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pasto*, Oslo 1927, p. 67, s.v. *spai*.

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[1] Haug, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-80; West, *op. cit.*

[2] So W. Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, tr. by D. Sanjana, Vol. 2, pp. 88-111. Spiegel and Harlez (quoted by Geiger, Sanjana, pp. 86 seq.), on the other hand, believe that the Av. language belongs to West Iran. So also Darmesteter, who says that the language of the Avesta is the language of Media (*Études Iraniennes*, Paris 1883, Vol. 1, pp. 12-13). But the close affinity of the Avestan language with newly discovered Middle Sogdian shows the East Iranian origin of the Avestan language.

MIDDLE IRANIAN LANGUAGES.

Of the Middle Iranian languages, only Middle Persian, called Pahlavi was known upto the end of the last century. In the first decade of this century, an epoch-making discovery was made, when a great number of mss. written in varius Middle Iranian languages and in a variety of scripts were discovered at Turfan in Chinese Turkestan, Central Asia. The Middle Iranian languages known to exist at persent are: (1) Middle Persian, including Zoroastrian Phl. and Turfan Phl.; (2) Middle Parthian: (3) Middle Sogdian; and (4) Middle Saka. These Middle Iranian languages have been preserved in (1) Parthian and Sasanian coin-legends; (2) Phl. inscriptions; (3) Zoroastrian Phl. literature; (4) Middle Persian Turfan texts including Manichaean Middle Persian texts and the Middle Persian version of the Syrian Christian Psalm Book; (5) Middle Sogdian texts—Manichaean, Christian, and Buddhist; (6) Khotanese- Saka texts—Buddhist.

We have at our disposal some scanty sources which give us a peep into the language of the Chorasmians in the Middle Iranian period.

RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PAHLAVI LITERATURE TO THE ZOROASTRIANS

The Avestan literature is undoubtedly the best and most reliable authority on the religion of Zarathushtra; and it is very rightly regarded as the most sacred writings of the Zoroastrians. But the extant Av. scripture is but a small portion of the ancient Avestan literature. West[2] has given an estimate of the total extent of the 21 Avestan Nasks of the Sasanian times; and according to the computations of D. Sanjana[3] the extant Av. literature is only a fifth portion of the Av. literaure that was in existence in the Sasanian period[1]. A considerable portion, therefore, of the ancient Av. literature has been destroyed by the ravages of time. But, before a major portion of the Av. Nasks was irretrievably lost, the Av. Nasks were translated into Phl. and commentaries were added in the Sasanian period. Twenty of the Av. Nasks and the Phl. versions of the 19 Nasks were in existence upto the 9th century A. C. and they were accessible to the author (or authors) of the Phl. Dēnkart, who has (or have) given a succint account, in the form of synopsis, of the contents of the 19 Nasks in the 8th and the 9th Books of the Dēnkart. A major portion of these Av. Nasks and their Phl. versions too has since then been lost to us. This account of the contents of 21 Nasks, given in the Dēnkart, therefore, is one of the important and authentic sources of some valuable glimpses into the lost Av. Nasks and their. Phl. versions.

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[1] *Literary History of Persia*, London 1902, Vol. 1, pp. 22 seq..

[2] SBE, Vol. 37, pp. xlix seq.

[3] *Dīnkart*, Vol. 17, pp. viii-ix.

Moreover, it is a well-established fact that some of the important Phl. works now extant, are compiled from the Phl. versions of the Av. Nasks. The Av.-Phl. text of the Nērangistān and Ēhrpatistān is regarded as a portion of the Huspāram Nask. The Phl. Bundahišn appears to have been based on the Av. Dāmdāt Nask; and the account of the life of Zarathushtra, as given in the 7th Book of the Dēnkart, might have its source in the ancient Av. Spend Nask.

West[2] divides the extant Phl. works into three classes: (1) Phl. translations of the Av. texts; (2) Phl. texts on religious subjects; and (3) Phl. texts on non-religious subjects. Out of the total number of 93 Phl. texts, examined and described by West, 82 belong to the former two classes; while only 11 to the third. This shows that a major portion of the extant Phl. literature appertains to the Zoroastrian religion. Again, the Phl. texts on non-religious subjects also include Phl. works of legal and historical importance to the Zoroastrians, *e. g.* the *Mātikān i Hazār Dātistān* is a monumental work on Sasanian laws; and *Kārnāmak i Artaxšīr ī Pāpakān*, *Yātkār i Zarērān*, and *Sahrīhā i Ērān* are the Phl. works of great historical importance.

These facts explain religious and historical importance of the Phl. literature to the Zoroastrians.

DIFFICULT NATURE OF THE PAHLAVI STUDIES

Haug remarks at the very outset in his Essay on Pahlavi: 'The Pahlavi language is one of the most enigmatical languages known to have existed'. Really speaking it is not the Pahlavi language that is enigmatic;

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[1] On the persent Avesta and the Avesta under the Sasanides, see also Geldner, *Grundriss der iran. Phil.* II. 1, pp. 17 seq.

[2] *Grundriss der iran. Phil.* II. 3, p. 81.

but the following factors give an appearance of an enigma to the Phl. language:

(1) Ambiguous Phl. script.

(2) Curious *huzvārišn* system of writing.

(3). Carelessness and ignorance of the scribes, who copied the Phl. mss.

In the Phl. script, there are only 12 primary letters to represent numerous Middle Persian sounds in the written and the spoken language, and also Semitic sounds in the written language. Most of the Phl. letters, therefore, are polyphonous, one letter representing more than one sound. Conversely, in some cases, particularly in cases of Semitic ideograms, one and the same sound is represented by more than one letter. It is quite natural, therefore, that a combination of polyphonous Phl. letters would present an enigma, which can possibly be read in dozens of different ways.

The curious *huzvārišn* system of writing adds to the difficulties of reading Phl. In this system, the written language is quite different from the spoken language. The word *lahmā* was used in written Phl. language only; in the spoken language it was never used, but was replaced by *nān.* Similarly, the term *malkān malkā* is very frequently used in the inscriptions, and also in the Book-Phl. literature; but in the spoken language it was substituted by *šāhān šāh.*

The great Pahlaviist, Neryosang Dhaval, who transcribed Phl. texts into Pazand, and translated them into Sanskrit, refers to the Phl. writing as *viṣamapārasīkākṣara-* : 'difficult Pārsīk script'. It is quite evident that when he says this he refers to both the ambiguous Phl. script and also the *ḥuzvārišn* system of writing. These two factors are primarily reponsible for the difficult nature of the Phl. language.

The confusion is worse confounded by the ignorance and carelessness of the scribes, who copied the Phl. mss. Ervad T. D. Anklesaria[1] has very ably pointed out that innumerable mistakes have been committed by the scribes on account of various reasons, *e. g.* (1) misplacement of letters; (2) omission of words; (3) one word split into two or more words; (4) two words joined together and read as one; and many other reasons.

None of the above factors is applicable to the Manichaean Turfan Phl. texts. These texts, therefore, are not as difficult, much less enigmatic as the Zoroastrian Phl. texts, though they are written in practically the same language.

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[1] 'Difficulties of Deciphering Pahlavi', *K. R. Cama Memorial Volume*; Bombay 1900, pp. 287-322.

One more important factor is responsible for the difficult nature of the Phl. studies; and that is defective mss. — due to dislocation, distortion and misplacement of the folios. In the important Phl. text of the *Mātīkān ī Hazār Dātistān*, several folios are missing and severel folios are misplaced at various points, and it is difficult to arrange them in their proper order. The case of the *Nērangistān and Ēhrpatistān* is even worse. There are two independent mss. of this important Av.-Phl. text; they both mutually correct each other; but both are defective, and show signs of distortion and misplacement of folios.

AIDS TO THE STUDY OF PAHLAVI

As explained above, Phl. is one of the Middle Iranian languages. It is derived from the language of the OP. inscriptions; and Modern Persian is its direct descendant. The importance of the Av., OP., and Mod. Pers. languages, and Zoroastrian literatures written in these languages, as an aid to the study of Phl., is, therefore, self-evident. But on account of peculiar composition and circumstances of the Phl. language and literature, the study of other Middle Iranian languages (mentioned above), Semitic languages (particularly Aramaic, Syriac and Arabic), and also Armenian, and the non-Zoroastrian literatures written in these languages, is of paramount importance for proper elucidation and interpretation of the Zoroastrian Phl. texts. This has been explained in the pages that follow.

SEMITIC (ARAMAIC) ELEMENTS IN PAHLAVI

In the Median and the Achaemenian periods, the Aramaic, the ancient language of Mesopotamia, Syria, and the adjacent countries, and of the Old Testament and the Talmud, was widely spread in Western Asia. In these periods, the Iranians, particularly the West Iranians — the Persians, the Parthians, and the Medians, had come in close contact with the Semitic people, speaking various dialects of the Aramaic language. In pre-Median days, the provinces of Western Iran were under domination of the Assyrian people. Semitic countries of Babylonia, Susiana, and Assyria were under the rule of the Achaemenian emperors. The history of the early contact of the Jews with the Persians, in pre-exilic and post-exilic periods is well-known[1]. It is also a well-known fact that during this period of close contact, the Jews had borrowed many ideas from the ancient Persians. Similarly, there were mutual borrowing of words by both these nations. We, therefore, find Aramaic words employed in Phl.; and reciprocally, many words of Iranian origin were used as loan-words in Aramaic.

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[1] J. J. Modi, *King Solomon's Temple and the Ancient Persians*, Bombay 1908; J. Scheftelowitz, *Die altpersische Religion und das Judentum*, Giessen 1920.

The substantives, adjectives, verbs, pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, and particles of Aramaic origin are employed in Phl. The Aramaic language, therefore, is an important aid to the study of the Phl. language and literature.

It is difficult to determine the period during which the Semitic elements were introduced into Phl. But we find Semitic elements in the earliest specimen of Phl. writing, namely, legends on the Abd-zohr coins of the Achaemenian period, as noted above. According to Haug, *Essay on Phl.*, pp. 136 seq., the Semitic elements found in Phl. might have been borrowed during the Assyrian domination of Iran in pre-Median days.

ON THE NATURE OF THE SEMITIC ELEMENTS IN PAHLAVI

The bilingual Phl. inscriptions of the Sasanian period clearly show that there were two systems of writing and speaking Phl.—one Arsacidan or Parthian, and the other Sasanian. The languages employed in the two versions of these inscriptions are but two dialcts of Phl., namely, Arsacidan or Parthian, also called North-Western or Northern dialect; and Sasanian, also called South-Western or Southern dialect. It is now a well-established fact that in both these systems of Phl. the Semitic words were employed merely as ideograms. They were used only in the written language, and they were never pronounced; but in the spoken language they were replaced by their Iranian equivalents. This system is generally known as the *Huzvārišn*[1] system of writing. This *huzvārišn* system of writing was probably invented in the Achaemenian period; and it was in vogue in the Arsacidan and the Sasanian periods, and also in the post-Sasanian period upto the end of the 9th century among the Zoroastrians. Though, this *huzvārišn* system of writing was employed in both the dialects. N-W. as well as S.-W., there was naturally a dialectical difference between the Arsacidan system of writing and speaking Phl. on one hand, and the Sasanian system of writing and speaking Phl. on the other.

We have important testimony of the Middle Parthian texts, written in N-W. dialect and in pure Iranian language, discovered at Turfan, to show that during the Sasanian period in the Arsacidan or N-W. dialect the Semitic words were replaced by their Iranian equivalents.

As to the S-W. dialect in the Sasanian and post-Sasanian periods, we have undoubted testimonies of the Manichaean Middle Persian Turfan texts, Sasanian Phl. Frahang, the shorter and the longer versions of the Bundahišn and the Pazand texts to prove the ideogrammatical character of the Semitic words.

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[1] On this term see B. N. Dhabhār, 'Uzvārišn'. *D. J. Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, pp. 146-152.

We have equally important testimony of the Middle Sogdian texts, which are written in pure Iranian language, with the exception of a few ideograms, which occur only in the texts written in the Sogdian script of Aramaic origin, namely, CWRH, RBk, ZK, ZKZY, ZNH all occurring in the Buddhist Sogdian texts. Besides CWRH, we have its Iranian equivalent in Budd. Sogd. *xr'yw*, Mani. and Chr. Sodg. *γryw*, which exactly correspond to Bk-Phl. CWLH: *glyw*, *grīv* (Av. *grīvā-*), see Junker, *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, X. 7. This fact, as pointed out by W. Lentz. shows the ideogrammatical character of the Semitic words; see F. Müller and W. Lentz, *Soghdische Texte*, II, Einleitung, p. 10.

E. Blochet[1] quotes Ammien Marcellin (Ammianus Marcellinus), a Latin writer of the 4th century, who, accroding to Blochet, in his *Histoire* XIX, 2, notes that the soldiers of Šāhpūr (310-379 A. C.) applied to their Emperor the title of *saan-san*, meaning 'king ruling over kings'. This *saan-san* is evidently Phl. *šāhān-šāh*. Blochet argues that nowhere in the Sasanian records do we find this word; but its Semitic equivalent *malkān malkā* occurs always in its stead in the Sasanian writings and inscriptions. From this one can conclude that in the time of Ammianus (4th century) the Persians used to write *malkān malkā* and pronounce *šāhān šāh*.

We have further testimony, in unequivocal terms, of the famous Arabic writer Ibn Muqaffa, who lived in the 8th century, and whose statement on *zavāriš* (*huzvšrišn*) system of writing has been quoted by Muḥammad ibn Ishāq in his Kitāb al-Fihrist. This statement records that the Persians possess a system of writing in which if a person intends to write *nān* he writes *lahmā* and reads *nān*; if one intends to write *gōšt*, one writes *basrā* and reads *gōšt*. See Haug, *Essay on Phl.*, pp. 37 seq.; Blochet *Étude de Grammaire. Pehlvie*, pp. 10 seq.

The Semitic words employed in Phl. as ideograms have been explained by Blochet, *op, cit.*; H. Nyberg, 'The Pahlavi Documents from Avroman', MO., Vol, 17 (1923); E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, pp. 52 seq.; Uto Melzer, 'Die aramäischen Zeitwörter in Mittelpersischen', WZKM, Vol. 32 (1925); and H. Nyberg, *Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi*, II, Uppasala 1931.

PAHLAVI WORDS IN ARAMAIC AND SYRIAC

As said above, there was mutul borrowing of words by the Iranians and the Semitic people in ancient times. Just as we have Aramaic words employed as ideograms in Phl., there are many words of Iranian origin used as loan-words in Aramaic and Syriac. Among the important Iranian loan-words in Arm. and Syr. may be mentioned Phl. *dastkart*: Aram. and Syr. *daskartā*, *diskartā*; Phl. *pātrōčak*: Aram. *patručā*; Phl. *uzēnak*: Aram.

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[1] E. Blochet, *Études de Grammaire Pehlvie*, Paris (1905), p. 10. See also F. D. J. Paruck *Sasanian Coins*, pp. 287 seq.

uzinkā; Phl. *sparγm, spərm*: Aram. and Syr. *sparmakā, asparmkā*; Phl. *aparzēn*: Aram. *abarzēn*; Av. *zrāδa-* , Phl. *zrēh*: Syr. *zradā*; OP. *apadāna-*: Syr. *āfaδnā;* Av. *xaoδa*, Phl. *xōδ*, *xōy*: Syr. *hōδā*; Phl phrase *gyān apaspār* is represented in Syr. as *gynapašpar*. On these and such other words, see S. Telegdi, Essai sur la phonetique des emprunts Iraniens en Araméen Talmudique. JA., Vol. 226, No. 2 (1935), Hübschmann, *Persische Stndien*. Strassburg 1895; B. Geiger, WZKM., Vol. 37, pp. 195-203; Vol. 42, pp. 114-128, Vol. 44 pp. 51-64.

PAHLAVI TRANSLATIONS OF SYRIAC TEXTS

In the Sasanian period, there were Christian churches and colonies in Persia. The Persian Christians were mostly Nestorians and Jacobites belonging to the Syrian church. It appears that the Syriac prayer books were translated into Middle Persian or Phl. for the use of the Syrian Christians residing in Persia. H. Bailey[1] quotes instances of Syriac-Pahlavi and Pahlavi-Syriac translations.

In the 5th century, the Syriac Christian Paslter (the Old Testament Book of Psalms, included in the Christian Bible) was translated into Phl. The fragments of these Phl. Paslter, containing Psalms 94-136 (in fragmentary condition), have survived the ravages of time. This, therefore, is the Phl. translation of the text written in Syriac and Aramaic languages. Andreas and Barr have published these fragments of the Phl. Psalter with its corresponding Syriac text in *Bruchstücke einer Pehlevi-übersetzung der Psalmen* (SPAW), Berlin 1933. These fragments and the corresponding Syriac and Aramaic texts afford an unique opportunity of a comparative study of the three ancient languages, namely, Pahlavi, Syriac, and Aramaic.

Among the Turfan mss., we have also Middle Persian, Middle Parthian, and Sogdian versions of Manichaean Book of Giants, which are Iranian versions, with adaptations of the original Syriac text; see W. Henning, BSOS Vol., 11. Part 1 (1943), pp. 52-74.

ARMENIAN LANGUAGE

Being a neighbouring country, Armenia was in contact with Iran from very ancient times. Darius mentions Armenia as one of the satrapies of his mighty empire. During all periods of West Iranian history, the Armenians were in touch with Iranians in one way or the other. On account of this close association, the Armenians had borrowed a number of Iranian words in the early Middle Iranian period, *i. e.* in the Parthian and the early Sassanian times. It is remarkable that in the Armenian languuge Aramazd (OP. Auramazdāh-, Ōhrmazd) is employed to translate the Greek word Zeus. The Armenian literature has preserved so many Iranian words that not only common Iranian words, but Zoroastrian religious terms, Iranian proper nouns, and the Iranian words for high official ranks are also found in the Armenian lIterature; *e. g.*

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[1] H. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Centuyy Books*, Oxford 1943, pp. 80 seq.

(1) Zoroastrian religious terms in Armenian:

Arm.	*den*	Phl.	*dēn*
	mazdesn		*mazdēsn, mazdayasn*
	hraškert		*fraškart*
	apastan		*ap stān*
	jatagov		*yātakgōv, jātakgōv*
	kerp		*karp*
	dev		*dēv*
	vnas		*vinās*
	patuhas		*pātfrās*

(2) Iranian proper nouns in Armenian:

Arm.	*xorox-ormizd*	Phl.	*xvarreh—ōhramzd*
	spandiat		*spandāt*
	hruden		*frēδōn, frētōn*
	vahram		*varhrān*

(3) Iranian words for official ranks in Armenian:

Arm.	*šahanšah*	: Phl.	*šahānšāh*
	vaspurakan		*vāspūhrakān*
	sparapet, aspaharpet		*spāhpat*
	andarjepet		*handarzpat*
	dehpet		*dēhpat*

(4) Common Iranian words in Armenian:

Arm.	*datastan*	: Phl.	*dātāstān*
	ašakert		*hašākart*
	patručak		*pātrōčak*
	patčēn		*pačēn, patčēn*
	xoir		*xōδ, xōy*
	bzišk		*bēšaz*

The Armenian language contains Iranian elements to such an extent that Hübschmann has devoted a special section of his book on Armenian Grammar to the Iranian loan-words in the Armenian. Moreover, unlike Semitic and Phl. scripts, in the Armenian script vowels are expressed by distinct letters. On account of these facts, Armenian language and liteature are a very reliable guide for the Phl. orthography, and Iranian linguistics. One can estimate importance of the Armenian language for the study of Iranian languages in general and Phl. in particular by a reference to the standard works on these languages, *e.g.* Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, Leipzig 1897; *Persische Studien*, Starassburg 1895; Bartholomae, *zum Altir. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1906; and Nyberg. *Hilfsbuch des Pahlevi* II, Uppasala 1931.

TURFAN TEXTS—AN INVALUABLE AID TO THE STUDY OF PAHLAVI

During all periods of Iranian history, there was cultural and political intercourse between Iran and China. During the Sasanian period, there were colonies in China of the Iranians (particularly Sogdians, Sakas and Persians), professing either Christian, or Manichaen or Buddhist religion. These Iranians might have migrated into China in the Sasanian period; and they spoke and wrote various Middle Iranian languages.

As noted above, the mss. written in these languages pertaning to these Iranian peoples and their religions, have been discovered at Turfan in Central Asia, in the beginning of this century. These mss. contain not only individual texts, but also parallel texts written in two or more Middle Iranian and other languages. These mss. are preserved in the Univesity Library of Berlin, the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the British Museum of London, and the University Library of Leningrad; and they have been published by various scholars, as noted hereafter.

The Turfan mss. are written in various scripts. The. Mid Pers. and Mid. Parth. texts are written in Estrangelo-Syriac script; Sogd. texts in Estrangelo-Syriac and Sogd. scripts; and the Saka texts are written in the Brahmi script with modifications. These scripts are far less ambiguous and far less defective than the Phl. script; and these texts are, therefore, not as difficult to read as the Phl. texts. Moreover, the writers of Turfan text in Mid. Parth. and Mid. Pers. have dropped the *huzvārišn* system of writing Phl. and with it also the Semetic ideograms. These texts, therefore, faithfully represent Sasanian pronunciation of the Mid. Pers. and Mid. Parth. words. The Turfan texts are indeed a very valuable and reliable guide, and important aid to the Iranian studies in general and Pahlvi in particular.

SOGDIAN TEXTS

The Sogdian texts have preserved an important Mid. Iranian language, spoken by the Sogdian people. 'Sogdian was by far the most important Eastern Iranian language, a language of culture, literature and commerce whose torritorry bordered on the area of Persian speech and extended towards the frontiers of China'.[1] It. appears that the Sogd. language has preserved the ancient forms more faithfully than any other Mid. Iranian language; *e.g.*

Av. or OP.	Sogd.	Mid. Parth.	Mid. Pers.
čaθwar-	*čaθwar*	*čafār*	*čahār*
dvar-	*δβar*	*bar*	*dar*

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[1] W. Henning, BSOS., Vol. 10, part I, p. 94.

Av. or OP.	Sogd.	Mid. Parth.	Mid Pers.
dva	*δva*	*dō*	*dō*
sarəδa-	*sard*	*sār*	*sāl*
martiya and taoxman	*martōxm*	*mardōhm*	*mardōhm, martōm*

As noted above, the Sogd. texts appertain to Christianity, Manichaeism, and Buddhism. Accordingly, the Sogd. texts are written in three dialects of the Sogd. language, known as (1) Christian Sogd. (2) Manichaean Sogd., and (3) Buddhist Sogd.

CHRISTIAN SOGDIAN TEXTS. Among these texts, we find fragments of the Sogd. translations of the Old and New Testaments, and the Christian apocryphal literature. These texts are published by F. W. K. Müller *Neutestamentliche Bruchstücke in soghdischer Sprache* (SPAW), Berlin 1907; *Soghdische Texte* I (APAW) Berlin 1913; by F. W. K. Müller and W. Lentz, *Soghdische Texte* II (SPAW), Berlin 1934.

MANICHAEAN SOGDIAN TEXTS. These texts contain the religious writings of Mani. Among these, we find the fragments of Manichaean prayers and confessions, under the captions: (1) Pwāzarmyā ('Invulnerability'), (2) Dēn-čihrīft ('Religious Conduct'), (3) Bayānīk Panč Parabayn ('Five Divine Gifts'), (4) Panč Δwartyā Anvijāmandī ('Collection of 5 Chapters). (5) Āfrīvan ('Prayer'). Besides these, there, are fragments of the religious texts of Manichaean worshp, liturgy, teachings and sermons. The texts have been published by F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste in Estrangeloschrift aus Turfan Chinesisch-Turkestan* I (SPAW). II (APAW), Berlin 1904; by W. Henning, *Ein Manichäisches Bet-und Beichtbuch* (APAW), Berlin 1937. Again, there are Sogd. fragments of Manichaean story-liteature, published by W. Henning, *'The Book of Giants'* and *'Sogdian Tales,'* BSOS,. Vol. 11, Parts 1 and 3.

BUDDHIST SOGDIAN TEXTS. Most of these are Sogd. versions of Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist texts. In some cases Turkish versions is also found. The fragments of these texts have been published by F. W. K. Müller, and W. Lentz, *Reste einer soghdischen Uebersetzung des Padamacintā-mani-dhārani-Sūtra* (SPAW), Berlin 1926; *Soghdische Texte* II. Berlin 1934; by R. Gauthiot, *'Une version sogdienne du Vessantara Jātaka'*, JA. 1912; by R. Gauthiot and E. Benveniste *Le Sūtra des Causes et des Effeets* I and II, Paris 1920-1928; H. Reichelt, *Die soghdischen Handschrlften-reste des Britischen Museums* I and II, Heidelberg 1928-1931.

A number of Sogd. words are used in Mod. Pers. as loanwords, a list of which has been given by W. Henning, BSOS., Vol. 10. part 1. pp. 93-106.

KHOTANESE-SAKA TEXTS.

Middle Saka (also called Khotanese) texts appertain to the Buddhist religion; and there are Saka versions of the Sanskrit Buddist texts. These Saka texts are writtan in modified Brahmi script by the Iranian Saka people, who had become Buddhists. But, as pointed out by H. Bailey[1], we find traces of Iranian traditions in their books, which were written by them after they adopted Buddhism. Av. *spənta-armaiti-*, Phl. *spandarmat* stands for 'earth' and in the Skt. version the Av.-Phl. word is translated *pṛthivī* (*AltirWb.* 337). A corresponding word in Saka is *śśandrāmata*, and it translates Skt. *śrī*, the Buddhist goddess of fortune, which is identified with *pṛthivī* ('earth'). Similarly, as Bailey points out, Saka *urmaysde* ('sun') is Av. *ahura-mazdāh-*; Saka *ysamaśśanda* 'earth' represents Av. *zam*—and *spənta-*. Again, Saka *śśandye* representing Av. *spənta-* is used to translate Skt. *pṛthivi*. Similarly, Bailey has pointed out that Av. *xvarənah-* is represented in Saka by *phārra*, which is used in the sense of 'position, stage'. The Saka word *gyastä* translates Skt. *deva*, and it is connected with Av. *yazata-*; the Saka *gyasni* is same as Av *yasna-*, and Saka *ulatāna*, place for the dead, is connected with Av. *uzdāna·* (See Konow, op. cit.).

The Saka texts have been published by E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (Sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, Leipzig 1933-34; S. Konow, *Saka Studies*, Oslo 1932; H. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, Cambridge 1945. See also H. Bailey, *Iranian Studies* V' BSOS., Vol. 8, Part 1, and also '*Hvatānica* II-IV', BSOS., Vols. 9 and 10.

MIDDLE PERSIAN AND MIDDLE PARTHIAN TEXTS

As said above, there were two different systems of writing and speaking Phl. namely, Arsacidan and Sasanian; and there was dialectical difference between the two, the former representing the N-W. dialect and the latter S-W. dialect. A similar dialectical difference exists in the West Iranian languages employed in the Turfan texts. This dialectical difference was first noted by Andreas;[2] and he very rightly concluded therefrom that the two dialects were the N-W. and S-W. dialects, representing the language of the Parthians and that of the Persians respectively. The following words from the Turfan texts illustrate important difference between the two dialects:

Mid. Parth.	Mid. Pes.
zu	*man*
karēδ[3]	*kunēδ*
zird	*dil*

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[1] H. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, Oxford 1943, pp. 52 seq; see also S. Konow, 'A Note on the Sakas and Zoroastrianism', *Orienta Studies*, Londom 1933.

[2] See H. Nyberg, MO., Vol. 17, p. 186.

[3] The Phl. text of *Draxt ī Asūrīk* is partly written in the N-W. or Parthian dialect, and hence it gives *karēt*, *karēδ* instead of *kunēt*, *kunēδ*.

Mid. Parth.	Mid. Pers.
paδgām	*paiγām*
vyāk	*gyāγ*
niγāyišn	*niyāyišn*
čafār	*čahār*
rāštīft	*rāstīh*
puhr	*pus*
uxaδ	*xvaδ*
uxaš	*xvaš*
argāvīft	*aγrāyīh*
paδgriftan	*paδīriftan*
āfrīvan	*āfrīn*

The Mid. Parth. and Mid. Pers. Turfan texts appertain to the Manichaean religion, and they contain Manichaean prayers, hymns, sermons and teachings. Besides these, as noted above, there are fragments of the Mid. Pers. translation of the Christian Psalm Books[1]. These fragments contain a few Semitic ideograms which occur only in the Frahang; while there are several other ideograms as well as Iranian words which never occur in any other Mid. Pers. text.

The Mid. Parth. and Mid Pers. texts have been published by F. C. Andreas and W. Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan* I, II, and III (SPAW), Berlin 1932-1934; by W. Henning, *Ein Manichäisches Bet-Und Beichtbuch*, (APAW), Berlin 1937; Salemann, *Manichaeische Studien*, St. Petersbourg 1908; by E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu in Manichäismus*, (APAW), Berlin 1936; *Manichäische Dogmatik aus Chinesischen und Iranischen Texten* (APAW), Berlin 1933.

For a study of the Mid. Iranian dialects, see Bartholomae, *zur Kentniss der mitteliranischen, Mundarten*, Vols. 1-6, Heidelberg 1916-1925. For a comparative study of N-W. and S-W. dialects of Western Iran, see Paul Tedesco, '*Dialektologieder westiranischen Turfantexte*', MO., Vol. 15. The S-W dialect has borrowed a number of words from the N-W. dialect, which are found in Phl., and also in Mod. Pers. in Firdosi's *Sāhnāma*. For these words see W. Lentz, 'Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi', *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Band 3.

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[1] It appears that the Old and New Testaments were studied by *Zoroastrians*, as we find Mardān-farrox, a Zoroastrian writer of the 9th century, quoting Old and New Testaments in his polemic book *Škand Gumānīk Vijār*, chapters 18-15.

ARABIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Prof. Inostranzev, in his Russian book translated by G. K. Nariman, *Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature*, Part 1, Bombay 1918, has pointed out that in Arabic books we find paraphrase or translations of Phl. originals. The famous Arabic writer, Ibn Muqaffa translated into Arabic the Phl. books of *Kalila u Damna*, *Khudāy Nāme*, *Ayin Nāme*, and *Mazdak Nāme*. Bailey[1] quotes Nallino for the statement that Greek astrological books were known in Persia, preserved in Arabic translations from Middle Persian.

The Phl. *Handarz* writings of the Sasanians form an important part of the Phl. literature.[2] A number of these Phl. *Handarz* writings have found their way in the Arabic litereture. According to Inostranzev (Nariman, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 seq.), the Arabic books on counsel, *adab*, are generally based on the Sasanian *Handarz* writings. The Phl. *Handarz* writings and the Persian *pand nāme* are well-known books of admonition and testament, mainly of a father to his son. Similar books of advice and testament are found in the Arabic literture, which owe their origin to the Phl. *Handarz* literature. According to Inostranzev (op. cit) in the *Fihrist An-Nadhim*. the very first chapter is a testament of Zādān-farrox to his son, the 2nd chapter is attributed to Mōbaδ Mihr-Ātur, the head of the Parsi clergy. The 3rd and the 4th chapters include the Book of Testament of Khusro to his son Ormuz, which evidently derives its origin from Phl. *Handarz i Khusrō Kavātān*. The 5th chapter also contains the Book of Counsels of Qisr, Khusrō Nōshirvān to his son. The 6th chapter is the testament of Ardashir to his son Shāpūr; and the 7th chapter appertains to a book of Mōbaδān Mōbaδ.

We have an abbridged Arabic translation of Firdosi's Šāh Nāme by Al-Bundarī (see Browne, op. cit p. 464).

In this way, the Arabic literature contains paraphrase and translations of some of the extant Phl. books; and has preserved the contents of some of the Phl. books now lost to us. Moreover, the Arabic literature and language contain the words of Iranian origin, which are used as loan-words in Arabic. The question of the foreign words in the Qurān has been discussed by Arthur Jeffery, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. LXXIX: In this connection, see also Gustav von Grünebaum, '*Persische Wörter in arabischen Gedichten*', MO., Vol 31.

In the 9th century, the Iranian writer Mardānfarrox quotes the Qurān in his polemic Phl. book *Skand Gumānīk Vijār*, chapters 10 and 11.

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[1] *Zoroastrian Problems*. p. 80.

[2] See B. N. Dhabhar, *Andarz i Ošnar-i-Dānāk*, *Bombay* 1930. Intorduction pp. vii seq.

These facts explain the importance of the Arabic language and literature for the study of Phl.

MODERN IRANIAN DIALECTS.

Among the numerous Mod. Iranian langnages and dialects, the most important for the study of Phl. is Modern Persian, which is derived from Phl. The words used in the great epic of *Sāh Nāme* throws important light on reading and meaning of a number of Phl. words. In this connection Fritz Wolff's monumental work *Glossar zu Firdosis Schahname*, Berlin 1935, is indispensable for a student of Phl. Paul Horn has published *Asadi's neupersisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin 1897, which is also a reliable Mod. Pers. dictionary. Besides this, Firdosi has embodied in the *Shā Nāme* the materials from historical Phl. books like *Kārnāmak i Artaxšīr i Pāpakān* and *Ayātkār i Zarērān* (now extant) and Phl. *Xvaδāy Nāmak* was also accessible to him, which important book has since been lost. The parallel passages from the extant Phl. books, mentioned above, and the *Shā Nāme* show the fidelity with which Firdosi has utilized his originals.

Besides Mod. Pers., there are important Mod. Iranian dialects, *e. g.* Yazdī, Gabrī, Ormurī, Parāča, Waxī, Yaγnōbī, Yazγulāmī, and Paštō. In this connection one may consult important works, Paul Horn, *Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie*, Strassburg 1893; G. Morgenstierne, *An Etymological Vccabulary of Pashto*, Oslo 1927; *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages* I-III, Oslo 1929, 1938, 1944; A. Christensen, *Contribution à la Dialectologie Iranienne* I-II, Kopenhagen 1930, 1935. And there are also various monographs on Mod. Iranian dialects, *e. g.* H. Bailey, 'Ardistānī', BSOS., Vol. 7, Part 4; 'Yazdī, ibid. Vol. 8, Part 2; Ivanow, 'Yazdī', JRAS. 1911; I. I. Zarubin, 'Two Yazgulāmī Texts', BSOS., Vol. 8. Parts 2 and 3.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

APAW	: *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin.
BSOS	: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London.
JA	: *Journal Asiatique*, Paris.
JRAS	: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London.
MO	: *Le Monde Oriental*, Uppasala.
SBE	: *Sacred Books of the East*, Oxford.
SPAW	: *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin.
WZKM	: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Wien.
ZDMG	: *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig.

THE READING AND TRANSCRIPTION OF PAHLAVI[1]

By Dr. J. M. Unvala, Navsari.

I. Pahlavi or the Middle Persian language is written in a script, derived from the Aramaic characters, in a cursive style, which has resulted in the use of fourteen letters only, many of which have become polyphonous, *i.e.* they stand for more than one sound.

Pahlavi is called Middle Persian, because it stands chronologically between the Ancient Persian language of the rock-inscriptions of the Achaemenian sovereigns and the Modern Persian language, one of whose earliest representatives is the *Šāh Nāmah* of FIRDŪSĪ. Pahlavi means the language of the Pahlavas or the Parthians in the restricted sense of the word, but the word is also used for the language of the rock-inscriptions of the Sassanian sovereigns, as also of their coins and seals, and gold and silver wares. Again, the bulk of religious and secular writings of the Zoroastrians, and of the Pahlavi speaking Manichaeans and Christians as well, is written in the Pahlavi language.

There are two distinct dialects of Pahlavi, viz. north-western or Parthian and south-western or Sassanian. The earliest known specimen of Pahlavi is the text of the parchment discovered at Avroman in Iranian Kurdistan, brought to light by DR. SAID KHAN KURDISTANI of Teheran and published first by ELLIS H. MINNS, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XXXV, 1915, pp. 22-65, with a photographic facsimile and a short note, and then by DR. COWLEY in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Londom 1919, pp. 147-154. It is preserved at persent in the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, along with two other Greek parchments, discovered with it, one of which is dated the very end of the reign of Mithridates II (123-88 B. C.) of Parthia and the other pertains to the reign of Phraates IV and is dated 291 A. Sel., corresponding to 22/21 B. C. The Pahlavi parchment is written in an Aramaic script, akin to that found on the coins of Persis, but in the *Pahlavīk* or Parthian dialect. It is dated the third month *Harvatat* (*Khordād*) (H. S. NYBERG, *Ārōmat* ? <

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[1] The matter contained in this paper will not be new to Western scholars of Iranian languages Ever since the discovery of the Turfan texts written in Pahlavi, they have adopted the Iranian way of reading Pahlavi ideograms, and in the transcription of Pahlavi, they are following the principles advocated by CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Bd. xxxviii and xxxix. The paper will, I hope, convince Parsi scholars of the justification of reading ideograms occurring in Pahlavi texts in the Iranian way.

Āθrōmat "provided with fire; belonging to fire", (*Le Monde Oriental, XVII.* 1923, p. 189) of the year 300 of the Parthian era[1] which began on the day of the accession of Tiridates I to the throne of Parthia, which was October 10, 246 B.C. The year 300 corresponds, therefore, to 46/47 A.D., when Vologeses I, Valkaš of the *Lēnkart,* was ruling over Iran. It is on the coins of this king that we have for the first time the two initial letters *VL* of his name in Aramaic characters, together with the ordinary Greek legend of the later Parthian coinage, an innovation which was followed by short Pahlavi legends in Aramaic characters on the coins of his successors, giving the names of kings in their Iranian forms and their title *šāh* "king". The longest Pahlavi legend is found on the coins of Vologeses III, *viz. VLKŠI ARŠK MLKIN MLKA.*

With the accession of Ardašīr I, founder of the Sassanian dynasty to the Iranian throne, the south-western dialect of Pahlavi, commonly known as the Sassanian Pahlavi, or *Pārsīk* as HERZFELD calls it, began to be employed on coins and seals, and in lapidary inscriptions. The script employed for it was also derived from the Aramaic one, but it is clearer, every letter being written separately, and less ambiguous than the script employed for the inscriptions in the Parthian or *Pahlavīk* language. The Parthian language and script continued, however, to be employed by the early Sassanian sovereigns up to the end of the third century of the Christian era side by side with the *Pārsīk* language and Sassanian script. The inscriptions of Ardašīr I (226-240 A. D.), Šāhpūr I (240-271 A. D.) and Naršeh (293-298 A. D.) are, therefore, properly speaking bilingual - *Pahlavīk* and *Pārsīk.* The *Pahlavīk* script seems to have been employed, however, on seals of the later Sassanian epoch. But this is rather to be attributed to a tendency towards archaïsm.

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[1] On the date of the Pahlavi parchment, H. S. NYBERG (*op. cit.* p. 185) observes as follows: "Since the first Greek document is written in the year 225 of the Seleucid era, corresponding to 88 B. C. (MINNS, *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* vol. XXXV (1915), p. 38), the Pahlavi text written on the back of it must belong to the same date. The second Greek document is dated 291 of the Seleucid era, *i. e.* 22/21 B. C., and even without examining the third document (the document in question) we may take it for granted that it cannot differ greatly in date, since all the three documents were found together". From this it seems that NYBERG considers the year 300 to be of the Seleucid era, but as the name of the month mentioned with it is definitely Iranian, the year must also be of an Iranian, most probably of the Parthian era. As the two Greek documents are deeds of purchase of a vineyard called Δαδβαχα-βαγ or Δαδβαχαν-ρας which is called in the Pahlavi document *Dātbakān* (*nām raz*), it is not difficult to explain the find of the three documents of different dates in a pot. They were all in the possession of the last owner or owners of the vineyard as important and cherished documents.

It is well known that in Achaemenian times, the Aramaic language had become, if not the language of the Great King's chancery, where Aramaic clerks were employed, one of the important languages of the state. It was in this language that the Jewish colonists of Elephantine in Egypt had appealed in 408/7 B. C. to Nehemiah in Jerusalem to intercede on their behalf before Bagoas, the Achaemenian satrap of Phoenicia, who was then residing in Jerusalem. The influnece of Aramaic must have been rather not insignificant on the minds of the Iranians. It must have been, therefore, responsible for the introduction of the strange method of writing Pahlavi, as is generally admitted, in which Aramaic words are employed as ideograms, generally known to Parsi scholars as Semitic or non-Iranian words, in the Pahlavi inscriptions and in the Pahlavi books pertaining to Zoroastrianism, since the time of the Avroman parchment, *i.e.* since the middle of the first century A. D., and perhaps even earlier, if we take into account the legends of the coins of Perses. But, as we shall see in what follows, these ideograms were never pronouned as Aramaic words. They were always considered as *graphic* signs for their corresponding Iranian words. We have two similar instances to illustrate this phenomenon, viz. 1) the Sumerians who inhabited southern Mesopotamia in the fourth millennium B. C., employed first a pictographic script and then a syllabic cuneiform script, derived from the, pictographs; thereupon, the Akkadians of northern Mesopotamia, who supplanted the Sumerians in the political sphere, came under the influence of the Sumerian culture. They borrowed not only the Sumerian cuneal script for their Accadian language, which was of the Semitic language-group, but retained in it also Sumerian words, which they pronounced in the Akkadian way, in other words they considered the Sumerian words as ideograms; 2) similarly, the modern Japanese use in their written language Chinese words as ideograms.

II. As regards Pahlavi, MUḤAMMAD BIN ISHĀQ, author of the *Kitāb-ul fihrist*, while speaking of *Huzvāresh* (in the text زوارش), expressly says on the authority of IBN MUQAFFA (latter half of the eighth century) that the Persians write *e. g. bisrā* (بسرا، ܒܣܪܐ sic. for ܒܣܪܝܐ *basaryā*) but read *gōšt* (*FrP. 1o.* 1), write *lakhmā* (ܠܚܡܐ) and read *nān* (*FrP.* p. 16), and so forth.[2] This fact is noted in the Post-Sassanian period, more particularly in the latter half of the eighth century, as said above, for those Persians who had remained faithful to Zoroastrianism, their ancestral faith. Now, the Manichaean and Christian texts discovered in the first decade of this century at Turfan in Chinese Turkistan are written in the

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[2] DESTUR HOSHANGJI JAMASPJI ASA and MARTIN HAUG, *An Old Pahlavi Pazand Glossary*, Bombay-London 1870, pp. 87-88; cf. also MARTIN HAUG, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*, Popular Edition, London 1878, p. 42.

Pahlavi language and in the clear Estrangelo script, which is devoid of polyphony. In these texts, the pronunciation of Pahlavi of the third century A. D. is recorded. It should be noted that from these Middle Persian texts from Turfan Aramaic ideograms are wholly eliminated, although in the contemporary Sassanian lapidary inscriptions and in the legends on Sassanian coins and on seals of the Sassanian period these ideograms are often met with. These facts are sufficient to prove that the ideograms were merely used as such, but that they were never pronounced as Armaic words.

The above assertion is further supported by the following facts:

1. The Aramaic dialect from which these ideograms were borrowed has not been determined as yet. It was, however, of any other Aramaic dialect, closely akin to, if not identical with Mandaic which was spoken in the neighbourhood of Sassanian Pahlavi.[3]

2. A few ideograms for nouns, adjectives and personal pronouns are in fact Aramaic adverbial phrases or prepositional expressions. They are formed with the prepositions בְ, לְ, and עַל, which require that the following substantive should be in the *status constructus, e. g.* [illegible] *b*

3. About eighty per cent of the ideograms for nouns and adjectives show the *status emphaticus* form of the Aramaic words, ending in *-ā, e. g.* [illegible] *'afrā*, Aram. עַפְרָא (*FrP. 2.* 2) "dirt, soil, ground", TR. *ap(a)rïjā, awrīā*, Iran. [illegible] *xāk*; [illegible] *mayyā*, Aram. מַיָּא (*FrP.* 3. 1), "water", TR. *m(a)yā, mīā*, Iran. [illegible] *āp*. Now, words like [illegible] *'afryā* (s. above [illegible]), and [illegible] *basaryā* "meat, flesh" (*FrP. 10.* 1), TR. *b(a)srÿā*, Iran. [illegible] *gōšt*, end in *-yā* in the *status emphaticus* on the analogy of [illegible] *mayyā* instead of the

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[3] It was closely akin to, if not identical with Mandaic, which was spoken in the close neighbourhood of Sassanian Pahlavi, because the Aramaic of the Sassanian ideograms resembles much more Mandaic than any other Aramaic dialect. (NYBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 213 and p. 217, note).

normal *basrā*, corresponding to Aram. בִּשְׂרָא *bisrā*. There is a fairly good number of such ideograms. Of the rest, a considerable number occur with the Aramaic suffix of the 3rd pers. sing. fem. הּ *h*. A special logogram, developed from of the Sassanian (*Pārsīk*) inscriptions is employed for this הּ *h*, *e. g.* *yadeh* or *yadah*, Aram. יְדֵהּ masc., יְדַהּ *fem.* (*FrP.* 10. 7, 30. 2). "his, her hand", TR. *yadman*, Iran. *dast*; *bāreh* or *barah*, Aram. בְּרֵהּ masc., בְּרַהּ fem. (*FrP.* 11. 3) "his, her son" (s. ERNST HERZFELD, *Paikuli etc.*, Berlin 1924, pp. 59-61). It should, however, be noted that the suffix for the 3rd pers. sing. = , Aram. הּ forms an essential and inseparable part of the ideogram. Again, we have a few other ideograms in the *status constructus* form, *e. g.* *šem*, Aram. שֵׁם (*FrP.* 8. 12) "name", Iran. *nām*; *basīm*, Aram. בסים, Syr. ܒܣܝܡ (*FrP.* 5. 4) "sweet, delicious", TR. *basūn* ?, Iran. *xᵛaš*.

4. The ideograms for the personal pronouns , , , and , TR. *ra* or *li*, *rōman* or *lenman*, *rak* or *lak*, and *r*(*a*)*kōm*, *rakum* or *lakōm*, are, in fact, composed of the Aramaic preposition for the dative לְ and the Aramaic enclitic Personal pronouns י *ī*, נָא *nā*, ךְ *k* (masc.) and כֹם *kōm* (masc.), meaning literally "for me", "for us", "for thou" and "for you" respectively; whereas *'alah* (s. above) is composed of the Aramaic preposition עַל *'al* "to" and the Aramaic enclitic 3rd personal pronoun feminine הּ *h*, meaning "to her". We would expect *lᵉhōm*, Aram. לְהֹם *lᵉ-hōm*, *i. e.* לְ and הֹם 3rd personal pronoun masculine plural, meaning "to them", for the 3rd person plural, but instead of it we have *'alah-šān* *i. e.* *'alah* (s. above) and the Iranian *-šān*, which is the enclitic pronoun 3rd person plural, and which serves at the same time the rôle of the phonetic compliment, showing that the hybrid form of the pronoun should be read *ōēšān*.

5. The verbal forms are not *wholly* written in ideograms.[4] The form of the imperfect 3rd pers. plur. masc. of an Aramaic triliteral root, generally of the *pᵉ'al*, very seldom of the *pa''el* in *mediae geminatae*, and of the *af'el*, is used as the ideogram serving as the verbal stem or base, to which Iranian verbal suffixes of the infinitive, tenses, persons and numbers, of the causa-

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[4] This whole paragraph forms an extract from NYBERG's article quoted above.

tive and the denominative, and moods are added. The ideogram is used for the Iranian present and preterit bases alike, and for the Iranian imperative 2nd pers. sing as well. Thus, *e. g.* *pᵉʿal*: יכתיבונתן *yaktībūn*[5]*-tan*, Aram. יְכְתְּבוּן, [illegible] (*FrP. 23. 1*) "to write", Iran. [illegible] *nipištan;* יקתלונתן *yaqtalūn-tan*, Aram. וִקְטְלוּן [illegible] (*FrF. 22.3*) "to strike, to dash; to kill", Iran. [illegible] *ōzatan;* ינסבונתן *yansabūn-tan*, TR. *jansgōntan, yansegōntan*, etc., *Aram.* יִנְסְבוּן, [illegible] (*FrP. 21. 8*) "to take (away)", Iran. [illegible], [illegible] *statan, istatan.* — *Paʿʿel*: The form occurs in *mediae geminatae, e. g.* ימללונתן (also written ימררונתן) *yamallūn-tan*, Aram. וְמַלְּלוּן, [illegible] or [illegible] (*FrP. 18.* 3) "to speak", Iran. [illegible] *guftan;* יחללונתן *yaḥallūn-tan*, Aram. יְחַלְּלוּן [illegible] (*FrP. 19.* 2) "to wash", Iran [illegible] *šustan*, (also written [illegible] *khallūn-tan* (*FrP. 19.* 3), *i. e.* חללונתן (Aram. imper. 2nd pers. sing.?) — *Afʿel*: יחנצלונתן *yaḥanṣlūn-tan*, Aram. יְהַנְצְלוּן ("to take" in the Papyri, "to save" in Biblical Aram.), [illegible] and [illegible] (*FrP. 21.* 10) "to take away", TR. *šōč(a)rūn-tan* and *sōč(a)rūn-tan*, Iran. [illegible] *apurtan.*

We have the verbs ל״ה e. g. in יהוו(ן)תן *yahvūn-tan*, Aram. יְהֻוֹן [illegible] (*FrP. 22.* 2), "to be", Iran. [illegible] *būtan*.

One single verb appears in the imperfect singular, viz. יצבהסתן *yaṣbeh-stan*, Aram. יִצְבֵּה, from צבא, [illegible] *yasbe(h)-mūn-astan* in which [illegible] *mūn-astan* is on the analogy of [illegible] *sahəstan* (*FrP. 18.* 1) and [illegible] *varravastan* (*FrP. 18.* 2), TR. *yazbamūn-astan* (*FrP. 18.* 2) "to wish, to desire, to intend", Iran. [illegible] *kāməstan.*

Imperative forms are met with in עזלונתן *ʿezilūn-tan*, Aram. אֱזִלוּן *'oezilūn*, TR. *vazlūn-tan* [illegible] (*FrP. 20.* 7) "to go; to become", Iran. [illegible] *šutan;* עחדונתן *ʿeḥdūn-tan*, Aram. אֱחֲדוּן *'oeḥudūn*, [illegible] (*FrP. 18.* 6), TR. *vakhdūn-tan* "to take, to seize", Iran. [illegible] *griftan.*

6. A few verbal ideograms seem to have two separate forms, one for the present, the other for the preterit: *e. g.* [illegible] *khavītūn-ēt*, Aram.

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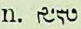
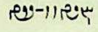
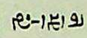
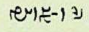
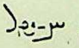
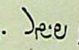
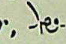
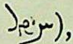
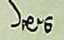
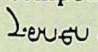
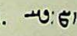
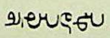
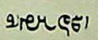
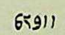
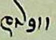
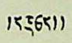
[5] The *i* between the second and third radical is also peculiar to Mandaic forms of the imperfect before enclitics: נישבוק plur. נישבקון, *nišbᵉqūn*, but נישביקולאך *nišbiqullākh* (*ll* = *nl*), s. NYBERG, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

חֲוִיתוּן *ḥʼvītūn*, perfect 2nd pers. plur.[6] from חֲוָא *ḥave'* or Heb. חִוָּה *ḥiv'h* "to indicate, to announce", Iran.  *dānēt*, pres. "he knows", and  *khavītūn-ast* (*FrP. 23.* 5), Iran, *dānəst*, preterit "he knew";  *yakvīmūn-ēt*, but Aram. יְקוּמוּן *yaqūmūn* (*FrP. 20.* 3), Iran. *ēstēt*, pres. "he stands", and  *yakvīmūn-āt*, Iran. *ēstāt*, preterit "he stood". The perterit base is used only for forming the infinitive, preterit 3rd pers. sing. (exceptionally 3rd pers. plur., *cf. Aratāk Vīrāz Nāmak*, WEST's edition, *70.* 1), and the past participle passive. It is reality none other than the ordinary present base with the phonetic compliments *-ast* and *-āt* of the Iranian infinitive.

7. Several ideograms have two forms, one showing a pure ideogram, *e. g.* *ab*, Aram. אַב *'ab*, (*FrP. 11.* 2), Iran. *pit* "father"; *am*, Aram. אַם *am* (*FrP. 11.* 2), Iran. *māt* "mother", and the other, their lengthened forms, having as their second element the phonetic compliment, *e. g.*  *ab-itar* (*FrP. 11.* 4), Iran·  *pitar*,  *am-itar* (*FrP. 11.* 4), (formed on the analogy of ), Iran.  *mātar*. In Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions such phonetic compliments are frequently used.

8. Some purely Iranian compound proper names are written wholly or partly with ideograms, *e. g.*  *šem-šapīr* (*FrP.* p. 8, and *26*, 1) Aram. שֶׁםשַׁפִּיר (frequently found on Sassanian seals), Iran.  *nām-vēh*;  (JAMASP–ASANA, Pahlavi Texts II, p. 71). for  *nāmčištik*; "particular, particularly"  *nōk-yōm*, Aram. יוֹם *yōm* (J. M. UNVALA, *Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe*, Bombay 1940, p. 83, 1. 1), Iran.  *nōk-rōč*, and  *nō(k)-yōm-jīv* (*Coll. of Coloph.*, p. 139, 1. 13) for the common Parsi name *Navrōz,Navrōzjī*.

9. Both the ideogram and its corresponding Iranian equivalent are frequently used in the same sentence indiscriminately. This is due rather to the negligence of the scribe, who was educated in the traditional school, which gave great importance to the memorizing of the Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, called *Monā-Khodā*, just as a Maulavi used to commit to memory the Urdu-Persian Glossary, called *Khālek-Bārī*. Sometimes it is due to the pedantry of the scribe, an extreme case of which is offered by the Pahlavi colophon of a Manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, Supplément Persan 417 (*Col. of Coloph.* p. 34).

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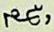
[6] Comp. חזיתונתן *ḥazītūn-tan*, Aram. חֲזֵיתוּן *ḥāzētton*, NYBERG, *op. cit.* p. 225.

10. It seems, however, that *only* ideograms for a few pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions and prepositions are used and not their Iranian equivalents; *e. g.* (*FrP. 24.* 4), Aram. דְּנָה *d'nāh* masc. "this", Iran. *ēn;* (*FrP. 24.* 2), Aram. זֵךְ *zek* "that", Iran. *ān;* (*FrP. 25.* 1), Aram. מָן *mān*, dialectic מוֹן *mōn*, Syr. ܡܘܢ *mūn* (interrogative pronoun) — but according to HERZFELD, Aram. מנו *man(h)u*, *i. e* interrogative plus relative pron. (*op. cit.*, p. 218), — "who, which", Iran. *kē* (relative and interrogative); (*FrP. 25.* 1), Aram. אֵיךְ *'aikh* "how" (HERZFELD, *op. cit.* p. 132), Syr. ܐܝܟ *'aikh* "that, so that", Iran. *ku;* (*FrP. 25.* 2), Mand. עמאת *'emat*, Syr. ܐܡܬܝ *'ēmatai* "when", or Aram. אמת, interrogative temporal conjunction (HERZFELD, *op. cit.* p. 137), Iran. *ka;* (*FrP.* omits), Aram. עַל *'al* "to, unto", Iran. *ō;* (*FrP. 25.* 7), Aram. לָא *lā*, לָה *lāh* "not" (negative), Iran. *nē;* (*FrP. 25.* 7), Aram. אַל *'al* "not" (prohibitive), Iran. *ma.* The Pahlavi words *ka*, *ku* and *kē* have become in Modern Persian کی *kai* and که *keh* and, therefore, the ideograms , and which stand for them are wrongly used one for the other by some copyists in Pahlavi manuscripts. For the same reason, the ideograms and for Iran. *ō* and *ōē* are wrongly interchanged, sometimes even , Iran. *ān* is replaced by the wrong ideograms or , as can also be read *ō*.

11. A critical study of the variants of the *Frahang i Pahlavīk*, as collated by JUNKER is sufficient to show that the scribes were not unanimous about the orthography and pronunciations of the ideograms.

12. In Sassanian times, when the Avesta language became nearly, if not wholly unintelligible to the laity, the *Dastūrs* like ĀTURPĀT I MAHRASPANDAN composed, besides translating the Avesta scriptures into Pahlavi with explanatory glosses and long commentaries, the short "prefatory headings and the concluding portions", as ERVAD DHABHAR calls them, (s. *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk*, Bombay 1927, Introduction, p. 4) of the *Gāhs, Nyāyišns, Yašts, Nām Stāyišnīh, Patēts, Patmānak i Katak Xᵛatāī, Stāyišn i Sī Rōč, the Introduction to Āfrīngāns, Āfrīns* etc. in Pahlavi for recitation in daily prayers and in liturgical services. The above-mentioned prayers and several Pahlavi works like the *Bundahišn*, the *Mēnūk i Xrat*, the *Škand Vimānīk Vičār* and a few others were transcribed into the so-called Pāzand language by Parsi Dasturs in India, most probably by Neryōsang Dhaval, who lived in the latter half of the

twelfth century A.D. Now, this Pāzand is a word for word transcript of Pahlavi in Avesta or Arabic, rather Modern Persian characters, in which all ideograms are replaced by their Iranian equivalents, of course, preserving therein their pronunciations which were current among the Dastūrs of India.

13. Considering the facts mentioned above, European and American scholars of repute have advocated and are following the Iranian way of reading Pahlavi in which the pronunciations of ideograms as Aramaic words are wholly eliminated. The Iranian reading is based on philological and chronological data, *i. e.* it is based on the pronunciations of Iranian words during the Parthian and Sassanian periods, which are either found preserved in Armenian loan-words (s. H. HUEBSCHMANN *Armenische Grammatik.* I. Theil. Armenische Etymologie. Leipzig 1895) and in the Pahlavi Texts from Turfan, or deduced by the help of Iranian philology.

14. What concerns the transcription of Pahlavi, there must be an uniformity in the rendering of Pahlavi letters and sounds in Latin characters, to which all Iranists must conform. The principles of transcription advocated by CHRISTIAN BARTHOLOMAE in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Bd. xxxviii and xxxix, have been accepted by all western scholars.

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PAZAND DAWUR AND DAWAR.

By Dastur Dr. Hormazdiar Mirza, Udvada.

The Pazand text of *Škand Gumānīk Vijār*[1] contains a rare word *dawur*, which is obscure and misunderstood upto now. The corresponding word in the Pahlavi text is *spwl*; and Neryosang's Sanskrit version of these words is कालखंड (lit. 'black spot'). The context in which the word occurs, shows that the word is used for one of the internal organs of humam body.

West[2] suggests that the Pazand word *dawur* is a misreading of Phl. *dil* 'heart'. Hoshang and West[3] observe that Pazand *dawur* is 'a misreading for *spur* spleen'. Similarly Bharucha[4] remarks that it is 'a misdeciphering of Phl. *spur*.'

But Paz. *dawur* can very easily be connected with Av. *dawra*- (in proper noun *dawrāmaēši*-, Yt. XIII.122) and Phl. *dawr*. Avesta proper noun *dawrāmaēši*- is variously interpreted[5]. But Av. *dawra*- is connected with Phl. *dawr*: 'dark-coloured, ash-coloured', as explained by H. W. Bailey[6]; and the Avesta proper noun, should, therefore, mean 'one having dark-coloured sheep'[7].

Bailey (*op. cit.*) has pointed out that Phl. *dawr* in the Great Bundahišn p. 120.9, is substituted by *siyāk* 'dark, black' in the shorter version of the Bundahišn edited by Westergaard and Justi. On the strength of this fact, Bailey rightly concludes that Phl. *dawr* and its corresponding Avesta word *dawra*- should mean 'black, dark, ash-coloured'.

But a more satisfactory explanation can now be offered. Av. *dawra*- is identical with Skt. धवल 'white, beautiful'. But Skt. धवल is also a kind of dove, as explained by Monier Williams[8]. This suggests that Skt. धवल originally had the same meaning as Av. *dawra-*, Phl. *dawr*, explained above, namely 'dark, grey; ash-coloured', same as Skt. कपोत कपोतक' dove, pigeon, pigeon-coloured, lead-grey, grey colour of a pigeon'; Phl. *kapūt*, Mod. Pers. کبود *kabūd*: 'dark, blue, dark-blue, grey, azure'.

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[1] *ŠGVijār*, ed. Hoshang and West, Bombay 1887, pp. 37.14,23; 212.1; *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, ed. S. D. Bharucha, Bombay 1918, Part IV p. 12·6.

[2] *SBE.* XXIV, p. 143 note 3.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp xxviii, xxxi, 241.

[4] *Op. cit.* p. 59 note 44.

[5] Justi *Iranische Namenbuch*, p. 82 : 'fette Schafe habend.' Bartholomae, *Altir. Wb.* 680 : 'feiste, fette Schafmütter besitzend' ; see also *ibid* 1789, s. v. *harəta*—.

[6] JRAS. 1934, pp. 509-10.

[7] Cf. Phl. *dawr-gāw*, a proper noun in the Gr. Bundahišn, ed. Anklesaria, p. 229.6. See also Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*, p. 106: '*gabar-gāw* ashgraue Kühe besitzend'.

That Skt. धवल originally meant 'grey, ash-coloured' can be proved more conclusively from its etymological explanation. Pokorny and Walde[9] derive Skt. धवल and its cognate verbal form धावति ('makes bright, cleanses, rinses') from the Indo-European verb *dheu-*, *dheuā*: 'to spray, to whirl particularly of dust, ash and steam, to blow, to breathe; hence to steam, to exhale.' This shows that Skt. धवल and its cognate Av. word *dawra-* were originally used in the sense of a 'dark, grey, ash-coloured'.

It is, therefore, safe to conclude that Paz. *dawur* is connected with Av. *dawra-*, Phl. *dawr* ('dark-coloured'); and we submit that the Paz. word in this particular context is used in the extended sense of 'liver' on account of its black colour; and that Neryosang very correctly and literally translates the Paz. word by कालखंड ('black place') in the sense of liver.[10] The corrseponding Phl. word *spwl* as given in the Mss. and also in the printed text, should, therefore, be regerded as a corrupt from of *dawr*[11], used in the same sense as its Paz. equivalent explained above.

This explanation of the Paz. word *dawur* throws important light on the reading and meaning of another Paz. word *dawargāh* which occurs in the same Pahlavi-Pazand text of *SGVījār*, ch. V.74. The Paz. word *dawur* is merely a varient of Paz. *dawar*; and both these Paz. words are connected with Av. *dawra-* and Phl. *dawr*, explained above.

The Phl. equivalent of this Paz. word *dawargāh*, as given in all Mss. is *dplg's*: *dawrgāh*. But in the printed text of Hoshang and

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[8] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 452.

[9] *Vergleichendes Worterbuch der indo-germanischen Sprachen* Berlin and Leipzig 1930, Vol I, p. 835. With this verb cf. Av. verb *dav-*; *Altir. Wb.* 688: *dav* with *frā* 'reinigend abreiben'; Kanga, *Avesta Dic.* p. 251: *dav-*, *fradav-*: 'to cleanse'.

[10] In this connection it is important to note that in the old Gujarati versions of the *SGVijār* paz. *dawr* and Skt. कालखंड are rendered into Guj. by कललज and કાલજુ ('liver'), which Guj. word also suggests the black colour of liver; see Bharucha, *Coll. Skt. Writings of the Parsis*, Part IV, pp. 70, 89.

[11] This Phl. word occurs also in (1) *Phl. Vd.* XXII.4; (2) *Gr. Bund.* p. 120.9; (3) *ibid.* p. 140.7; (4) *ibid.* p. 229.6; (5) *Phl. Riv. Dat. Dīnik*, p. 111.12; (6) *ŠGVijār* ch. V. 74.

West[12]the word is changed to read *dwlg's*; and it is translated by 'orbit'. Similarly West[13] gives 'orbit,. Neryosang very curiously translates the Pahlavi-Pazand word by उभयो : स्थानयो : ('of both places').

But it is not necessary to change the Pahlavi word *dplg's* as given in all the Mss.; and, as stated above, Phl. *dawrgāh* Paz. *dawargāh*, can very satisfactorily be interpreted in the light of the explanation of Av. *dawra*-, Phl. *dawr*,. Paz. *dawar* given above. The Paz. word *dawargāh*, therefore, literally means 'black-place'. and in this particular context it stands for 'the black part of the eye' or 'iris', or 'eye' itself. We may assume that by उभयो : स्थानयो : ('of both places') Neryosang also most probably refers to 'two eyes'. Or does he derive the word *dawar* from Av. *dva*-, Paz. *du* ('two') ? In the old Gujarati versions[14], Paz. *dawargāh* is translated by कींकी म ठाम and કીકીમાં ઠામ. In these old Guj. versions Paz. *dawar* is correctly translated by कीकी 'the black part of the eye, iris'.

In Š*GVij̆ār* ch. V.67ff. the word for 'iris'. is Paz. *sāeaa* Phl· *sāyak* (*lit.*: 'shade, shadow'), which word also suggets dark or black colour of iris. It appears that in this particular context Phl -Paz. *daw(a)rgāh* (black place) is purposely used for 'iris' or 'eye' in order to distinguish the black part of the eye from *spədaa* 'the white part of the eye'.

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[12] Š*GVij̆ār*, pp. 39.8; 213.5 and note 4; 241.

[13] SBE. Vol. XXIV, p. 145.

[14] See Bharucha, *op. cit.* pp. 71, 89.

DETERMINATION OF THE SIGNIFICANCES OF THE AVESTA WORDS 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 (ASTA), 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 (ASTI), 𐬀𐬯𐬝 (AST) AND 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬀 (ASHTA) OCCURRING IN AVESTA LITERATURE.

By Prof. D. D. Kapadia, Poona

My Avesta studies began with the study of Vendidad Chap. XIX, where in para 34, the word 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬋 (asto) occurs, which we were taught as nom. sing. of 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 (asta) meaning a person in charge of a responsible mission, a messenger, or say a prophet, by our beloved teacher, late Mr. K. E. Kanga. (*astô mazdâo ahurahê mrûidhi nairyô-sanghô-* (say thou that Nairyosangh is the messenger of God). In Vend. XIV 17, there occurs *duyê navaiti astanām.........kerenuyât*, which late Mr. Kanga translates "should be provided for 18 of the messengers......". This produces a reasonable doubt in our minds that the translation of "astanām" as 'of the messengers' is not a happy one and does not convey any appropriate sense. Mr. Kanga seems to have passed over the Pahlavi gloss at this place, which distinctly translates the word by '*Pahastān*' cattle ponds. I do not know what strong conviction late Mr. Kanga had to translate this word as he did. But it created a reasonable doubt in my mind, and I began to search for places where this word occurs, in all its inflected forms and this therefore is the origin of this humble attempt.

In Vend. XIX 34, Geldner gives the Word as '*ashtô*' and not '*astô*'.

(a) The word 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬋 *astô* occurs in Vend. XIX 34, Yac. LI, 2 and Yac. XII 3.

(b) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 *asta* occurs in Vend. XV 4, V 9 and XIII 39.

(c) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬄𐬨 *astanām* occurs in Vend XIV 17 and XV 3.

(d) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬫𐬋 *astayô* occurs in Yac. XLVI 11, XLIX 11. Meher Y. 113, Vend. VIII 107, XIV 18.

(e) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬗𐬀 *astascha* Vend. VIII 81-96.
𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬗𐬀 *astacha* occurs in Vend. XIX 7, VIII 81-96.

(f) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬄𐬨 *astām* occurs in Vend. VI 29, 46.
𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬄𐬨𐬗𐬀 *astāmcha* Vend. VI 7, 8.

(g) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬆𐬨 *astem* (residence) Vend. II 13.
𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬆𐬨 *astem* (bone) Vend. V 16, 18, VI 10, 12.....22.

(h) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *asti* Vend. VII 58.
𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌𐬱 *astish* Yac. XXXI 22.
𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌𐬨 *astim* Yac. XXXII 12.

As stated above Geldner uses 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬋 for 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬋 on the analogy of its Pahlavi equivalent (ashta), but whenever the word *ashta* is used, it has absolutely specific meanings;

viz. (i) as a divine messenger, a person in charge of a responsible mission or

(ii) a missile, a war-weapon which is darted against an adversary, such as an arrow, a sling.

The word *ashto* 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬋 occurs in Geld. Vend. XIX 34, Farvardin Y. 146, Zam. Y. 92.

𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬆𐬨 ashtam occurs in Zam. Y. 46, and in Nirangistān folio 188 (1) 189 (a) and (b).

𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬉 ashtê occurs in Zam. Y. 46.

In Zend Pahlavi glossary (Hoshangji Haug) p. 53, a word 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬌𐬱 *ashtish* occurs, which Haug takes as fem. nom. sing of 'ashti' and translates it as "arrival" from the rt. 𐬀𐬯 to hasten, to go swiftly. But its Pah. is [illegible] *ashtak* or *ashte* which word is generally used in Pahlavi for "one in charge of a responsible mission"· Leaving aside this word for the present, let us examine the several inflected forms of our words 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 (*asta*) 𐬀𐬯𐬝 (*ast*) 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 (*asti*) and 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬀 (*ashta*), as enumerated above.

𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬋 This word *astô* which occurs in three places can either be nom. sing of 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 *asta*, or gen. sing of 𐬀𐬯𐬝 (*ast*) bone. In Vend. XIX 34, and Yac LI 12, it is nom. sing and is very appropriately in the sense of a messenger or one entrusted with responsible mission. Pah. equi. in XIX 34 is [illegible] (*ashta*) and it also gives the gloss دوست (*dūst*) a friend. In Farg. XIX the Pahlavi is *ashta aôharmazd goyêt Neryôsang* meaning "it is said (that) Neryosang (is) (the) messenger of God". and Yac. Ll 12-*ku-am pa rânyîh rânyînêt pa ashtâh*-meaning "that is, who guides me with guidance as if by a (divine) message (friendship)." The third reference in Yac. XII 3 *nôit astô nôit ushtânem chinmâni* with its Pah. equi. *ne tan ne gân dishâram râ* meaning "neither for the love of my body nor the soul"-is obviously connected with 𐬀𐬯𐬝 *ast* bone and means 'bony frame" or in short *the body*; and hence this *astô* here has quite a different significance from the same word as mentioned above.

Also mark the passage *astô hutâshtim ......tanvô huraodhîm* meaning 'well built-bony-frame' and 'well-developed body. In Zend Pahlavi Farhang, it is distinctly explained that *hutâshtô* means *hu-tâshîte chun khîpîh pa ast i.e.* well-chiselled like the excellence of the bones; and *huraodha* means *hûrûste chûn khîpîh pa gôsht i.e* well developed like the excellence of the muscles. Thus the word 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬋 *astô* with 𐬀 (a) base and with 𐬝 (t) base has distinct significations; one is derived from 𐬀𐬯 *as* to go and the other from 𐬀𐬯𐬝 or 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 the bone.

On examining the word *asta* in Vend. XV 4, which Geld. gives the word as 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *asti*, the sense is clearly that of *bone*; in Vend. V 9 the text is *âtarsh handazaiti asta ushtānemcha*, showing that the word is in accu. plu. of base 𐬀 *a*, hence the word also means bone. Pah. equi. of this is *âtash ham-bazad tan ô gân i.e.* equi. of 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 *asta* is [illegible] *tan*-body *i.e.* bony framework.

In Vend. XIII 39, the word is most probably a verb, imperfect Atmane. of 𐬀𐬵 *ah* to be; *yezi asta asha-khrathva yezi asta gaethābyô*: with Pah., *agar hast ashoi* (*ku-sh*) *khrat* (*nîvak*) *agar hast* (*ku-sh*) *avô gehān* (*bê pâh ku pa frârônîh dârêt*); here the Pah. equi. of *asta* is [illegible] (*aẹ̄t*) (*hast*). The word *asta* is therefore a verb and not a noun, in this place.

𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬆𐬨 *astem* Accu. sing. of 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 or 𐬀𐬯𐬙 *asta* or *ast* is *astem* as in Vend. V 16, 18; VI 10, 12; Z. P. Far. III 1.

But in Vend. II 13 according to Bartholomae, the two words 𐬀𐬯 (*as*) and 𐬙𐬆𐬨 (*tem*) which are separate in some Mss., really form one single word 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬆𐬨 *astem* and suggest as its meaning "home", "homestead". 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬥𐬄𐬨 astanãm is Gen. plu. of *asta* a messenger, or *ast*, *asta* a bone, body, corpus or *asta* (Ph. [illegible] stān) a residence, dwelling.

In the first para, I have explained how my attention was drawn to the word *astanām* as translated by late Mr. K. E. Kanga in Vend XIV 17, showing that the most probable meaning of *astanām* is-pens or ponds for cattle. The word *astem* in Vend II 13 according to Bartholomew has the sense of a "homestead". In XV 3, the word means bones with its Pah. equi. [illegible]. But nowhere, this word in XIV 17 used by scholars in the sense of a messenger is to be traced.

At this stage it may be generally mentioned that the word 𐬀𐬯𐬙 *ast* is generally used in the sense of "bone", "bony" framework or "corpus"; and there are severel inflected forms meaning something connected with the bones; 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬆𐬨 (*astem*) acc. sing. Vend. VI 10, V 16, Z.P.Farhang IV, but the word is also used in the similar sense of bones or bony-farmework, as seen above. The words *astem* and *astanām* in the sense of abode or residence have already been explained.

𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬌𐬋 *astayo* is obviously nom. or accu plu. of 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *asti*, from rt. 𐬀𐬵 *ah* to be, meaning a place of residence or existence. It may be compared with Pr. هستی *hasti*, [illegible] existence and the word does not seem to have any connection with 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 *asta* or 𐬀𐬯𐬙 *ast* meaning a bone. It occurs in several places but more or less in identical phrases, the original being either Yac. XLVI 11 and XLIX 11. The first reference is *yavôi vîspâi drûjô demânâi astayô*- Pah. *avshān hamâi* (*tâ avô vispa tâ avô tan-i-pasîn*) *ander drûjô tamân astishn hast i.e.* they have their abode in the home of the Drujs for ever (for all times until *tan-pasin*, resurrection). In XLIX 11 the line is "*drujô demâne haithyâ anghen astayô*, with Pah. *vash andar drûjô tamân andar dûsh-ahû âshkâre hast astishn*. In Vend VIII 107, and XIV 18, the same lines occur, with the Pah. equi. as *astishn* or *ekavimunishn*.

𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *asti* also means existence, as in Yac. XIII 2 *astoish Ratûm* - Pah. *tan-ratû* meaning Ratu of the Body or existence. *astayô* also in Meher Yesht 113, as—*nivaeithyân tighrâonhô astayô i.e.* Meher yazd may dart sharp missiles (arrwos). These references clearly show the meaning of the word *asti* as body, person or personality. But in Vend. VII 58 we have *pourushu asti varesô*; Pah. *pir hast vars.* The Pah. in this passage is very doubtful, *pourushu* is translated by *pîr* Pr. پیر aged, old, and *asti* by *hast* (aêt) meaning is. It is just possible that this Pah. *aêt* may be *ast*, which by the mistake of the copyist has got changed into *aêt*. The word *asti* has been translated by Kanga as *bones*; Spiegal as *remains*; Darm. by *is* (a verb). It is just possible that it may be 3rd sing. of 𐬀𐬵 *ah* to be But there are other inflected forms of 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *asti* such as *astish* in Yac. XXXI 22. *Hvo toi mazdâ Ahurâ vâzishto anghaiti astish*; Pah. *ãn i tô aohrmazd bîrtâr tan hast* (*ku andar gêtî mâhmânîh pa tan i õi*); thus here Pah. translates 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *asti* as *tan* (body). Kanga translates it as an *individual*, Spiegal as an *assistant*, Mills as a *being*, and Chatterji also as a *being*. From which we see that *asti* means, someone, a person, a being, and in this, we are supported by Yac. XXXII 12 wherein the word 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬍𐬨 *astîm* occurs-as- *vanghâu vâ choithaitê astîm* of which Pah. is *ô ê nêvak tan châshishn.* Pah. here also translates it as *tan* body; K. E. Kanga as *someone*; Mills as *people, being*; Spiegal as *body* and Chatterji, a *being.* From which we cannot but conclude that the word *asti* is generally in the sense of an existing being, some one, a some-body.

The additonal words cognate to 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 or 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 *astâ* or *ast* (bone) are 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬃𐬨 *astãm* gen. pl. of 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 in Vend. VI 29, *nôit astãm nôit veresãm*, Pah. *nê ast ô nê vars*; neither of the bones nor of the hair. Vend. VI 46-gives *aêtanghãm astãm avi apãmcha urvaranãmcha barentem fra-jasãn*; : Pah. *Oishân ast awar ô âv ô urvar pa barishn frâz rasânînãnd* and 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬃𐬨𐬗𐬀 *astãmcha* in Vend. VI 7, 8, used in the same sense as above-*aetanghãm astãmcha, varesãmcha,*......Pah. *Oishãn ast ô vars-i.e.* these bones and hairs.

𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬗𐬀 *astacha* occurs in Vend. XIX 7, *nôit astacha, nôit urvânemcha,*......*vî urvisyãt*; Pah. *nê tan nê gãn nê bôd bê vartishnîh râ.* Thus Pah. translates this word *astacha* by "body". Kanga takes it as *bone*; Darmes. as *body*; even traditional translation is body; Spiegal (Bleek) as *bones.* The proper meaning therefore appears to be bodily bony frame. Again 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀𐬯𐬗𐬀 *astascha* occurs in Vend. VIII 81-96, as *pascha astascha baodhangascha vî-urvistîm*; Pah. *pas ez tan ô bôd bê-vartishnih*; here all scholars translate *astascha* by 'body' *tan*, and not as 'bone'.

𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬀 Let us now examine the word 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬀 *ashta*, which is used by Geldner and Bartholomae in all places, where the sense of a messenger or spiritual leader is meant, instead of the word 𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬀 *asta* as given by Spiegal and Westergard. The word may be derived from the root 𐬀𐬱 अष् *ash* to reach, to go, with the meaning - one who is sent, a messenger, a prophet. In this sense the word occurs in Vend. XIX 34 (Geld.) in the form

, as well as in Farv. Yasht 146, where we have *ashtô ahurahê mazdâo* messenger of Ahuramazd; also in Zam. Y. 46, the word *ashtem* occurs twice, as - *Spentô mainyûsh ashtem franharechayat i.e.* 'Spenta Mainyû sent forth as his messenger'. In Nirangistān folios 188 (b), 189 (a) and (b), the word *ashtem* in the first place occurs as - *yô kemchit dahmanām aparenāyunām ashtem dasti*-with the Pah.-*ke katār-chāi ez dahāmān apornāyān ashtê dahêt.*

In the second and the third places, the words occur as *ashtem dasti* with Pah. as *ashtakîh dahêt.* Thus the word *ashtem* is given in Pah. either as *ashtak* or *ashtakîh* both having a similarity of meaning - 'appointed on a responsible mission', *i.e.* appointed as a messenger or for carrying on the duties of a responsible messenger. Finally there is the word *ashtê* occurring in the same para Zām Y. 46 acc. pl. of the the word which is translated as either 'messengers' or 'missiles'. Darm. takes it as missile or dart; Spigal (Bleek) as 'limbs' or 'bodies'; Kanga and Meherjirana as messengers; Bartho. a messenger; whilst Kanga in his dictionary as 'darts' or 'arrows'. Both meanings may seem plausible. Both *ashtê* and *ashtem* occurring in the same para ought to have the same meaning.

Having thus given a brief Summary of the references where these words occur, I shall try to summarize the results in the light of the information collected:-

asta has a meaning corresponding to Sk. अस्त *asta*, one who is sent or Persian رسول *rasûl* from رَسَلَ *ra sa la* he sent or despatched, meaning a messenger or a person charged with important mission. Mills in his Gatha Dictionary does not consider this meaning; the Pah. equi. of this word in Gatha is *ashta* or *ashtak.* Geld. and Bartho. also do not consider this meaning for this word, but whenever the sense of a messenger is to be conveyed, they use the word *ashta* and not

asta also means a place or home, corresponding to Pah. *stān*, Sk. स्थान्

asta also means a bone; corresponding to Pah. *ast*, Sk *as'han* or *asthi;* and hence a more general signification as *body-frame, skeleton* or a *body;* Pah *tan.* *ast* invariably means bone and there is no ambiguity about its meaning. But sometimes owing to the similarity of the inflected forms of *asta* and *ast*, some difficulty may arise.

The word *asti* has the sense of هستی *hasti*, Pah. existence, a *being*, a *person*, a *body*-as can be clearly seen from the references quoted above.

𐬀𐬯𐬙𐬌 The same word *asti* has the sense of a missile or a dart, and also that of abode oı home or dwelling.

𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬀 Lastly, the word 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬀 *ashta* has nearly the invariable meaning, as one entrusted with an important mission as a messenger or messenger of God. Its Pah. equi. are [illegible] *ashta*, [illegible] *ashtak* or [illegible] *ashtakih*, all pertaining to the same sense.

In Zam. Y. 46, it may mean a missile or a dart, but we have not got the Pah. equi. to corroborate that meaning.

𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬌𐬱 Finally, the word 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬌𐬱 *ashtish* given in Z. Pah. Farhang, is as Dr. Haug says, nom. sing, of 𐬀𐬱𐬙𐬌 (*ashti*) and may mean 'arrival' though the Pah. equi. is *ashtak*. This is in fact from the word *ashti* and not *ashta* and hence may be dropped out of consideration at this place.

This concludes this imperfect survey for the determination of the meanings of the Avesta words - *asta*, *ast*, *asti* and *ashta*.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE RIVER RANGHA MENTIONED IN THE AVESTA.

By Sohrab H. Batlivala.

One of the unsolved problems in connection with Iranian studies is the identification of the river named in the Avestan literature as Rangha. Various approaches to this problem have been made, but the conclusions arrived at are as wide apart as the geographical boundaries of the old Iranian world would allow for its location. For instance, the traditional Pahalavi writers name the Rangha as the Arang[1] and mean it to be the *Amu* (Oxus), the *Nil* (Nile)[2] and also the *Arwand* (Tigris).[3] Views of modern scholars are equally at variance on this point. Anquetil Du Perron took it to mean the Jaxartes. Spiegel, Justi and Geiger follow this view of Anquetil. On the other hand, Paul de Lagard takes the Rangha to be the Volga, Darmesteter the Tigris, Harlez the Oxus, Marquart the Zarafshan, Windischmann the Indus [4] and Pithawalla the Ganges.[5] Bartholomae and West take it to be a mythical river,[6] while Kanga [7] and Modi [8] are undecided on this subject. Most of these conjectures are based on isolated references to the Rangha and hence an attempt is made in this paper to collect all information regarding this river found in the Avesta and identify it from information thus gathered.

(1 See the text of the Pahalavi version of *Vendidad*, Chapter I, para 20 and alternative readings suggested in the foot-notes.

(2) *Bundahishn*, Chpter XX (West's translation in *Sacred Books of the East* Series)

(3) Zadsparm as referred to by Professor Poure Davoud in his Persian article on the Rangha (*The Yashts*, Part I, p. 224.)

(4) See Professor Poure Davoud on the Rangha (*The Yashts*, Part I, pp. 222-224) for the opinions of western authorities about this river,

(5) Dr. Pithawalla, "The Aryan Home," a thesis published in the Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XX, Nos 2 and 4. (Vol. XX, No. 4, p. 7)

(6) See Professer Poure Davoud's article referred to in foot-note No. 3 and also West's foot-note in his translation of *Bundahishn*, Chapter XX, in *Scared Books of the East* Series.

(7) Kavasji Edulji Kanga in his Gujerati translation of the *Yashts* (1901, foot-note on p. 121) quotes the view of Darmesteter only, but subsequently in his Gujerati translation of the *Khordeh Avesta* (1902, foot-note on p. 318) he quotes the opinions of Spiegel, Justi Geiger, Herlez and Darmesteter, without indicating his preference.

(8) See Jivanji Jamshedji Modi's "A Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," 1892, pp. 159-160 under the word *Rangha*.

One of the foremost Avestan passages that throw some light on location of the river Rangha is the opening chapter of the *Vendidad*. In this chapter, sixteen regions created by Ahura Mazda are enumerated one by one and the last or the sixteenth of these is referred to as follows :— [9]

> "The sixteenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created was the land by the floods of the Rangha, where the people live without a head."
>
> (*Vendidad*, Chapter I, para 20.)

Most of the regions mentioned in this chapter of the *Vendidad*, such as Iran-vej (*i.e.* Khvarezm), [10] Soghdh, Merv, Balkh, the Hari river valley, Seistan, the Kabul valley, Kandahar, the Arghandab, the Helmand, [11] Buner, [12] the Punjab etc. are situated in the north-eastern and eastern parts of the old Iranian world from the regions of the Oxus to those of the Indus. [13] Hence this Avestan passage gives a broad indication that the Rangha is probably situated in the region covered by modern Afghanistan and its surrounding territories.

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(9) All the translations of the Avestan passages quoted in this paper are as per Darmesteter taken from the *Sacred Books of East* Series.

(10) Regarding the location of Iran-Vej, the consensus of opinion among scholars is in favour of the modern Ferghana-Khiva region. (See the Persian article on Iran-vej by Professor Poure Davoud in his *Yasna*, Part I, pp. 33-52 and the authorities cited therein.) It is significant to note that the first three lands mentioned in *Vendidad* chapter I are Iran-vej, Soghdh and Merv, while *Meher Yasht* at paras 13 and 14 refers to the original Aryan lands as consisting of Merv, Soghdh and Khvarezm, just in the reverse order. Hence by inference Iran-vej of *Vendidad* Chapter I is Khvarezm of *Meher Yasht*, para 14. Dr. Pithawalla in "The Aryan Home" approaches this problem from the point of view of geographical science and concludes that the original Aryan Home is the Syr Darya valley. (See his thesis on "The Aryan Home" in the Indian Geographical Journal, Vol. XX, No. 4, p. 17). This region is the eastern portion of Khvarezm or modern Khiva.

(11) For the location of other regions mentioned in *Vendidad* Chapter I, we follow Dr. Pithawalla as per his thesis on the "The Aryan Home" except in the case of Varena, "the fourteenth of the good lands," for which see the next following foot-note.

(12) Varena mentioned in *Vendidad* Chapter I para 17 as the fourteenth region created by Ahura Mazda is usually taken to be the Iranian province of Gilan, but Dr. Muhammed Shahidullah in his paper entitled "The Varena Country of the Avesta," read at the Eleventh All-India Oriental Conference and published in the "Summaries of Paper" (pp 23-28) regards Varena to be modern Buner or that part of the North Western frontier of India which lies between the Indus above Attock and the Pajkora which joins the Kabul river before it falls into the Indus at Attock. We are inclined to agree with Dr Muhammed Shahidullah in view of the fact that this fourteenth region of Varena or Buner is geographically adjacent to the fifteenth region of Hapta Hindu or the Punjab.

(13) For details regarding the sixteen regions mentioned in *Vendidad* Chapter I, see papers referred to in the last three preceding foot-notes.

The following passages show the Rangha to be a river situated almost at the confines of the then known Iranian world.

"Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Aodhas of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu the strong."

"Whether thou, O holy Rashnu! art on the Sanaka of the Rangha, we invoke, we bless Rashnu the strong".

(*Rashnu Yasht*, paras 17 and 18)

"Whose (*i.e.* Mithra's) long arms, strong with Mithra-strength encompass what he seizes in the easternmost river and what he beats with the weasternmost river, what is by the Sanaka of the Rangha and what is by the boundary of the earth."

(*Meher Yasht*, para 104)

Another passage indicates the Rangha to be a big river, having wide expanse and deep waters:—

"Verethraghna, made by Ahura, gave him..........the eye-sight of the Kara fish that lives beneath the waters and can measure a rippling of the water not thicker than a hair, in the Rangha whose ends (*i.e.* the side-banks) lie after whose depth is a thousand times the height of a man."

(*Behram Yasht*, para 29)

These passages from *Vendidad* and from *Rashnu*, *Meher* and *Behram Yasht*s then go to show the Rangha to be a big river situated at the easternmost confines of the ancient Iranian world.

We now come to a set of passages where the Rangha is referred to in connection with persons who had prayed on its banks asking the various Yazatas to grant them certain boons.

"The old Vafra Navaza worshipped her (*i.e.* Ardavi Sura Anahita) ....saying: Ardavi Sura Anahita!......... I will offer thee a thousand libations.........by the brink of the Rangha if I reach alive the earth made by Ahura and my own house."

(*Aban Yasht*, paras 61-63)

"Mayest thou he able to reach the Rangha, whose shores lie afar, as Vafra Navaza was!"

(*Afrin-e-Paighamber Zarathusht*, para 4)

"Mayest thou have strength to reach the Rangha whose way lies afar, as Vafra Navaza did."

(*Vishtasp Yasht*, para 2)

These passages show that a holy personage named Vafra Navaza had prayed for a certain boon on the banks of the Rangha and his prayers were granted. We however do not know the native place of this person to enable us to locate this river, [14] but these passages confirm the fact that

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(14) As for Vafra Navaza, see Jivanji Jamshedji Modi's dissertation about him in Gujerati at pp. 165-166 of his "A Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names."

the Rangha was a big and wide river, situated far away from the usual dwellings of the Avestan peoples.

We now come to passages where persons, whose native places are fairly known, are depicted as sacrificing to the Yazatas near the Rangha.

"To him (*i.e.* the Yazata Vayu) did the manly-hearted Keresaspa offer up a sacrifice by the Gudha, a channel of the Rangha."

(*Ram Yasht*, para 27)

Legends about Keresaspa recorded in the Pahalavi literature [15] indicate this hero to be a native of Zabul in Seistan, which is on the eastern side of the Iranian regions This fact also goes to show that when Keresaspa, an Eastern Iranian, offers up a sacrifice on a channel of the Rangha, we have to look for this river in the eastern parts of the old Iranian territories.

There are also reports about Yoishta of the Fryanas asking for a boon at a place on the Rangha.

"To her did Yoishta, one of the Fryanas, offer up a sacrifice......... on the *dvaepa* (an islet?) of the Rangha."

(*Aban Yasht*, para 81)

We know from the *Gathas* (*Yasna* XLVI-12) that the Fryanas were of a Turanian tribe friendly to Zarathushtra and his followers. We further know from certain reports preserved in the Pahalavi literature [16] how this Yoishta was confronted in his own town by a certain sorcerer named Akhtya to answer his enigmas at the threat of utter destruction of the town of Yoishta and how Yoishta successfully answered them and in the end confounded the sorcerer himself. This report would then go to place the Rangha in the lands of the Turanians, or the region of modern Turkestan. [17]

All the details mentioned in this paper when taken together induce us to locate the river Rangha in western Turkestan of the present day. We designate the old course of the Syr Darya, [18] known to the Arab geographers as the Sihoon and to the Greeks as the Jaxartes, as the river that answers best to what we otherwise know from the extant Avesta literature about the river Rangha.

"Completed in peace and joy and pleasure."

(15 See the Pahalavi Legends about Keresaspa in *Sacred Bookz of the East* Series Vol. XVIII, pp 369-382.

16) See the Pahalavi story of "Gosht-e-Fryano" in "The Book of Arda Viraf" by Haug and West, 1872.

(17) Professor Poure Davoud in his article in Persian on Turan, Sairima Saini and Dahæ quotes from Khvarezmi's *Mafatih-ul-Ulum* and Marquart's *Erinshahr* to say that the land of the Turanians is the region lying to the east of the Oxus and extending up to the Aral Sea. (*The Yashts*, Part II, p. 53). In other words, it is the plain of western Turkestan.

(18) Old courises of the Syr Darya are indicated in maps given in Dr. Pithawalla's "The Aryan Home." Detailed geographical particulars about the Syr Darya are easily obtainable from Encyclopedias and other geographical works of reference.

RIVER DÂITI

ITS LOCATION AND POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION.

By J. C. Tarapore, Bombay.

Of the large number of geographical features mentioned in the Avestan texts the river Dâiti is given great importance. It might justify an attempt to discover its location in those early times when these texts were written and identify it, if possible, with a river of our times. The passages where the river is mentioned in the Avestan texts associate the river with certain activities of the prophet Zarathushtra and his patron King Vishtâspa. Fixing the location of the river Dâiti thus helps us in determining the territories of the activities of these important peronages.

Centuries have elapsed from the times when the Avestan texts were composed. Empires flourished in Iran and perished. Iran came into contact with peoples who invaded her soil from different directions, occupied her provinces at different times in her eventful history and gave their own names to places in the country. It has hence become increasingly difficult to locate any geographical feature mentioned in ancient texts. This difficulty is further increased when we know that rivers often change their beds, and sometimes even dry up and disappear.

THE AVESTAN REFERENCES.

Let us first examine the few references where the river Dâiti is mentioned in the Avesta. The most important of these are to be found in the Vendidad and some of the longer Yashts.

Vendidad Fargard I. gives us an abridged geography of the lands then known to the ancient Iranians. There is a list of the countries created by Ahura Mazda. The first of such countries was Airyana Vaeja "by the good river Dâiti". Where was this Airyana Vaeja situated and where was the river Dâiti? No further particulars are given in this chapter. But the next paragraph merely adds that its was a land where there were ten months of winter and two of summer. The late Lokmanya B. G. Tilak used this description of the land to support his theory that Airyana Vaeja was situated in the Arctic regions and formed the home of the ancient Aryans.

In Vendidad II. King Yima (Jamshid of the Shâhnâmeh) is shown as offering his prayers by the good Dâiti river. In Vendidad XIX. where the legend of the temptations of Zarathushtra is narrated we are again told that when the demon Buiti rushed on Zarathushtra to kill him he recited the Ahuna Vairya and extolled the good waters of the Dâiti. In both these passages we get no help to ascertain the location of the river.

Next let us examine some of the interesting references in our Yashts. There are several passages scattered over some of these litanies narrating how different heroes of old offered sacrifices on the banks of the river Dâiti for securing a boon from the *Yazata* concerned. These passages can be conveniently divided into two groups. In one group there are passages where the words used are *Vanghuyâo dâityayâo*, i.e. on the good Dâiti, and in the second group are these passages where the words used are *pasne âpo dâityayâo*, i.e. behind or across the waters of the Dâiti. There must be some significance in this distinction.

In the first group can be included passages in the Âbân, Dravâsp, and Ashi Yashts where the words *Vanghuyâo Dâityayâo* are used. In all the three Yashts Zarathushtra is mentioned as offering prayers on the good Dâiti. In the Âbân Yasht Ahura Mazda is also similarly mentioned, expressing a wish that Zarathushtra may be following the good religion of Mazda-worship. Zarathushtra on the other hand desires that he may be able to make King Vishtâspa and his Queen Hutaosa follow the good religion.

In the second group of passages which are also to be found in the same Yashts King Vishtaspa and his brother Zairivairi (Zarir of the Shahnameh) are shown offering prayers *pasne âpo dâityayâo*, behind or across the river Dâiti for gaining victory over the national foes such as Tãthryavantem Duzdaenem, Peshanemcha Daevayasnem, aud Dravantemcha Arejat-aspem. All these must be Turanians across the Iranian frontiers. Why should the Iranian heroes be *pasne*, behind or across the river Dâiti, while imploring the favours of the *yazata*? Where were these aliens during their wars with the Iranians? They must be in the north but were they to the east or to the west?

In order better to solve these questions it is necessary to examine all the other passages in these Yashts where heroes are shown offering similar prayers. A list is annexed to this paper giving in a tabular form the names of the heroes and the places where they offered prayers. A study of the places in the list will at once show that most of these places were situated in the vicinity of the Sea Vourukasha, the present Caspian Sea and many of them are to the west of it. Hukairya is distinctly Mt. Alburz. Lake Chaechasta is our Lake Urumiya. Bawri is the Avestan name of Babylon. Varena is Gilan lying to the south-west of the Caspian Sea. It is difficult to fix the location of Rangha and Frazdânava. Only Kangha and Pishin can with some degree of certainty be located to the east. We know from several passages in the Avestan that Zarathushtra's early life was spent in Ragha a town lying in Western Iran (See Yasna XIX., 18). It would be hence proper to assume that the river Dâiti on whose banks he is shown as offering prayers was near Ragha i. e. to the west of the Caspian.

The places where King Vishtâspa offered his sacrifices are worth noting. In the Âbân Yasht ,108, he is shown offering his sacrifice behind Lake Frazdânava praying for victory over his foes. This Lake is shown to be in Seistan in the Pahlavi text of the Bundahishn (Chapter XXII., 5). Dr. West, quoting Justi, identifies it with Lake *Ab-istâdah,* situated to the south of Ghazni. Some scholars indentified it with Hrazdan in Armenia and Prof. Jackson noticed that Justi later on inclined to that view.

It is, however, further interesting to note that in the Dravâsp and Ashi Yashts King Vishtâspa offers his sacrifices for securing the identical boons behind or across the river Daiti and not across the Lake Frazdânava. Similarly in Âbân Yasht ,112, his brother Zairi-vairi, (Zarir of the Shâhnâmeh) offers his prayers across the river Daiti for Victory over his foes including Arejataspa. These enemies must be to the north across the borders. The river Dâiti had to be crossed to wage the holy wars against these enemies. Does the word *pasne* show that the Iranian armies had crossed the frontiers when the hero offered his prayers? Where were the battles in these holy wars fought ? The texts are silent on these questions.

PAHLAVI REFERENCES.

The Bundahishn is the most important text to study geographical references in the Pahlavi literature. In Chapter XX. 13, the Dâitik river is descibed as "the river which comes out of Airânvej and goes out through Gûrgistân." This passage once again confronts us with the question where was this Airânvej situated? Airânvej is mentioned in the same chapter as the home of the Dareja river "on the bank of which is the dwelling of Pourushaspa, the father of Zarathushtra." In Chapter XXIV. ,14 we are further told that the Dâitik river is chief of streams and the Dareja river is "chief of exalted rivers for the dwelling of Zarathushtra's father was there aud Zarathushtra was born there." Further on in Chapter XXIX. ,12 it is mentioned that Airânvej is in the direction of Âtropâtakân, a name by which modern Azerbaijan was known in Sassanian times. If we accept the location fixed by the authors of the Bundahishn we should seek the river Dâitik in modern Azerbaijan to the north-west of Iran.

It can also be gathered from the Bundahishn that the region round about the Dâitik and the Dareja rivers was regarded as sacred and exalted as connected with the birth and early life of Zarathushtra.

Before we consider other Pahlavi texts it should be noted that a river Vêh is also mentioned in the Bundahishn as passing on the east going through the land of Sind and flowing to the sea in Hindustân. It is identified with the river Indus by Dr. West, and was supposed to include the Âmu Daryâ (Oxus).

The Pahlavi translation of the Vendidad does not help us much in ascertaining the location of the river Dâitik or of Airânvej. In Vendidad I., 16 where the city of Ragha is referred to the Pahlavi commentators add that it is in Âtropâtakân.

In *Dâdistân-i-Dinik* Purshisna, 89, we are simply told that the boundary of Airânvej is on the bank of the river Dâiti. This gives little help to fix its location.

The Dinkard Book VII. which contains the Pahlavi Zarathushtra Nâmeh refers to the river Dâitik at several places. Even before the birth of Zarathushtra we learn from Chapter II. his father Pourushaspa proceeded to the river Dâiti in search of the holy *haoma* plant growing on its banks. In Chapter III. Zarathushtra is described as having his conferences with the Amesha-Spentas on various effluents of the river Daiti (51-54). One of these effluents or tributaries is named the Ariksan (as read by the late Dastur Dr. Darab P. Sanjana in his Dinkard Vol.XIII., p. 65). The resmblance with Araxes can be marked at once.

Similarly we are told in the *Selections of Zâtsparam*, (Chapter XXI.,5) that Zarathushtra went forth to the bank of the river Dâiti for the purpose of squeezing the *hom*, and then had his conference with Vohumano. Again in the next chapter it is mentioned that the fifth questioning of Zarathushtra with Spendarmat was near a spring which comes out of Asnavand mountain and goes ineo the river Dâitih. According to the Bundahishn Mount Asnavand was in Âtropâtakân.

VIEWS OF MODERN SCHOLARS.

Prof. Darmesteter while translating the Avestan texts identifies the river Dâiti with modern Araxes which flows through Azerbaijan and now forms the boundary between the Russian and Iranian provinces of that name. He mainly relies on the Pahlavi text of the Bundahishn which locates Airânvej in Âtropâtakân.

Dr. Spiegel has an interpretation of his own. In Vendidad I. he renders the words *Airyanem Vaejo Vanghuyâo Dâityayâo*, "Airana-Vaejo of the good creation", taking the latter two words as meaning "of the good creation" In a note he states that the country of Airana Vaejo must be "placed in the farthest east of the Iranian highlands at the sources of the Oxus and the Jaxartes." He adopts the same rendering in other passages in the Vendidad and the Yashts where the words *vanghvyâo dâityayâo*, are used. But where the words used are *pasne âpo Dâityayâo* he renders "behind the water Daitya," without trying to identify the river.

Dr. Haug similarly translates the passage in Vendidad I. by the words "Airyana Vaeja of good capability." While giving a translation of the Pahlavi rendering of the same text he used the word "organization" while translating Dâitih. In a foot-note, however, he explains that the traditional interpretation describes Dâitih as a river. In the commentary appended by he Pahlavi translator to the Avestan text it is further stated that "its ood Dâitih is this, that the place send out even our Dâit while they perform work (agriculture) with the *avaepaem.*" Dr. Haug further adds "it may be guessed from the text that the river came from snowy mountains, and therefore flowed most freely in the spring and summer; hence the idea that its flowing was dependent on the tillage of Airânvej. The word *avaepaem* stands for a subterranean channel or drain.

Dr. Geiger, adopting the theory that the home of the Avestan people was in the east made an elaborate attempt to locate Airânavaeja in the north-east and identified the river Dâiti with the modern Zarafshan. He, however, frankly admits that the "Avesta never alludes to the geographical situation of the Dâitya." It is significant to note that for establishing his pet theory he even suggests that Lake Chaechasta referred to in the Avesta could not be our Lake Urumiya but it might be Lake Issyk-kul in the north-west, south of Lake Balkash in modern Siberia.

Dr. Justi identified Airânavaeja with the country of Arran on the lower Araxes near Atropatene and the river Dâiti with the Araxes. he remarked to the effect that "other traditions of the Avesta and more modern works positively locate in the west the primitive land of the Avesta people, and thus probably also the home of Zarathushtra".

The late prof. A. V. Williams Jackson reviewed all these theories in his "Zoroaster the prophet of Ancient Iran." He discussed in great details the various Avesta passages where the river Dâiti was referred to and finally came to the conclusion that the Dâitya was a sort of border stream in the west to be identified with the Kizel Uzen or Safed Rud. The river Kizel Uzen is the classic Ἀμαρδος of Ptolemeus, in Atropatene. He further adds "the Avestan word *pasne* is apparently used with a river name like the Latin word *trans* in Trans-Rheneus. The various streams which flow into the Kizel Uzen could correspond to the tributaries of the Dâiti mentioned in the Dinkard and the Zât-sparam.

Dr. West in his translation of the Bundahishn refers to Justi identifying the river Dâitik with Araxes and adds that in one of the MSS. K_{20} of this Pahlavi text the Dâitik is shown to be rising in Ader-bijan and flowing through a hilly country, a description applicable to the Araxes as also more particularly to Safed Rud.

The late Lokmanya B. G. Tilak in his "Arctic Home of the Vedas" referring to the various views abovenoted tried to locate the Airyanavaeja in the Arctic regions placing great reliance on the words in Vendidad I. to the effect that there were ten months of winter and two of summer. But he took up the adjective *vanghu*, good, Pahlavi *veh*, and attempted to show that the *veh Daiti* was the river Vêh which flowed, according to the Bundahishn, eastwards into the Indian Ocean, through the Indus. He similarly tried to identify the Rangha river with the Rasâ of the Vedas.

The late Parsi scholar Mr. Palonji Burjorji Desai in his Gujarati "Tawârikh-e Shâhân-e Irân" to a large extent adopted the reasonings of Mr. Tilak. He placed the Airyana-vaeja in the extreme north of Asiatic Russia and conjectured that the Dâiti might be one of the three great rivers of that region, viz. the Obi, the Yenisei, and the Lena. He furtherr said that Mt. Alburz may also be a mountain in Siberia.

FINAL OBSERVATIONS.

All these conflicting views are difficult to reconcile. Each scholar first assumed the location of Airayana-vaeja and then placed the river Daiti there. But all of them laid stress on the sacred character of the river as repeatedly alluded to in the holy Avestan and Pahlavi texts. It is a river associated with the birth, early life and mission of Zarathushtra as a prophet. Ragha was the city which was also associated with the name of the great seer. According to the Pahlavi Zarathushtranameh the conferences the prophet had with Ahura Mazda and the Amesha Spentas were all in western Iran on various banks of the Dâiti river. The region south of the Caspian Sea and round Lake Urumiya was hence regarded sacred in Iran from very ancient times. Some of the tributaries of the Dâiti are specifically mentioned as scenes of the conferences of Zarathushtra. Mount Asnavand which is held sacred as being connected with Zarathushtra getting his revelation from Ahura Mazda is also in Azerbaijan. If all these places are in the west how can we locate the Dâiti to the north-east away from the scenes of all these activities ? When Zarathushtra offers his prayers for the conversion of Vishtâspa and his Queen why should he go far away from his native Ragha ?

There is one aspect of this question which appears to have been neglected so far. It is the great sanctity attached to the holy places and fire altars in Azerbaijan throughout the history of ancient Iran. Historians like Tabari and others have vouchsafed to the great veneration paid by Iranian kings to the fire-temples and holy places in Azerbaijan. Firdawsi in his Shahnameh also refers to the high respect in which the holy fires in Azerbaijan were held. Kai Kâus and Kaikhusru repair to Azerbaijan to offer prayers for victory over Afràsiâb. When Behrâm Gor returns from his campaigns in China he offers his thanks to Ahura Mazda in the fire-temple in Azerbaijan and hangs the trophies of his victories on the walls of the fire-temple. Tabari while recording this incident adds "Of all the fire-temples he respects it the most". Why this great respect to the fire-temples in Azerbaijan was paid by the Iranians from pre-histroric times almost till the fall of the Sassanian dynasty?

We can well assume that the Pahlavi writers were not far wrong in placing the scene of the birth and activity of Zarathushtra in Âtropâtakân and in regarding the rivers, lakes and mountains of the land as holy. This close association of the province with the life and career of Zarathushtra must be the main reason why the fire-temples and other shrines in Azerbaijan continued to command respect and veneration through centuries after the passing away of the great prophet whose religion was adopted as a national religion by Iran and whose teachings made the Iranians honoured and respected among the civilized nations of the world.

It would be hence quite fit to locate Airyanavaeja in Azerbaijan. The difficulty scholars experience in reconciling the description given in Vendidad is not really so great. We know that the ancient Iranians had migrated into Iran from a land farther north. History has shown several examples of such migrating people giving the names current in their ancient home to the land of their adoption. The Aryans who settled in Iran might have used some names which they had learnt in their ancient northern home.

By locating Airyana-vaeja in Azerbaijan the location of the river Dâiti must also be there. Both the Avestan and Pahlavi texts describe it as a river situated on the boundary of Iran. Does not the river Araxes satisfy this description besides being in Azerbaijan? It also flows through a hilly country and across Georgia, (perhaps Gurgistan of the Pahlavi Bundahishn).

But is it not too far away from Ragha, the accepted city of Zarathushtra? It was perhaps this objection that led Prof. Jackson to identify the Dâiti with the Kizel Uzen or the Safed Rud which are nearer to Ragha. These rivers also flow through hilly country though not so high as that through which the Araxes flows. Neither of them can, however, be said to flow through Gurgistan or Georgia.

Thus though we can fix the location of the river Daiti in Azerbaijan it is not so easy to identify it with any degree of certainty with a modern river. Our choice is between the three rivers the Araxes, the Kizel Uzen and the Safed Rud. Any of these rivers might be the ancient Dâiti. Or is it likely that the original Dâiti changed its course and hence it is that we are confronted with these difficulties? Our extant texts do not elp us to answer these questions.

Table showing places where sacrifice was offered as given in the Aban Yasht

Sec.	Name of sacrificer	Place.
17	Ahura Mazda	Airyene Vaejahi vanghuyâo Dâityayâo.
25	Yima	Hukairya.
29	Azhi Dahaka	Bawri (Babylon).
33	Thraetaona	Varena.
37	Nairemanâo Keresâspo	Behind Lake Pishin.
41	Frangarasyana	In a cave under the earth.
45	Kava Usa	Erezifya, a peak of Alburz.
49	Husrava	Behind Lake Chaechista.
53	Tusa	On back of a horse.
57	Sons of Vaesaka	Kangha.
76	Vistauru of Naotara	Vitanghuhaiti (location unknown).
81	Yoishta Frayana	On the shore of Rangha.
104	Zarathushtra	Airyene Vaejahi vanghuyâo Dâityayâo.
108	Kava Vishtaspa	Behind Lake Frazdâna.
112	Zairi-Vairi	Behind the river Dâiti.
116	Arejat Aspa	By the Sea Vourukasha.

The corresponding passages in Dravasp Yasht 29 and Ashi Yasht 49 show Kava Vishtaspa offering his sacrifice for the same purpose *pasne âpô Dâityayâo*, i. e. behind or across the river Dâiti.

AUM and AHUNAVAR

By J. M. Desai.

In this article we propose to demonstrate that 'Ahunavar' as a word is equivalent to the mysterious symbol AUM (ॐ) and Ahunavar as a sacred māthra is tantamount to the holy mantra of Gayatri which is derived from the monosyllabic ॐ. This ॐ is composed of three letters अ उ, and म् . God is worshipped through the power of OM. It is also a symbolism of the Hindu Trinity—Brahma-Vishnu-Shiva. Shri Krishna calls himself (Gita X) of the shape of one-lettered OM. (गिरामस्म्येकाक्षरम् ।).

Its other synonyms are प्रणव, उद्गीथ &c. It is a much debated theme as to how OM originated. Max Muller takes it from Sanskrit अवम् = that, and just as Fr. "Oui" (=Yes) could be derived from Lat. H c illud,'[1] in the same way he derives OM and thinks it also signifies "Yes", synonymous with Heb.-Ar. 'Amen'.[2] As we said before, this symbol is composed of three letter अ, उ and म्, each connoting so many things as shown under:

अ reflects ; विराट् :, अग्नि :, विश्व :, names of God
उ ,, हिरण्यगर्भ ;, वायु :, तैजस ,, , ,,
म् ,, इश्वर :, आदित्य :, प्राज्ञ etc. ,, ,, ,,

Each word signifies in turn : Illuminator of the whole world; God as wisdom incarnate; Container of the whole Universe; Self-effulgence; Strength personified; Auto-resplendence deified; Creator of the material world; Immortal; Omniscience incarnate. This, in short, is the signification of ॐ.

As Ahunavar is derived from Manthra Spenta, so "from AUM Gayatri Mantra is derived, and all the Vedas are evolved from the sacred syllable".[3] In the Chhandogya Upanishad (part I) the efficacy of Omkār is expatiated upon thus: "The origin of creatures is the Earth, the origin of the earth is water, vegetation begot water, man is the source of trees, speech produced man, Rigveda is the origin of speech and in its turn resulted in Samveda, and the source of Samveda is Udgitha or AUM. AUM is the most exquisite in all the essences and occupies an exalted position......Rigveda is speech, Samaveda breath: both are coalesced into AUM.........By the articulation (of OM) threefold knowledge (*i.e.* of the three Vedas) is obtained......Whosoever knows this and meditates over OM, and recognises it as the breath of life

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1. Thus : Hoc illud, Hoc-ill, Ho-il, O'il, Oil, oi & Oui.
2. Max Muller, "Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion", London (1910), p. 86.
3. A. G. Swami, "Mazdaism in the light of Vishnuism", p. 202.

and chants it, all his good intentions are fulfilled."[1] Moreover, it is imagined as the Sun which destroys darkness. Like Ahunavar it should be correctly recited, without a mistake. This vowel is indestructible, deathless and fearless, and whoever communes over it, becomes all powerful in the world and becomes divine after death. Furthermore, it is said of this vowel (स्वर): "*Swara* threw itself into the form of Akash, and thence successively into the forms of Vayu, Agni, Apas, and Prithvi. It is the *Swara* that has given form to the first accumulations of the divisions of the Universe: the *Swara* causes evolution and involution: the *Swara* is God himself, or more properly the great power (Maheshwara)."[2] Omkār is highly esteemed in the Manu Smriti (II, 76, 77, et seq.):

अकारं चाप्युकारं च मकारं च प्रजापति:।
वेदत्रयान्निरदुहद्भूर्भुवः स्वरितीति च॥
त्रिभ्य एव तु वेदेभ्य: पादपादमदूदुहन्।
तदित्यचोऽस्या: सावित्र्या: परमेष्ठी प्रजापति:॥

i.e. "Brahmā milked out from the three Vedas the letters A, U and M, together with three mysterious words, Bhu, Bhuvah, Swah, or Earth, Atmosphere, Heaven. From the three Vedas also the Lord of Creatures, incomprehensively exalted, successively milked out three measures of that ineffable text, beginning with the word तद् and entitled Sāvitri or Gāyatri. A priest, who shall know the Veda, and shall pronounce to himself, morning and evening, that syllable, and that holy text preceded by the three words, shall attain the sanctity the Veda confers. And a twiceborn man, who shall a thousand times respect these three (Om, Vyahritis and Gayatri) apart, shall be released in a month from a great offence, as snake from his slough. The Priest, the Soldier and the Merchant, who shall neglect this mysterious text, and fail to perform in due season his peculiar acts of piety, shall meet with contempt among the virtuous. The three great immutable words, preceded by the triliteral syllable, and (followed by) the Gāyatri which consists of three measures, must be considered as the mouth of the Veda".[3] In the Gitā (VII, 8) Krishna says: "I am AUM in all the Vedas" –प्रणव : सर्ववेदेषु शब्द : The word गायत्री is derived from √ गा = to sing, whence गायन = singer + √ त्रै = to preserve, whence the word conveys the meaning of "Protecting song". It is a stanza of 24 syllables and three lines, and its continuous chanting leads to Moksha.

Now coming to the question of Ahunaver we find that the derivation of the word is as taxing as that of ओम् . The correct Avesta form is

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1. "Sacred Books of the East", Vol. I, pp. 1-2; Oxford (1879).
2. N. F. Bilimoria, "Zoroastrianism in the Light of Theosophy", pp. 85-86.
3. Har Narayan, "Vedic Philosophy". Bombay, (1895). pp. 77-78.

𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬥𐬀. 𐬬𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬀. , Pah. 𐬀𐬵𐬎 which Kanga translates as the "Lord's will", and Spiegel translates "Ahu Variyo"= will of the Lord. Om has the same signification. Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎 (for 𐬀𐬧𐬵𐬎) = Life and 𐬬𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬋 comes from √𐬬𐬀𐬭 = to protect, whence the whole word signifies "protecting essence", which exactly falls in a line, with the meaning of AUM. Like OM, it is also the source of life, as we saw. Just as Gayatri is divided into three parts, so Ahunavar is divided into three sections known as 'Gāthā', 'Hadha Manthra' and 'Dâta'. Both the Vedic and Avestan formulas are equally efficacious, and recital with omission or negligence is punished in both, and both promise paradise as a reward. It is said that 21 nasks (books) were composed out of 21 words of Ahunavar.

How is "OM" derived ? It is amusing to note how Mr. Swami derives Om from Ahura Mazda. He maintains that " if Aur Mazda= Aur Mahadev= Asura Maho of RV. II, 1-6; then Aura Maho is easily abbreviated into Aur-Mah, Au-Mah, Au Ma, and finally AUM"[1] This really seems to be far fetched. Our humble opinion is that OM is directly derived from the word Ahuna Vairya.. We have already noticed that from a compound word even if a part is elided, and a new word is formed from the remaining part, it has the same original significance, e.g.. Av. 𐬀𐬵𐬎 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬙𐬋. =Pahl. 𐬬𐬀𐬵𐬌𐬱𐬙 corrupted into Pers. بهشت ; similarly Khshathra Vairya originally signified the Volitional power of Ahura Mazda. Latterly though "Vairya" was dropped, "Khshthra" alone denoted the same significance. The same can be the case with Ahuna Vairya. Supposing "Vairya" being an adjective is dropped, there remains अहुन, which corrupted into Om by the following process: अहुन = अउन = औन = औन् = औं = ओं = ॐ It will be seen that no stretch of imagination is required to bring about this change: it is so simple and natural. Hence can we not state with certitude that ओम् is directly derived from the Avestan word 𐬀𐬵𐬎𐬥𐬀. 𐬬𐬀𐬌𐬭𐬌𐬌𐬀.

In Yasna XIX Ahunavar is called the Word incarnate (Vacha), and वाच् is the name of Sarasvati, goddess of learning. This shows that Ahunavar and Aum are not dissimilar.

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1. A. G. Swami, op. cit., p. 199.

THE PROVINCE OF KHORASAN AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST.

By Lt-Col. M. S. Irani.

The word Khorasan in Old Persian means the Eastern land, and in Sassanian times, it was applied to the large eastern part of the empire south of the Oxus, which formed the boundary between the Iranian and Turanian peoples. The Arabs applied the term to all the eastern lands as far as the Indus including Transoxonian Provinces. It was bounded on the north by the Oxus, on the south by the Great Desert or Dasht-e-Kavir, Kuhistan and Sijistan, on the west by the Great Desert, Tabaristan and the Caspian, and on the east by the Hindukush mountains and the Indus. These boundaries varied even before the Arab conquest on account of the inroads of the Turks and White Huns. North of the Oxus there were five provinces viz. Sogdh or Sogdiana, Khwarism or Khiva, Saghanian, Fargana and Shash i. e. modern Tashkand. Four important cities in Khorasan, which at various times became the capital of the province under the Arabs, were Nishapur in the west, founded by Shahpur I, Herat in the south and Balkh and Merv in the north.

For seven years after the battle of Kadesya (November 635 A. C.) the Arabs remained in occupation of the plains of Mesopotamia and the low-lying parts of Iran consolidating their position. It was a novel experience to them to administer a vast country which had so easily fallen into their hands. Having had no previous experience they had to take the help of local chiefs and nobles who came over to them with open arms, as always happens when a country is overrun by foreign invaders, so the quislings are not the product of the present age.

So far, the Arabs were satisfied with what they had acquired and had no intention to make any further conquest on the Iranian plateau. Khalif Omar, in his message to Saad ibn Wakkas, the commander in Iraq, said:—"I desire that between Iraq and the countries beyond, the hills shall be the barriers, so the Iranians shall not be able to get at us, nor we at them. The plain of Iraq sufficeth for our wants. I would rather make sure of the safety of my people than thousands of spoils and further conquest." This statement made by the great Khalif himself, is a positive proof of the real purpose of the earlier foregin expeditions, viz. economic expansion and no religious mission. Moreover, at this stage, they were not strong enough, nor the tribes staunch enough in the faith to enforce their religion on conquered nations. It was sheer force of circumstances that sent them on their career of conquest which ultimately brought them all the countries from Spain to the Indus.

After his defeat Yezdegerd had retreated to Hamadan, his summer capital, and was collecting another army in an attempt to retrieve his fortune. The Arabs seeing the menace took the initiative and advanced on the plateau in the year 642 A. C. and routed the Iranian army at Nehavand. Yezdagerd fled to Khorasan, from where, with the help of some of the feudatory chiefs, he made some unsuccessful attempts to stem the Arab onslaught, but having lost all his treasure and deserted by most of his nobles, he fled further north to Merv and after several unsuccessful attempts at rallying local chiefs, he was assassinated by order of one of his feudatories in 652 A. C. After his death all organised resistance ceased and the invaders overran most of Khorasan.

Though the central power was broken the local princes of different provinces, who were more or less independent, did not submit meekly, but continued the struggle and often put up a stiff resistance, and more than once drove the invaders from their territory. The province of Khorasan was no exception to the rule and in fact inflicted bloodiest reverses on them. Even when the Arabs were successful their hold on the country was nominal, and for many years they were confined to large garrison towns from where they could not venture very far. Time and again the proud Iranians rose in rebellion under their hereditary chieftains or Murzbans, but these desultory and inco-ordinated attempts were ruthlessly suppressed, often with great severity. Such risings were possible, because the civil administration of the conquered provinces was entrusted to the hereditary provincial rulers, who were responsible for collecting taxes and remitting them to the exchequer.

Though small disturbances were frequent, a serious rising took place immediately after the death of Khalif Omar in 644 A.C. It broke out simultaneously in many provinces, but as there was no common rallying point, nor a central authority to co-ordianate the movement, it failed. According to Tabari, Khorasan played an important part in this rising and for a short time completely freed itself. Ibn Amr was sent from Basrah with a large army against Fars and after subduing it he proceeded to Khorasan where he met with a fierce resistance, but ultimately succeeded in overcoming it after several bloody engagements. The local Murzban surrendered; he was pardoned and reinstated after a heavy fine was inflicted on the province. The cities of Merv, Nishapur and Herat, which gave a good deal of trouble, were assessed very heavily. From here Amr went to Kabul and Gazna and soon brought them under control. Yet many outlying places defied the Arabs and ruled independently under their Murzbans.

It might be mentioned that for all these accounts we have to depend solely on records left by Arab historians, as there is very little material available from Iranian sources. The records of early Moslim writers, though remarkably rich in details, are naturally one sided and biassed. The notable among the early Moslim historians were Madayani an Iranian convert, and Abu Ubayada, who are freely quoted by subsequent writers. These records are substantiated to a great extent by the Chinese accounts that have come to us.

It was not till two years after the death of Yezdagerd viz. in 654 A.C. that the Arabs, under their able leader Abdullah bin Amir, were able to overrun the whole of Khorasan and establish themselves there. A year later they invaded Tukharistan south of the Oxus under Ahnaf ibn Quays with an army of six thousand of whom over two thousand consisted of Iranian levies from Khorasan. Tukharistan was, at that time, ruled by a Turkish Prince, who drove away the invaders and Ahnaf retreated to Merv Rud situated on the river of the same name. Prince Firuz son of Yezdegard fought against the Arabs, and the Turks recognised him as the titular king of Iran and established him at Changhanian.

Encouraged by the Arab reverses in Tukharistan, Khorasanis rose under their Murzban Quarin and succeeded in driving away the Arabs, but their success was short-lived, though the insurrection had spread to other provinces. As before, there was no co-ordination among the provinces and Arabs were able to subdue them one after the other. Quarin was slain while fighting and a large number of his men where slaughtered. This does not seem to have damped the spirit of Khorasan, as in the year 661 A.C. the Khalif had to send another large army under Ibn Amir against it. He captured Balkh and Baghdis after a prolonged siege and as Balkh had given him more trouble and resisted the siege for a long time he destroyed a great part of the city and demolished the supposed fire-temple of Nav Bahar. From the description given by Arab authors of this temple and from other records it is evident that it was definitely a Budhist monastery and not a Zoroastrian place of worship. The name Nav Bahar is the Iranian corruption of Nava Vyhara, meaning the new monestary. It had a central place covered with a dome in which an idol was installed which was worshipped by one hundred priests who lived in chambers or cubicles surrounding the central dome. This is no doubt a correct description of a Budhist Vyhara. The people of Central Asia were at that time mostly Budhists.

On account of frequent disturbances, the Khalif in 667 A.C., placed the administration of Khorasan in the able hands of Ziad ibn Abihi who removed the headquarters to Merv and tried to pacify the people by removing many disabilities and certain taxes and allowing some freedom to them. The next year he sent a large force under his lieutenant Al-Hakkam ibn Amr against Changhanian where Firuz was installed by the Turks and Chinese. The Turks and Chinese after some desultory fighting retreated north and Firuz fled to China where he lived for years in regal style.

After this Ziad turned his attetion to the internal administration of the province; he dismissed many local chiefs and put in his own men in their places. He imported a large number of Arab families from Busrah and Kufa to settle in Khorasan so as to consolidate his position and to be able to draw upon them for reinforcements in order to occupy permanently the Central Asian countries.

Al-Hakkam once more brought the whole of the country south of the Oxus under control; but soon after his death in 670 A. C. the provinces refused to pay tribute and became independent. Their freedom was short lived and Balkh and Khwarism were soon occupied. Ziad died in 672 A. C. and his son Obeidulla, who succeeded him, marched against Bukhara and defeated the ruler Bukhar Khuda, but he was reinstated after a heavy fine was levied from him. As soon as Obeidulla turned his back Bukhar Khuda declared himself independent.

In 676 A. C. Saeed ibn Othman was appointed governor of Khorasan. He reduced Bukhara and Sogdh and attacked Samarkand but here he had no success and lost Bukhara in the mean time. He was therefore recalled and Salam son of Ziad was appointed in his place in 681 A. C. Salam, after some fighting succeeded in taking Samarkand and reducing Bokhara and Sogdh in 683 A.C. But he had to retreat hastily leaving all his conquests behind as an internecine struggle of a serious nature broke out in Khorasan between the Arabs of the north and south. The Turks and Iranians taking advantage of this confusion joined hands to throw off the Arab yoke. They now raided the country as far as Nishapur. It was not till 696 A.C. that Umayya was sent by the Khalif to recover the lost provinces. He occupied Khwarism but soon had a setback and his whole army narrowly escaped being annihilated, and to add to his misfortune a serious insurrection broke out in Khorasan headed by Bukhyar (or Bukhtyar) and the Iranians rallied round him in large numbers. Umayya was recalled by the Khalif and Khorasan was made a dependency of Iraq under its governor Al-Hajjaj. He sent his lieutenant Muhallab to Khorasan in 699 A.C. who succeeded in suppressing the rebellion and was making preparations to proceed north when he died in the year 702 A.C. He was succeeed by his son Ziad.

Although the revolt in Khorasan was suppressed there was much discontent still prevalent and the Mavalis or the converts gathered round their leader Hurayth who, taking advantage of the outbreak against Yazid by his rival Musa stirred up a rising and joined hands with Musa. At the same time Khosru son of Firuz returned from China and occupied Changhanian. The situation seemed very grave for the Arabs, but fortunately for them Musa did not like Hurayth, being afraid of his rising influence and power. The rebels were routed and Hurayth slain by Muhallab.

During these revolts and internecine warfare there was a state of anarchy and confusion in Khorasan and the Oxonian provinces once more declared their indepedence. The Khalif now realized that the state of things was not likely to improve until Yazid, the chief of one of the quarrelling tribes was replaced by a leader from a neutral tribe who would unite the warring Arabs. He appointed Mufaddal from a neutral tribe as the military governor of Khorasan, but he proved to be a failure and was replaced by Kotayba bin Muslim, one of the most capable and energetic leaders.

Kotayba soon realized that in such a large and distant province as Khorasan the peace and permanent security of the Arab government must depend, not only on the peace and unity among the Arabs themselves, but to a very great extent on the goodwill and willing co-operation of the Iranians also, who formed the bulk of the population. After so many repeated and costly expeditions - costly in men and material - it was not an easy thing to restore the morale of the troops. He conciliated the Iranians by appointing them in responsible positions and enlisting them in the army in large nnmbers. It was during his time that the state records and the accounts of the exchequer began to be kept in Arabic for the first time.

Having settled matters at home he started the Central Asian campaign and by the end of 709 A C. he subdued Bokhara and Sogdh and crossed the Oxus, But when he was busy in front of Samarkand, Wardan Khuda of Bokhara drove away the Arab garrison, but he soon died and the city surrendered. Within the next four years he occupied Balkh, Paykand and all the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes rivers. To prevent further risings he saw the necessity of garrisoning the conquered places with Muslim troops, and appointing his own governors in place of the local chiefs. The Khorasais were given further inducements to join the army and they seem to have taken full advantage of the privileges offered, as, for the next half a century Khorasani levies are in evidence in all the Arab campaigns. It was mainly through their active help that Ummeiyads were overthrown and the Abbasids raised to power. Kotayba introduced the system of levying troops from conquered countries as a part of the tribute which helped him very much in his subsequent conquests.

The height of Arab conquests in Central Asia was reached under Kotayba and all the country as far as the Chinese frontier was under the Arab rule. Until his time the Arab expeditions were of the nature of raids and the conquered nations were treated as tributaries and their princes were left to govern them. He changed this system and appointed his own governors and left a strong Arab garrison behind.

In the year 715 A. C. Khalif Walid died and his successor Suleiman recalled Kotayba as he had openly shown sympathy to the cause of his rival to the throne. He refused to obey and calculating on his influence with the army rebelled, but he was deserted by his men and was killed while fighting.

During the reign of Omar II the Khorasani converts complained to him or the harshness of restrictions against them imposed by the governor Al-Jarrah. The Khalif, on inquiry. found this to be true, he therefore recalled Al-Jarrah and ordered that all who adopted Islam should be placed on the same footing as the Arabs and should be exempt from all burdens and taxes payable by the non-believers. When his ministers complained of the loss of revenue from such a step, he said, " God sent the prophet to show men the right path and not to act as a tax gatherer."

During the short reign of Yazid II all the Oxonian provinces were once again lost to the Arabs and in the next reign, that of Hisham there were many reverses inflicted on the Arab arms, and it was after twelve years that some sort of order was restored by Asad the governor of Khorasan. In 728 A.C. the Khorasanis and Turks made another attempt to drive away the Arabs from their country. They were accompanied by Khosrav son of Firuz, but in 830 A.C they were defeated and pushed back. The result of this fight was not decisive and the Arab army was caught in a narrow mountain defile and narrowly escaped being annihilated through the extraordinary courage and leadership of Nasr bin Sayyar a Mavali leader. It took them seven years more to reoccupy Balkh which they started rebuilding under the supervision of Barmek the hereditary priest. The Oxonian provinces were once again brought under control in 739 A.C. but soon after the death of Khalif Hisham in 743 A.C. anarchy broke out everywhere and the empire began to sink rapidly on account of the internecine quarrels, Abbasid propaganda and a succession of weak rulers of whom there were four during the last ten years of the Ummeiyad dynasty.

The Abbasid claimant Ibrahim assumed the title of Imam and sent his emissary Abu Muslim to Khorasan where he was well received. The old tribal feud among the Arabs still continued in Khorasan and Abu Muslim took full advantage of it to push the Abbasid cause. It was in Khorasan that the Ummeiyad power received a fatal blow. The Mavalis of Khorasan had by now formed themselves into strong political and religious party and they readily joined Abu Muslim, who now unfurled the black flag of the Abbasids and advanced on Merv which he captured and forced the governor Nasr to retreat to Nishapur and thence to Rayē and Hamadan. Being encouraged by this success Abu Muslim sent a large army under Kahtaba to attack Kufa. Kahtaba was killed before the place was taken. His son Hasan continued the advance and captured Kufa in 749 A.C. Here he was joined by Abul Abbas, the Abbasid claimant who was immediately raised to the throne.

As the Abbasids were supported and raised to power by Khorasan levies, they were well disposed towards the Iranians. Many responsible posts were given to them and their influence increased at court. Some of the Abbasid Khalifa had Iranian wives and mothers and their Wazirs and courtiers were Iranians. Khalif Al-Mansur bade his son Al-Mehdi, "to make much of the men of Khorasan, for verily they have sacrificed their means and lives on our behalf." By such a close contact with the subject race the mode of Arab life was strongly influenced and a vista of broad intellectual life was opened to them, and Iranian culture was rapidly assimilated, literature, science and arts were encouraged and scholars, poets and man of science were patronised and even Iranian dresss became fashionable at court. Speaking of this Sir William Muir says. "During this reign (Al-Mansur) the east began to exercise a marked effect on the manners and habits of the west. Iranian costume became the fashionable dress at court. Scholars from the east held high and influencial place. Magians came over in large numbers to the faith (Islam) and brought with them the learning and philosophy at once of Indian and of Iranian lands. The Arabs lost their pre-eminence not only in the army and court but in society at large. Hitherto the dominant caste, looking down with contempt on nations every way their superior in science art and culture, they were now fast sinking to a lower level. Literature, history, medicine and especially astronomy began to be studied. All this is mainly due to the encouragement given to the people of Khorasan and Iran."

Although by now the Iranians in large numbers had changed their religion their nationalistic spirit was very much alive, as is evident from the frequent attempts to free themselves from the foreign domination. In the reign of the second Abbasid Khalif Jaffer Al-Mansur, one Sinbad of Khorasan, a follower of the old religion, rebelled and succeeded in occupying the country between Nishapur and Raye, but his success was short lived and he was defeated and sixty thousand of his followers slain in 759 A.C. Sinbad fled to Tabaristan and took shelter with the ruling Ispehbad there. A year later the governor of Khorsan rebelled against the authority of the Khalif but on the approach of the imperial troops he ran away. He was captured by the inhabitants and handed over to the Khalif. After this the province was quiet for seven years when in 767 A.C. the ruler of Herat Ustad Sis, apparently a Magian, started a rebellion and overran Sijistan and a great part of Khorasan. His success did not last long and he had to run away after fourteen thousand of his men were slain.

In the beginniug of the next reign, that of Al-Mehdi in the year 775 A C. a man named Yusuf started a dangerous rebellion, but like the previous ones it was put down and a large number of his followers were tortured and put to death. During the same reign there appeared in Khorasan a new prophet who was known as Mukanna or the "Veiled Prophet." He gathered a large following and was able to drive away the army of the Khalif from Khorasan where he held sway for four years. He had no better luck than his predecessors and committed suicide when he was defeated. The next rebellion took place in 803 A.C. headed by a chief called Rafi bin Leith, who in order to marry a woman whose husband was alive, induced her to abjure Islam so as to get divorce from her husband and marry him. The khalif on hearing this ordered him to divorce the woman and send her back to her husband. Rafi refused to do so and ran away to Samarkand where he defied the Khalif's authority and occupied part of the country. An army was sent against him and he fared no better fate than others, being slain while fighting.

In 820 A.C. Khalif Al-Mamun appointed Tahir as governor of Khorasan where he died after two years. His son, after his death, moved the capital from Merv to Nishapur where he and his descendants ruled independently of Bagdad for half a century when they were displaced by the Saffarids. In 874 A.C. Yakub, the "Coppersmith". an Iranian by birth and the founder of the new dynasty, who had started life as a freebooter, took possession of Sistan and two years later drove away the last of the Tahirids from Khorasan and occupied Fars also. He died in 878 A.C. Khalif Motamid confirmed his son as the governor of the provinces where he was independent and his descendants ruled for half a century. Although the dynasty was not long lived, it is remembered to this day with great affection by the Iranians as it was the first real step towards the recovery of the national independence of Iran.

The founder of the next purely national dynasty was Saman, an Iranian nobleman from Balkh, after whom the dynasty is named. He was a descendant of Behram Chubin. Saman was unjustly deprived of his estates and was driven away from Balkh by the governor. He appealed to Asad ibn Abdulla who restored his property and re-instated him. Saman out of gratitude became his follower and renouncing Zoroastrianism adopted Islam. His four sons joined the army and distinguished themselves in different campaigns, They were appointed governors of different provinces. Their descendants became independent and ruled over Khorasan for a century and a quarter till in 999 A.C. when the last of them Abdul Malik was deposed by Ilak Khan of a Turkish dynasty.

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

THIRTEENTH SESSION : NAGPUR UNIVERSITY

OCTOBER 1946

PART III

ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

Including

Numismaties, Epigraphy,
Sculpture, Architecture and Painting.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Madras.

Fellow Delegates,

I am very grateful to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me by electing me as the President of the Archaeology section. While appreciating the honour conferred upon me I am not unaware of the heavy responsibilities attached to this position. I hope, however, that with your indulgence, co-operation and encouragement I shall be able to carry out the work entrusted to me.

Before commencing the session, I consider it to be my melancholy duty to refer to the great loss that Indian Archaeology has suffered by the death of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, [who retired in 1944 as Director General of Archaeology in India] and Pandit Dr. Hirananda Sastri, [retired Government Epigraphist for India and Director of Archaeology, Baroda.] Both of them were widely known for their profound scholarship, and the eminent services they rendered to Indian Archaeology. On behalf of you all, I pay our respectful tributes to these illustrious dead and request you to join me in our prayers to God the Almighty that their souls may rest in peace.

Advisory Board of Archaeology.

My distinguished predecessor in the 1940 session of the Conference, Dr. R. C. Mujumdar discussed Sir L. Woolley's Report and his Presidential address was a warning and indictment. His suggestion and hope that there should be a Central Advisory Board for Archaeology have luckily been realised. And since 1945 the Advisory Board of Archaeology has been functioning. For Indian Archaeology to take its legitimate place amidst the free sciences of the world, it is necessary that there must be a wide-spread extension of archaeological research from the narrow folds of the Archaeological Survey into the liberal activities of Universities and learned societies of India, "from the monopoly of the civil servant to the free initiative of the educated public". The All-India Advisory Board of Archaeology which represents the Department, the States, the Universities and other interested bodies and individuals can do much to broaden the base of Archaeological studies in India.

Excavation Training:

It is refreshing indeed to note that since 1944 the Archaeological Survey of India has been able, under the leadership of Mr. Mortimer Wheeler, to launch on an all-round and intense programme of work. In spite of war conditions the Excavations Branch, which was abolished in the general retrenchment of 1932 has been re-established since October 1944 at Taxila as a specialised nucleus for Indian Field Archaeology. Young graduates and senior attaches have been attacted to the excavations. While the school creates a trained and tested batch of students it also brings the work of the Survey into direct contact with the Universities, thereby enabling collaboration between the Survey and the universities. The policy adopted by the present Director General of Arcaeology of moving in quick succession the student and excavation field as he did from Taxila in the Punjab to Arikamedu near Pondicherry in South India and back again to Harappa in the Punjab is so very profitable to the student that within a very short period he gets equipped for independent field work.

Training in Conservation:

On the side of conservation of monuments, considerable improvement in the standards of archaeological conservation has been provided for, as it was clear that, important though the functions of the Survey be in respect of excavation and interpretation, its primary duty was to prevent the loss of the buildings, sites and antiquities entrusted to its care. The longstanding custom of entrusting the conservation work of the department to the fluctuating and unspecialised staffs provided by the Public Works Department or to casual contract labour was abandoned [soon after Dr. Motimer Wheeler took over charge] and the task of conservation has become since April 1946 the full responsibility of the Survey. Intensive technical training in archaeological conservation for the conservation personnel of the Department has been instituted at New Delhi from February 1946. The responsibilities of the Survey in respect of conservation are increasing in leaps and bounds in proportion to the coming in of a very large number of monuments (this is more the case with the megalithic monuments in South India which for one year alone, 1945-46 have come to about 80 monuments in one district (Chingleput) alone). An effective solution to the problem is the institution of the Conservation School at Delhi where by dint of organized and intensive courses of instruction and by controlled and closely supervised experience the conservation stall will be so equipped that ere soon they can rise equal to the occasion. The first spell of conservation training was in February-March last, and, am happy to state for your information that, the second course commenced on the 1st October and will continue till the beginning of January 1947. The utility of the Conservation School is so obvious that it will be a boon indeed if the school becomes a permanent limb of the Arcaeho'ogical Survey Constitution, as training cannot be rushed, experience is essential and experience takes time. It should now be possible for the Archaeological Departments of the States and other members interested in the conservation of monuments to attend the classes in the school.

Survey of Pre-historic site iu South India:

Another reform of far-reaching importance effected by Dr. Wheeler is a systematic survey of Pre-historic sites such as megaliths, urn-fields and implements bearing strata of the Stone Age; a special Officer for Prehistory, Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami, has been appointed since the beginning of this year. With the important exception of the Indus Valley civilisation and its affinities in Baluchistan, the Prehistory of India was not so far seriously tackled by the Survey. Its relics particularly in the south are abundant. Even a superficial survey of them will convince the Surveyor that while the archaeological material recelved during the past century in a variety of ways from a variety of Pre-medieval sites in South India is large we must at present confess we are ignorant of the cultural and chronological context of the greater part of the material in question. "There have been a few industrious pioneers and collectors who have dug from time to time from honest curiosity or as a mode of collection. Collector's catalogues (where catalogues exist) however well-intentioned, do not contain, save in the broadest and vaguest sense, even the raw stuff of constructive science. Their contribution to knowledge is restricted to the presentation of disjected phenomena which they neither explain nor correlate".

North India has been better served. Taxila, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Chanhudaro are all (or shortly will be) the subject of monographs which record considered field-work and research during the past thirty years. Nothing of this sort is available for the South. "And yet historical conjecture, both inside and outside India, has for many years dwelt upon the possible significance of the 'Dravidians' of the South in the development of Asiatic civilisation; of supposed links between them and the Sumerians, with the Brahui of Baluchistan as an isolated memorial of former movement, one way or the other, between South India and Western Asia. To archaeologists the detailed resemblance of some of the megalithic monuments of South India, to others of western Asia, North Africa and Europe has long been an alluring and baffling problem–alluring as presenting a possible link in the early development of human thought and expression extending half-way round the world; baffling because we still know less about these monuments in India than in any other country". It is therefore a matter of cultural joy that the problem of the magaliths of South India has now been taken up in earnest by the Archaeological Survey. Mr. Krishnaswami has carried out a preliminary survey of Chingleput District near Madras and of Pudukkottai and Cochin States in South India. As soon as proper staff and equipment are available to him, he will push ahead with the remainder of the peninsula. The problems which he is tackling are of a kind which links India with Western Asia, North Africa and Europe, and it may be that India in more than one sense will supply certain of the missing links. While the task which is long and arduous involves a special training which lies outside the scope of most archaeologists it is none the less a whole time occupation. And to enable the scientists to study the monuments it is our immediate and primary duty to preserve them. As many of them were and are rapidly being destroyed by war activities and more particularly by villagers and contractors in search of road and building material it has been the department's deep concern to arrange for their interim protection not only by resorting to a revision of the relevant provisions of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act but also by a special appeal to the Public. Not only the public Works Departments 'both Civil & Military' but also Municipal bodies and private contractors were removing the stones from the megaliths in 1944 and 1945 for war and civil needs. Thus while Mr. Krishnaswami is busy surveying and classifying the megalithic burials in the south, legal protection at the same time of these burial sites for future excavations is actively proceeding through descriptive Notice Boards, through exhortation and educating the public through punitive notices enforceable by law so as to create the right veneration for and public appreciation of these monuments. From our recent experience it is possible to say that both the lay and the literary public evince interest in them, but this is not enough to stop their spoliation at the hands of vested interests.

A brief account of the pre-historic survey work in Southern India effected from 1882 onwards by earlier scholars and recently from 1944 by Mr. V. D. Krishnaswami is offered here for the information of the conference to enable the delegates to appreciate the value and scope of the megalithic culture of Southern India Sewell's List of Antiquarian remains in the Presidency of Madras, 1882, was the first of its kind for South India which stimulated archaeological research. A miscellaneous collection of Pre-historic finds from different parts of Madras Province found its way into the Madras Government Museum till the end of the 19th century; an important part of it was the collection of Breeks who explored the Nilgiris megaliths. Foote catalogued them in 1901, in his Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities. At the beginning of our century Rea's excavations in Adichanallur at the focus of the urn-burial culture in Tinnevelly filled up a separate gallery in the Madras Museum. To these Foote added his collection of Prehistoric antiquities from all over India with explanatory notes, which render his collections important for students of Indian Prehistory. The Special Indian Number of MAN, October 1930, has a number of articles on Indian urn and megalithic burials from Myers, Beck, Plenderleith, Codrington and Cammiade, who approached the subject from different angles. In 1931, Prof. Das Gupta came out with his bibliography on Indian megalithic and other prehistoric antiquities. But systematic investigation of the problem of megaliths starts only with the advent of Dr. Mortimer Wheeler in the survey. He who organised a regular compaign for megalithic exploration in South India. During 1944–46 Madras and its neighbourhood, was taken up for intensive exploration and as many as 80 new megalithic sites were discovered among which Chingleput Town, Tirupporur Temple Hill and Sanur in Madurantakam are of outstanding interest. Similar work was also done by the party in Pudukkottai and Cochin States. These megalithic burials are now being classified scientifically. The question of classification brings to the fore-front the need for terminology which is admittedly the initial requisite. Current nomenclature of megalithic literature in India is somewhat misleading. For example, the term Cromlech, Dolmen, Cairns etc., are used by various authors to mean various monuments. Taylor uses "Cromlech" for a closed cist and a three-sided dolmen. Cairn is used in Hyderabad for cist-graves while Breeks means by Cairn, stone-circle of any kind. Dolmen is adduced in Pudukkotah for underground cists and simple urn burials with a cap stone. Terms such as Menhirs, alignment, and avenues denote monuments which may not prove to be really such for sometimes a series of stone circles suffer mutations giving to unrelated stones the appearance of alignments and avenues. Such resemblances were noticed by Mr. Krishnaswami in his recent survey of Pudukkotta megaliths, while real examples occur in Hyderabad. Thus surface appendages such as stone circle, cairn, and the like cannot help in correctly defining a concealed burial. Recently attempts have been made at evolving a comprehensive classification of sepulchral monuments on typological considerations and through permutations of descriptive terms in current usage such as Menhirs, Sarcophagus, Dolmens, Cists, Cairns, Barrows and the like; but this does not help in the field as no exploration with nomenclature correctly defined has yet taken place. The method of defining monuments through their morphological and intrinsic features has been of promise in the recent prehistoric survey of Mr. Krishnaswami, who found this method working satisfactorily in a half of Chingleput District where he could discover more than 60 sites. Dr. Wheeler has discarded the term cromlech and has defined a set of terms for unambiguous use and ready identification by scholars working on the subject.

These terms are offered here for general adoption.

Barrows: A BARROW is a mound (tumulus) made of earth. It may be either (a) circular on plan, in which case, it is called 'Round Barrow' or (b) oblong or oval on plan, in which case, it is called a 'Long Barrow'. It may or may not contain a stone cist, built on or below the original surface of the ground. It may or may not be defined by a circle of stone or a ditch or both.

Cairns: A cairn is a barrow made of a heaped up stone rubble. Otherwise it may resemble any of the various types of Barrows.

Cists: A cist is a box-grave built of stone slabs, normally below the natural surface of the ground; usually but not necessarily, it consists of a single stone for each side and a cover-stone on top; it may also have a floor stone. One of the end slabs is sometimes pierced with a circular hole or a semi-circular opening may be cut into top immediately under its cover slab.

Cists are classified as 'small' (3' in length internally) or 'large' (above 3' in length internally). A large cist built above the natural surface of the ground and 3' or more in height may be described as 'Dolmen'.

Dolmen: A Dolmen is a large cist 3' or more in height built on the natural surface of the ground. It may or may not be wholly or partially covered by a barrow or cairn.

Stone-Circle: A Stone-Circle is, as its name implies, a circle sometimes oval or irregular in plan, built of juxtaposed stones. It is normally, but may not always be, an adjunct to a burial-mound.

Cromlech: This term has a varying connotation and will not therefore be used by the Archaeological Survey.

Sarcophagus: This term is to be used for terracotta legged cists.

[This will be the subject of further discussion in the sectional meetings when Mr. V. D, Krishnaswami's paper on "Conspectus of a recent prehistoric survey in South India" (illustrated) will be read.]

Place names again are not without some clue in the survey of prehistoric burials. Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu in his Presidential Address of the Benares session (1943) has thrown light on this question. Components in village names like "Vali", "Karakku", "Vānara", "Ara", Āra", "Ari", "Aru","Kil", "Paṭṭi", "Kuricoi" have always been associated with prehistoric burials. Local names such as "Kullanari-Vīdu", "Poṅguyi", "Pāṇḍukuzhi", "Pāṇḍavarmane", "Parekallu", "Āzāram", "Hokkallu", "Rākshasagullu", Rākshasi-guṭṭalu", with a wealth of folk-lore attached to them are very helpful names to the surveyor in his search for prehistoric burials. We can compare the South Indian name "Rākshasa Guḷlu" with "Rakhastol" current in the Himalayan regions. Of similar value is "Dakhtol" another Himalayan name, which is connected with Daksha, one of the puranic Prajapatis "Rakhastol" suggests Rākshasa associations as in South India. While we cannot share Mr. Krishnamcharlu's definiteness in associating these with prehistoric remains (he says the exploration of these places and similar ones must bring to light prehistoric remains)—we are certain that though the connection may not be immediately apparent, their value as clues cannot be under-rated.

Closely connected with field survey is the study of Museum materials which have been so jumbled up from early unscientific excavations that all clues are lost. Such a study will help to form an intelligent corpus aimed at relative chronology between the types of monuments. The method that is to be adopted is the one given by Flinders Petrie, viz., to analyse pottery into types ranging from the open forms (bowls) to the closed forms (jugs, flasks etc). "When the excavations have been fairly wide and representative in two places and a large corpus of material exist in both, the frequency tables of the different forms taken with reference to the types of monuments from which the articles have come, as also typological evolution, are evident sources of information as to relative chronology between the types of monuments in the respective sites."

Beads are of equal value and the evidence they afford is no less important than that of pottery. Prehistoric burials from Pallavaram, Perumbair and Adichanallur are known for excavations, but the utter paucity of beads from there, and for the matter of that from the past collections, made Cordington condemn the report as unsatisfactory (especially with regard to beads), while Dr. Wheeler is more emphatic on this, as according to him "the type fossil of the Prehistoric period is the bead and it is on a careful study of bead forms that South Indian Archaeology of the megalithic phase is likely to make its first advances."

. Mr. Krishnaswami's survey has led to the discovery of two types of megaliths, the cist type and the cairn type in the Chingleput District of British India and the Pudukkottah state, while the types in the Cochin State such as Topikals, Koḍakals, Dolmens and Multiple Capstone monuments are peculiar and interesting though intricate as nothing definite is known about their prevalence or sequence. The monuments of Cochin do not show any resemblance to those east of Palghat gap and their classification must await co-ordinated investigation over the peninsula.

The extreme south of the peninsula appears to be the focus of urn-burial culture containing sometimes full burials, sometimes fractional, and sometimes suggesting post-cremation. As we go north and west urn-burials co-exist with the megalithic types. It is interesting to find that cists themselves present varying architectural features and modes of burial on seats or on the ground. Occasionally signs of human sacrifice are in evidence. Traces of cremation in the cist side by side with menhirs, alignments and avenues have been noticed round about Hyderabad. While we have started well with a satisfactory nomenclature in our exploratory work thanks to Dr. Wheeler, it must be admitted that any attempt at absolute classification in the present state of our knowledge is premature as scientific excavations of these sites and co-ordinated investigation all over the peninsula have also to be inaugurated. As the megalithic survey is fraught with so many problems, I can do no better than present before the Conference a list of these problems, our duty in respect of them, and the danger or delay in dealing with them which as already pointed out is the disappearance, nay, the extinction of these megaliths at the hands of quarrymen and treasure-hunters. They are—

(a) A Gazetteer of sites within the jurisdiction of the various Circles and States, where fullfledged archaeological departments exist. This must include all available information up-to-date, notices by various observers, information as to where the collections have gone and bibliography of available literature. [Work of this kind is a *sina-qua-non*, as Sir Leonard Woolley has stressed in Sec. 18 of his Report and over, which everything has to be built up]. Except for the small State of Pudukkottai, nothing of this kind exists.

(b) On the basis of such gazetteers, accurate and detailed regional surveys of the prehistoric burials in South India can be taken up by systematic exploration on an agreed nomenclature; this will give the fundamental data as to distribution of types etc.

(c) Making of site plans and detailed plans on uniform conventions which will afford the means for comparative study of architectural and other details of similar structures from different parts of South India.

(d) Making available all excavated material, so far lying in Museums and other places in the form of a corpus on the lines of Flinders Petrie's work which will become the basis of further excavations.

(e) Detailed series of photographs of type monuments and materials therefrom.

(f) When all these have been well co-ordinated, scientific excavations conducted in different regions and for type monuments in each will alone give the broadest basis for a resurvey, with a certain amount of all the problems associated with these prehistoric burials which once formed the wealth of this land, but are fast disappearing due to the impact of other civilisations.

Excavation:

The excavations Branch of the Archaeological Survey carried out from October 1944 excavations at 3 different sites namely, Harappa (Punjab), Taxila (Punjab) and Arikamedu, Pondicherry (South India) and achieved remarkable results. The excavations were used for training purposes and a large number of students from various Universities and Research Institutions and attaches came from all over India to take part in the digging and get trained.

Harappa.

Work at the prehistoric site at Harappa was undertaken (1) to ascertain whether or not the fortifications had existed in connection with these great Indus valley cities and (2) to ascertain the relationship of a cemetery of proper Harappa culture with another of foreign culture, or in other words to ascertain the methods adopted for the disposal of the dead.

The recent Harappa excavations have given the answer to the two problems, [one regarding the fortifications and the other regarding the disposal of the dead]. They are best extracted here for the information of the Conference from Dr. Wheeler's address to the Advisory Board of Archaeology on current Archaeology presented to the Board at New Delhi on the 10th September 1946.

"It has been discovered that at Harappa, and by inference also at Mohenjodaro, the principal mound constituted a high citadel with defences of mud-brick 40 ft. wide and about 40 ft. high, faced externally by a wall of burnt brick. Within this huge defence was a high platform upon which the buildings of the citadel towered over the remainder of the city. Below the citadel, laid out like a sort of cantonment, were lines of workmen's dwellings, working-floors for grinding grain, and granaries for storing it. The whole scheme shows that Harappa and Mohenjodaro were organised on the same rigid system as the contemporary cities of Ur or Lagash, with their dominant priesthood and priest-kings. [It is likely enough that further exploration will reveal a temple in one or other of the two citadels; and, although I do not want to raise false hopes, it is more likely in a central temple than anywhere else that we are likely to come across a bilingual inscription which will some day give us the clue to the Indus Valley script].

As to the burial of the dead, here again our excavations were unexpectedly successful. In particular, we again found a link with Mesopotamia which may represent influence in one direction or the other. Among the burials was one in which the skeleton had been buried in a reed-shroud within a wooden coffin surrounded by an extensive group of pottery. This is the first burial of the kind yet found in India, but it is exactly similar to others of the same date in Mesopotamia.

One other point perhaps emerges from the recent field-work. The date of the Indus Valley civilisation has hitherto depended primarily upon contacts with dated sites in Mesopotamia where Indus valley objects have been found in layers dated to about 2000 B. C., other objects found in the Indus cities appear to be as late as 2000 B.C., but the end of the Indus civilisatiou has never been determined. Now, however, that we know that these cities were surrounded by massive fortifications, it is tempting to bring their fate into some sort of relationship with the scenes described in the Rigveda, which, I would remind you, constantly refers to the destruction of native forts by the Aryan invaders. Indra is described as *Puramdara*, "fort-destroyer". [He shatters ninety, ninety-nine, a hundred citadels of the abrogines. He "rends forts as age consumes a garment". Where are – or were–these citadels? It has in the past been supposed that they were mythical]. The recent excavation of Harappa seems to have changed the picture. Here we have a highly evolved civilization of essential non-Aryan type, now known to have employed massive fortifications and known also to have dominated the river system of North-Western India at a time not distant from the likely period of the early Aryan invasion of that region. What destroyed this firmly settled civilization? Climatic, economic, political determination may have weakened it, but its ultimate extinction is more likely to have been completed by deliberate and large-scale destruction. It may be no mere chance that at a late period at Mohenjodaro men, women and children appear to have been massacred there. On circumstantial evidence Indra stands accused, and the conventional date of Indra's devastations is in the neighbourhood of 1500 B. C. I have tentatively proposed therefore as a likely period for the duration of the mature Indus Valley civilization the millenium extending from 2500 to 1500 B. C."

Taxila:–Excavation work at Taxila from October 1944 to the first March 1945 was supplementary to the long series of excavations initiated by Sir John Marshall, and though meant to give a basis for the training school of Archaeology, was primarily designed to obtain light on certain outstanding problems such as the unknown cultures of North Western India in the centuries immediately preceding the dawn of history.

The results inclnde "the discovery of a new hoard of 18 bent-bar silver coins together with some gold and silver jewellery and two Ionian Greek gems etc., belonging to the second stratum of Bhir mound (the earliest of the cities three of Taxila) which approximates to the date of Alexander's invasion in India.

(ii) That stone fortifications round the Indo-Parthian city of Sirkap are roughly contemporary with the earliest phase of supposed palace inside assignable to the latter halt of the first century B. C".

The new hoard of 18 bent-bar silver coins has been described by Mr. G. Mf Young, Director of the British School at Athens, in the ANCIENT INDIA, No. 1 pages 27 to 36. It includes elements of local origin together with two remarkably fine gems in a style derived from Western Asia and illustrating the mixed origin o. the cultural elements in the Indian Frontier region.

Arikamedu:–The next site excavated during April, May and June 1945, was at Arikamedu near Pondicherry in South India. The place appears to have served as a port where a Roman "factory" existed in the first and second centuries A. D. A "warehouse" and part of a well planned industrial area were exposed. In view of the importance of the discovery it will be useful to quote here an extract from Dr. Wheeler's account of the subject.—

"Arikamedu represents the site of a considerable buried town on the Coromandel coast. Two sectors (Northern and Southern) excavated in 1945 and partially uncovered by previous excavators were found to have been occupied in the first and second centuries A. D. and to have been extensively despoiled for bricks in the middle ages and later. The Northern Sector contained the remains of a substantial structure upwards of 150 feet long, built about A. D. 50 on the former foreshore above vaguer vestiges of earlier occupation extending perhaps over half a century. The building, from its site and character identified as a warehouse, must from the outset have been liable to flooding and was abandoned at an early date. The Southern Sector, on the other hand comprised a site which stood some 10 feet above flood level, and was occupied for a hundred years or more from the middle of the first century A. D. onwards. Its principal structures consisted of two walled courtyards associated with carefully built tanks supplied and drained by a series of brick culverts. It is conjectured that these tanks and courtyards were used in the preparation of the muslin cloth which has from ancient times been a notable product of this part of India and is recorded by classical writers as an Indian export. Amongst the other industries of the town was that of bead-making. Gold, semi-precious stones and glass were used for this purpose, and two gems, carved with intaglio designs by Graeco-Roman gem cutters and in one instance untrimmed, suggest the presence of Western craftsman on the site. Numerous sherds both of a red-glazed pottery known to have been made in Italy in the first centuries B. C. — A. D and of the two-handled jars or amphorae characteristic of the Mediterranean wine-trade of the period, together with Roman lamps and glassware, combine to indicate that Arikamedu was one of the regular 'Yavana' or Western trading stations of which both Graeco-Roman and ancient Tamil writers speak. As the first of these stations actually identified by excavation in India, Arikamedu will hold henceforth a distinguished position in the history of the economic relations of India with the outside world. And the discovery has other features of interest. A Roman market on the Coromandel coast implies a knowledge of the south-western monsoon, which the historian may now suppose to have been in regular use at an earlier date than was previously conjectured. The epigraphist and the palaeographer will find among the graffiti some of the earliest dated fragments of the Tamil language. To the geographer, the very considerable rise in water-level shown to have occurred hereabouts within the last two thousand years, though due at least in part to local causes, is perhaps of incidental note. But the most significant result of these excavationa is that, by establishing at least the precise chronological position of an extensive South Indian culture, the archaeologist has provided a new starting-point for the study of the pre-medieval civilization of the Indian peninsula".

Ahichchhatra: Ramnagar, identified with Ahichchhatra, the ancient capital of North Panchala, where excavation work was conducted by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dixit, the late Director General of Archaeology in India from 1941 to 1943 is yet another site that has by its yield justified its selection. We learn that the main site (the seat of fieldwork) continued in occupation even after the Gupta period, while the eastern section was abandoned centuries earlier perhaps due to the Hun invasions. Though further excavation has ceased there a very valuable account of a pottery sequence extending from the 3rd century B. C. to the 11th century A. D. has been prepared by Messrs. Ghosh and Panigrahi and published in the ANCIENT INDIA, No. 1, pages 37-59. This study is, as Dr. Wheeler stresses, a primary basis of modern archaeological science. Pottery is described as the "alphabet of archaeology' and its study has hitherto received less than its due in India. Thus the study of the Ahichchhatra pottery answers a long-felt need in Indian Archaeology and it now "remains to be seen how far this classification is valid in other parts of India". Ahichchhatra has not yet produced "that feature which is found in many other stratified sites in India, viz., a well-planned city continuing practically unchanged through the ages. Here each stratum had its own plan and alignment of houses radically different from those of the next, earlier or later stratum. Altogether nine distinct strata some of them comprising more than one stage of occupation, were identified." The following dates have been tentatively proposed for the different strata:

Stratum IX: before B. C. 300.
Stratum VIII: B. C. 300 to 200.
Stratum VII. B. C. 200 to 100.
Stratum VI & V: B. C. 100 to A. D. 100
Stratum IV: A. D. 100 to 350.
Stratum III: A. D. 350 to 750.
Stratum II: A. D. 750 to 850.
Stratum I: A. D. 850 to 1100.

Archaeological Department's Publications:

Since the conference met last at Benares in 1943, there has been, in spite of war conditions, an all round progress, thanks to Dr. Wheeler's personality and guidance, in the various spheres of Archaeological Survey of India's activities. With the enthusiasm and prophecy characteristic of him Dr Wheeler promised on the 10th September 1946 when the Advisory Board of Archaeology assembled to resume ground survey and exploration "which is so honourably associated with Sir Aurel Stein". He also augured a bright future for the Ganges Valley which he felt should receive attention similar to what has already been given to the Indus Valley as the results could not fail to be epoch making. On the publication side also, there has been much progress. ANCIENT INDIA, the bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, two numbers of which have appeared this year, stands as the forum, wherein archaeological sections of the kind normal to scientific field work are published. War had crippled publication work, but the department managed to get through Volume XII of South. Indian Inscriptions—devoted to 265 Pallava Inscriptions collected from 1904-35 and compiled by Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar. This volume is valuable as records have been arranged in dynastical and chronological order and each inscription has a prefatory note drawing attention to the salient points of the contents. With a reshaping of the Epigraphical Branch and the addition of an Epigraphist for Muslim inscriptions a part of Epigraphia Indica, a part of South Indian Inscriptions and Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica for 1939-40 have been sent to the Press while other parts are in active preparation. A scheme of Departmental Guides devoted to monuments has also been projected, and the first in the series which is now in the Press is a "Guide to Humayun's tomb and adjacent buildings at Delhi", which is meant to set the standard for the series. Steps have also been taken to issue sets of picture postcards.

Notable events aud Discoveries:

Tamluk:-Other notable and recent events of far-reaching importance that one can scan in the Archaeological firmament are the discovery by the Gujerat Prehistoric Expedition under the leadership of Dr. Sankalio of fossilised human skeletons in association with stone artefacts in the loess mounds at Langhnaj, North Gujerat, the discovery of copper cast coins and terracotta figurines assignable to the 2nd and 1st centuries B. C at Tamluk (ancient port known as Tamralipti, Damalipta) in Western Bengal and also the discovery of pottery and vases (the vases appear to date from the 1st century A. D) from the same place with designs of leaves, single and crossed as in Swastika, which at once recall Minoan and Mycenian parallels, and the discovery in 1943-44 at Mainamati near Comilla, in Tippera District, East Bengal of extensive ruins (extent about 10 sq. miles.) of religious and secular establishments, some resembling the great Paharpur temple, the ruins and the finds such as symbolical coin, bronze votive Buddhist images and terracotta plaques and stone sculptures auguring a successive age for the ruins ranging from the 8th to 13th centuries A. D.

Mainamati:-The sites in Mainamati were being despoiled in 1943 and 1944 to getready-made bricks for Military needs. With the aid of the Royal Asiatic Society of

Bengal it was possible to rescue the sites from further spoliation and to reserve them for future scientific excavation. The ensemble of evidence obtained during, the brief survey of the area effected by me in 1943 pointed towards the existence of the kingdom of Pattikera in the 11th—13th centuries A. D in and around Mainamati a kingdom which was intimately connected with the Burmese royal dynasties of Arakan, of the rule of East Bengal by a dynasty of rulers called the Chandras of Rohitagiri (900–1050 A. D) who had their capital at Rohitagiri probably Lalmai, the hill adjoining Mainamati, and of the spread in the locality of the Sahajayana which like Vajrayana was a mystic form of Buddhism in which ceremonials were dispensed with. The legend "PATIKERYA' that could be read on the coin found here locates the ancient and famous PATTIKERAKA-VIHARA of the Pala period here. The present pargana of the Tippera district extending to Mainamati is still known as Patikara, surely a survival of the name of the Buddhist monastery.

Buddhist remains in Andhra-Desa.

The latest accessions to our knowledge of the schools of Buddhist art, architecture and iconography have been contributed by the discovery in Andhra-Desa of a number of Buddhist sculptures, stupas or Mahachaityas and Viharas dug up at Nagarjunakonda in the Guntur District, Salihundam and Ramatirtham in the Vizagapatam District and Kapavaram and Adurru in the East Godavari District.

Salihundam:–On the hill at Salihundam overlooking the Vamsadhara and the Bay of Bengal 3 miles further down, was discovered a curious but very interesting monastic orientation with a high apsidal CHAITYA on the summit of the hill crowning the hill as it were, a circular Maha-chaitya behind it with bricks laid flat completely on its entire surface instead of the usual wheel, spokes and hub arrangement that one meets with in the Andhra stupas, and with the regular monastery and smaller chaityas and votive stupas scattered on the sides and slope of the hill. It is of great interest that crystal reliquaries shaped like stupas with gold relics in them in the shape of flowers (Svarna-pushpa) were found in the Maha Chaitya behind the apsidal Chaitya on the crown of the Salihundam hill. Though the Chaitya is actually in ruins one can judge from its remains that it should have stood to a considerable height and being juxtaposed on the topmost and narrowest point of the hill should have been clearly visible from the sea port of Kalingapatam which is only three miles from the hill. Evidently Buddhist pilgrims and merchants came here to offer their tributes from the sea-side along the Vamsadhara river.

The name Salihunda is probably a corruption of "Shtali Huṇda" and the hill with the Chaitya on its top was probably named so from its resemblance to a pot (Huṇda) with a Sthali (little pot) placed on it. (c. f. Sthalipaka, sthalipatra, sthalighaṭa and sthali-kumbha).

Ramaoirtham.-Ramtirtham reveals high on the local hills and on their precipitous slopes a random grouping of brick stupas,chaityas and monasteries, suggesting either a fugitive existence to the Buddhists on the hills or a whim or caprice of the Buddhists to build their sacred edifices, on dangerous heights and precipitous slopes of the Ramatirtham hills. Judging from the existence of late sculptures and Buddhist idols both at Ramatirtham and at Salihundam the local Buddhist Establishments appear to have continued to the 8th and 9th centuries A. D.

Kapavaram:—Kapavaram, 14 miles from Rajahmundry is another hill station of the early Buddhists which awaits scientific excavation. Interestingly indeed monastic cells were scooped out of the rock on the Kapavaram Hill and the re bond stones for the brick parts, when bricks were used , were often found to be of the local shaly rock. Reservoirs for water were noticed in deep cisterns dug on the top of the hill for use in the monasteries. In view of its archaeological importance, the Kapavaram hill has recently been protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

Adurru — Yet another. Buddhist site of importance is addurru in Razole Taluk, East Godavari District which was brought to our notice by Dr. M. Rama Rao. Two stupas, one of them the Mahachaitya, in the usual plan of the wheel, spokes and hub, were partially exposed by the owner of the land in search of bricks for temple building. Thanks to the help rendered by a number of Andhra scholars among whom I am particularly grateful to Dr. M. Rama Rao, I have been able to stop further spoliation of the site and am now busy getting the site protected. Judging from the size of the bricks and a few pottery and four Andhra (?) coins (not yet cleaned) discovered at Adurru we can attribute the site to the 1st./-3rd Century A. D. Regular scientific exploration has not yet been done in the Andhra Desa, but if this were possible, it can be prophesied that the Buddhist sites in the Andhra Districts are vast as against a fraction in the Southern Districts. From Salihundam in the Ganjam District in the North to Chinna Ganjam in the Guntur District in the South, and from Gooty in the Anantapur district in the west to Bhattiprolu in the East, the Andhra country witnessed in the three centuries preceding and following the birth of, Christ a phenomenal growth of Buddhist culture and art. Ramatirtham, Sankaram,, Salihundam, Kodavalli, Arugolanu, Guntapalle, Jaggayyapeta, Rami reddipalle Alluru, Bezwada, Gudivada, Ghantasala, Garikapadu, Goli, Nagarjunakonda, Amaravati Peddamaddur, Chinnaganjam, Peddaganjam and Kanuparti are a few places among the many that have yielded relics of a glorious civilization that flourished in the Andhra country in the early centuries.

Nagarjunakonda.-The discoveries made at Nagarjunakonda which have of late been studied by me are of singular interst in that they include not only monasteries, stupas and chaityas but also a palace, a wharf and a large number of inscriptions relating to the Ikshvaku Dynasty that ruled the country in the 3rd century A. D.

All the inscriptions so far discovered at the Buddhist site of NAGAR-

JUNIKONDA are in Prakrit. Recently a couple of inscriptions have come to light that are in Sanskrit. The extant portion of one of them speaks of a DHARMMAKATHIKA whose name is lost but is described inter alia as SUDDH-ACHARA-VRITTA and AGAMA-VINAY-OPADESA-PRAKARAN-ACH-A-RYYA. The script of the inscriptions is Brahmi of about A. D. 400.

Most of the stupas here were richly carved with scenes drawn from the life of the Buddha., his past births (Jatakas) and every day life, besides decorative and ornamental designs. Religion was here, as elsewhere, an inspiring agent for the promotion of the arts; the Nagarjunakonda sculptures go to prove that by religion was not necessarily meant ritual or doctrine but the latent spiritual quality that finds "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stone and good in everything".

The sources of the scenes of the Life of the Buddha which were carved continuously at Nagarjunakonda were early texts such as the Jataka, the Nidānakathā the Lalitavistara, the Mahāvastu, the Buddha-charita and the Sundarananda of Asvaghosha, the Divyāvadana, Buuddhaghosha's commentary to the Dhammapada the Sakka-panha-suttanta and the Mahaparinirvana-suttanta of the Dighanikaya as well as the Sumangalavilasini, a commentary to Dighanikaya, not to speak of a few Chinese, Tibetan and Ceylonese versions of the life of the Buddha.

The excellence of the Andhra Buddhist sculpture of the Amaravati School and, shall I say, the "School of Nagarjunakonda" has not yet been correctly appreciated by the world of Art. Various Indian scholars have discussed iconographical motifs of individual pieces, while some of the foreign types representing retainers, warriors, (Scythian), Dionysus and grooms, have chiefly interested European scholars. Some of the reliefs represent a very high water-mark achieved by the master sculptors of the Andhra Desa who have left such moving masterpieces fit to take their place with the best schools of sculpture of the world. Contemporary as they are with some phases of Gandhara Sculpture, the marble Reliefs of Nagarjunakonda, in their excellent and original designs and decorative motifs, and their moving presentation of human forms in exquisite poses and gestures–put to shade the prosaic and disproportionate forms of the stonemasons of Gandhara. Prof O. C. Ganguli has recently juxtaposed photographs of identical themes such as the Nativity of the Buddha, treated both by the Andhra masters and the Gandharan stone-masons and has shown that the claim that the Gandhara School has in any way influenced the indigenous Masters of the Amaravati School cannot stand the test. I refer here to the excellent and profusely illustrated work of Ganguli on "Andhra Sculpture"–a mighty undertaking of the Andhra University.

Ghantasala–Five Buddhist donative inscriptions in Prakrit, incised on marble pillars, in Brahmi characters of about A. D. 300, are from Ghantasala, Kistna district. They resemble those found in other Buddhist sites such as Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta and Nagarjunakonda. One of them mentions a sea-captain, Mahānāvika, Sivaka (Skt. Sivaka) by name, indicating thereby that the village was formerly a sea-port (cf. Kantakosyala, the Gk. emporium).

A study of the Buddhist sites in Andhra Desa proves the existence of five early roads which converged at Vengi in the centre of the Andhra country and almost all the Buddhist sites were located on these roads. The roads were, to Kalinga, to Drāvida, to Karṇāṭa, to Mahārāshṭra, and to Kosala (this includes Dakshina Kosala).

Other notable events of value and cultural interest in South India are now detailed.

Mahabalipuram:

The famous SHORE TEMPLE OF MAHABALIPURAM, dating from about 700 A. D, has baen saved from the sea by the construction of a semi-circular sea-groyne or breakwater to check wave action and reduce spray. The monument being actually on the sea shore, the waves have been dashing against it all these years, imperiling it during monsoon and high tides. It was heart-rending to see that weathering and sea-action had reduced the temple (one of the 7 famous Seven Pagodas) to little more than a stone core; but after the construction of the sea-groyne its actual destruction has been stopped.

Tanjore and Archaeological Chemistry:

At Tanjore the great Brihadisvara temple, planned and built in his own time by the Cola Raja Raja the Great from 1003–1010 A. D. has at last come under the control of the Department after a decade of negotiations with the temple trustees. The temple is famous not only for its colossal Vimana in the Dravida style of temple architecture but also for its inscriptions (both for their large number and historical, religious and social value), architectural features, beauty of sculptures (both their art and iconography) and lastly for a magnificient series of wall paintings round the shrine which were in a dangerous condition and are now being carefully conserved by Dr. S. Paramasivan, of the Department, whose valuable researches on the technique and pigments of specimens of wall paintings at Ajanta, Bagh, Badami, Conjeevaram, Sittanavasal and other places are well known. The choice of Dr. Paramasivan for the work of preserving the paintings at Tanjore is doubly fortunate as the Tanjore wall paintings offer the problem or problems. Though the paintings were known from 1930 no Chemist came forward to tackle the problem of their preservation as it was complicated. The Cola layer of paintings constitutes the first Cola specimens yet discovered. But the passage of the circumambulatory corridor around the shrine where the paintings are found is dark, infested with bats, enveloped by smoke from the temple lighting and incense and camphor burning and the enthusiast finds with an effort the wall on either side covered with two layers of paintings from floor to ceiling. The upper layer is of the Nayak period (1549–1674) as labels in Telugu characters mention the names of the Nayaks (Sevvappa and Achyutappa). The Cola layer lies underneath. It is unfortunate that in the hands of successive rulers of Tanjore a Nayak should have repainted the walls covering the older Cola paintings by a coat of plaster. The Nayak series on comparison with the Cola series reveals inferior work and clumsy execution. The top layer is now crumbling down in places revealing the Cola frescoes underneath. An ardent spirit of Saivism is revealed in the Cola frescoes which probably synchronise with the completion of the temple by Raja Raja I during whose reign Saivism was at its height. The themes of some of the pictures from the Cola layer are at once instructive and pleasing; such are Sundaramurti and Ceraman; Siva sitting in Kailasa amidst Ganas, Nandi, Rishis, devotees and dancing Apsarasas; Siva appearing before Sundara at his wedding to claim him as his slave; domestic and kitchen scenes; Siva as Nataraja dancing in Kanakasabha; Siva as Tripurantaka destroying the Asuras of Tripuri, the last being a vigorous and powerful composition. The overlapping Nayak layer is of poor material and decadent technique. After seeing it and comparing it with the earlier magnificient Cola series, one wonders like the Vicar of Wakefield how or why it ever got in. It is, therefore, fortunate that Dr. Paramasivan, who knows the intricacy of the problem has been entrusted with the work of preservation. The work cannot be rushed through and experience is the factor that should count, as the upper layer has to be taken out without prejudice to the lower Cola layer and to-itself. Dr. Parmasivan's task is a long and arduous one; the problem which he is tackling is the first of its kind and with proper equipment and staff he will be able to do justice to the undertaking. Meanwhile, it is not too much to say that Archaeologists and Artists are awaiting his results.

Lepakshi: Similar preservation work is being done to important 16th Century Vijayanagara Paintings attributed to Virupanna found on the ceiling of the mandapa of the Virbhadra temple at Lepakshi in the Anantapur District. Luckily the paintings constitute only one layer and the subject matter is drawn from Hindu Mythology and Iconography. It is interesting though novel to find the donor Virupanna shown with his brother in the paintings, a process which recalls stone sculptures particularly of the Pala and Sena periods.

That the Chemist is an important member in the Archaeological constitution is an established truth; he is required to preserve decaying stone work and wall paintings of which the average condition throughout India is at present unsatisfactory. The decaying stone work particularly of the sculptured temples such as those of Orissa and the Pallava temples of Conjeevaram, and decaying wall paintings such as at Tanjore and Lepakshi are now at last in the hands of capable chemists and I believe it will not be too much for us to hope that ere soon other places will receive their attention. Meanwhile we must agree to resolve here that additional proper staff, equipment and facilities must be accorded to this useful, chemical branch of the Archaeological survey.

Painting:

This leads us to the fascinating sphere of Art, painting and to new specimens and data discovered. The main feature of Indian art is its religious back-ground; the work of an Indian artist, whether he was a painter, sculpter, or architect was never so successful as when it based itself on the religious motive. What mattered most to an Indian artist was not the semblance, but the spirit. In the case of Indian art, whether in statuary, sculpture or painting, the aim was not to represent but to interpret– to interpret some ideal, just as Nataraja interpreted the cosmic dance and "Vishnu reposing on the ocean" blissful calm. Realising the impossibility of imitation the Indian artist gave effect to impression.

Finds: Prehistoric Rock Painting:

The find of rock paintings of the Singapur Frescoes in Chota Nagpur analagous with rock paintings of the Libyan desert in Central Africa has been followed by paintings in prehistoric style discovered in the rock shelters of the Mahadeo Hills in Central India. Other and related rock paintings are also known from the Narbada valley aad these stand in a group by themselves against the peculiar background of pictorial language quite distinct from paintings of the historical periods. They have also to be distinguished from the prehistoric pottery paintings known from Mohenjo-daro, Nal, Jhukar, Chanhu-daro, Harappa, and Rangpur (Limbdi State). These rock paintings have a firm aesthetic quality and beauty of draftsmanship and technique of their own; [the sooner artists snatch them away from the jurisdiction of science as mere anthropological records the better it would be for them]. I must here confess to a degree of disappointment that the study of these prehistoric rock paintings has not yet been sponsored on the models of the German Forschungs Institute fur Kulturmorphologie.

Historical Painting:

Regarding the progress of painting in India during the historical periods, gaps between its outstanding landmarks are slowly being filled up by recent discoveries. such as the Parvati-Kalyan frescoe discovered by Dr. Kramrisch at the Vishnava cave AT BADAMI with a dated inscription of 578 A. D. This discovery stands in point of time between Ajanta and Ellora paintings. Katchadourian's discovery in 1940 of Brahminical frescoes in cave 3 at Badami which can definitely be dated, the the find of Pallava paintings at Sittannavasal and in the Kailasanatha temple at Conjeevaram, of Pandya frescoes at Kadayanallur, of Cola frescoes overlaid by Nayak paintings detailed already in the Brihadisvara temple at Tanjore, Tirugualar 11th Cent. A. D. the discovery of paintings of the Vijianagara period at Jina-Kanci (Tiruparutikunram) and at the Virbhadra temple at Lepakshi in Anantapur go at once to show that the frescoes of Ajanta, Bagh and Sigiriya need no longer be regarded as the only remains of the schools of classical Indian Painting. We are today, I am happy to say, on the threshold of a bright future for Indian painting. With the advent of the Pandya frescoes at Kadayanallur and at Chidambaram, we are in a position to say that painting has been considerably practised in the South and has developed interesting, peculiar and attractive characteristics. What with careful studies of their subject matter, chemical preservation and protection from deterioration and adequate photographing, copying and tracing of these paintings it must be possible soon to present to the cultural world the history of the Dakshini or the Deccan School of Painting. I voice here the hope of that veteran art-critic Prof. O. C. Ganguly, who has been for more than a decade appealing for a study of the kind.

Architecture.

Archaeology should be linked with the living world by introducing the study of painting, sculpture (ancient and mediaeval) and ARCHITECTURE in the curriculum of the traditional STHAPÀTIS, RATHAKARAS, SILPIS and artists so that they may have a scientific approach to the subject and the glorious traditions of our cultural past may be recaptured to some extent as was done by Havell and Abanindranath Tagore in the field of painting in Bengal. The efforts of Mr. S. C. Chatterji, Sthapatya Visarad of Bengal to form a School of Indian Architecture on the basis of ancient traditions, are well known. Efforts to the same purpose are being put through in South India by me and Dewan Bahadur Narayanaswami Pillay, and the Hindu Religious Endowments Board, by virtue of its advantageous hold on the innumerable temples of South India that illustrate South Indian temple architecture has been requested and has promised help. It will be a fitting sequel to the cultural activities of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board if it can initiate a school for temple architecture in South India.

While Departments of Archaeology in India and the States are publishing newly discovered architectural monuments and collecting materials for the study of architecture, a comprehensive volume dealing with the different schools of architecture (the various styles of temple architecture included) has become a necessity, Fergusson's "History of Architecture" having become antiquated. Essays such as Ananda Coomaraswamy's "Early Indian Architecture" published in the "Eastern Art", Philadelphia, 1930, my own "Three styles of temple Architecture" reconstructed from the Silpa Sastras, Dr. Graverly's "Outline of temple Architecture", Pisharoti's translation of "Vâstu Vidyâ" and "Tantrasamuccaya" and Sivaramamurti's and Dr. V. S. Agrawala's compilation of Archaeological, Art and Architectural terms (Dr. Agrawala's published in the Journal of Indian Museums, July 1945) are a few at present we have to go by.

Where natural resources are available as marble in Nadikude near Nagarjunakonda, the material should not be wasted but utilised properly, and a sculpture school at Nadikude, teaching classical sculpture illustrated by the study of Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda marbles so close, will be a more welcome venture than that of the Railway engineers who utilise the material as railroad metal.

Epigraphy:– Indus–Valley Script.

The problem of the script of Mohenjo–daro and Harappa still remains unsolved. To the several attempts to unravel its mystery so far made by Sir John Marshall, Mackay, Piccoli, Gadd, Sidney Smith, Langden, Hunter, Heras, Prana Nath and the Czech scholar B. Hrozny, the last famous for deciphering the Hittite Cuneiform tablets of Boghazkui, we must now add Dr. B. M. Barua's article entitled "Indus Script and Tantric Code", just published in the B. C. Law Commemoration Volume, Part II (1946). We are still where we were and we can do no better than share the optimism of Dr. Wheeler who while referring to the latest work at Harappa hoped that further exploration would reveal a temple in one or other of the two citadels in which it was likely to find a bi-lingual inscription which will some day give us the clue to the Indus–Valley script.

Epigraphy of Historical periods:

Coming to Epigraphy of the historical periods, several important records shedding new light on obscure periods of the ancient history of our land have been discovered and some of them edited in the Epigraphia Indica (in the Press) and other research journals.

Though publication work was crippled owing to war, the Department of the Government Epigraphist for India was able to examine and copy nearly 700 inscriptions between 1944 and 1946. From the particulars the Government Epigraphist for India was kind enough to give me I give here the outstanding discoveries between 1944–46:

First come the graffiti in Brahmi script, that appear on seventeen of the potsherds unearthed early in 1945 in Arikamedu, two miles south of Pondicherry, in French India. These are short and mostly fragmentary records presenting considerable difficulty as to their meaning. Palaeographically they can be assigned to 200 B. C.—A. D. 200. The most notable feature of the script is some unknown signs that are strongly suspected to represent certain sounds peculiar to Tamil. These further lead to the supposition that many of these graffiti are composed in Tamil, though some of them are decidedly in a Prakrit akin to Sanskrit. Only a few contain something more than mere personal names and epithets.

A hitherto unknown Pallava site has been found at the village of Sivanvayal near Madras. The most conspicuous of the objects discovered there is a stone pillar which contains an inseription in ornate Pallava Grantha characters, pertaining to Narasimhavarman I of Kanchi (A. D. 700).

A rare copper-plate inscription from Kesaribeda, in the Jeypore State of the Madras Presidency belongs to the Nala King Arthapati (A. D 500). A few inscriptions belonging to the Nala dynasty are already known. but of the king Arthapati the present is the first so far discovered.

A dozen potsherds from the North-western Frontier Province, now preserved in the Peshawar Museum contain portions of short dedicatory records and names in Kharoshthi characters of about A. D 200. In one the writing is engraved, while in the rest it is painted in black.

From Sunet in the Ludhiana District of the Punjab comes a collection of twenty-eight terra-cotta sealings, mostly containing personal names in the Gupta script assignable to about A. D. 500.

A set of copper plates that was discovered at Benares belongs to a kind, named Hariraja, of **Suravamysa**. This is the first record so far discovered of this dynasty. The characters of the inscription are box-headed referable to A. D. 500. The notable feature of this grant is that the donor is not the king or the queen but is the **Mahamatra-gana**, i. e., the Council of Ministers. The Ministers are all mentioned by name. It is stated that they issued the grant with the consent of the King Hariraja and his Queen (pradhāna-mahishī) Ananta-devi.

A Buddhist inscription of the pre-Gupta period comes from Mithouri, Rewa state, Central India. It is engraved on a pillar which originally served as a shaft of stone umbrella over a Buddhist Statue, as revealed by the concluding words of the inscription: **Chhatram pratishthapati** etc. The inscription is dated in the year 80 of an unspecified era, and refers itself to the reign of a hitherto unknown ruler **Bhattarake Maharaja Vangesvara** (?) Jangata (?).

On the side of a cistern, till recently buried underground, in front of Cave No. II of the famous group of Bhddhist caves at Kanheri near Bombay, was discovered a Brahmi inscription, couched in Prakrit, recording the erection of the cistern by one Punarvasu, a merchant of Kalyana. The Kanheri caves have already yielded quite a number of similar donative inscriptions.

The Epigraphical Department is doing useful work and it is hoped that the "Subject Index to the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy from 1887 to 1936" and the "List of Inscriptions copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy up to 1938" published in 1940 and 1941 will be continued in view of their public utility. Dr. Bhandarkar's list of North Indian Inscriptions has provided us with a good reference work for the history of Northen India; we are handicapped for want of a similar one for South India. Epigraphical Departments of the States are also doing much useful work, though war has crippled publication. It is, therefore a praiseworthy war achievement that the Pudukkottai State has been able to publish part II of its "Inscriptions relating to the Colas and the Pandyas". The volume is a 1946 publication, priced Rs. 2/8 only and redounds to the credit of its author Mr. K. R. Srinivasan, now the Assistant Superintendent in the Southern Circle.

One very much misses today the highly useful Bibliography of Indian Archaeology which was published by the Kern Institute till war broke out. It will be long before this Institute will resume its publication. [Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, its able editor, whose death was reported falsely some time ago is, I am happy to say, alive; he has survived this false death. It was a brother of his that died. But Dr. Vogel is very old probably 80.] In this juncture the publication in 1945 of a Bibliography of Indological Studies (1942) by Prof. G. M. Moraes of the University of Bombay, from a publication grant given by the Bombay University is a very welcome venture. Its material is a survey of research and publications on all branches of Indic studies for 1942. I would urge scholastic and financial aid for this venture of Prof. George M. Moraes, who should be congratulated on and encouraged in this noble undertaking.

Numismatics.

In the realm of Numismatics also there has been steady and continuous progress, though the palm for research and publications is now held by the Numismatic Society of India. This Society, with its journal, of which 7 volumes have appeared so far, has been doing useful work bringing to light several collections of punch-marked and other ancient coins deposited in the various museums of the country that had been awaiting study and publication. The crown of its achievement is its publication in December 1945 of a valuable memoir on the "Technique of casting Coins in Ancient India" based on the available coin mould material in various museums and prepared by the famous scientist Dr. Birbal Sahni. Besides disclosing to scholars the rich treasures of museums and private collections of coins the Society has also been making a fresh study of coins already published.

Outstanding events of numismatic interest for the past 3 years are the discovery at Taxila of a new hoard of 18 bent-bar silver coins described by Mr. Young in the **Ancient India** No. 1, and referred to above; of 2 coins of King Sadavaha (na), one square and the other rectangular, one with the legend Ramno Siri Sādavaha (no) and showing identical palaeographical peculiarities. The coins show that there was a king named Sādavāha (na) who was the founder of the dynasty named after him. Though the Puranas called the dynasty Andhra, this name occurs nowhere in inscriptions. The king appears to have flourished in the Deccan in the last quarter of the 3rd dentury B. C. The provenance of the two coins is not definite, as they were purchased from dealers, one from Warangal and the other from Aurangabad.

An interesting find of 20 Chinese coins, round and, as usual, with square holes in the centre is reported from the Tanjore District in 1943. While 3 belong to the reign of Kaiyuan (713–742 A. D.), the rest are to be assigned to the Song Period (11th–13th century A. D.).

Dr. Baghchi has edited these coins in SINO INDIA STUDIES, Vol. I, Part I. Though the Chinese Buddhist records do not refer to any contact between China and India after 1053 A. D, the intercourse between China and Southern India continued for at least two centuries more. Chinese sailors in particular were intimately acquainted with Chola country and they seem to have brought with them the coins represented in this hoard.

A unique find worth mentioning here is a one-eight rupee of Jahangir just published by Mr. Singhal, in the latest issue of the Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Volume VII, p. 60. The mint is Lahore, the year is 1031–17 A. H (1621 A. D) and its weight is 21–5 grs. The Emperor styles himself in the legend as "Shāh Ghāzi" instead of 'Bādshāh Ghāzi".

Hoards of silver Indo-Sesanian coins popularly known as 'Gadhia coins', 460 in one case and more than 3,000 in another, have been reported, the first from Uruli in Poona District and the second from Piplaj, 15 miles of Kekri in Ajmer-Merwara. Uruli finds contain coins of both early and late types, and following the date of

Vincent Smith the period of their currency in Gujerat and Rajputana is from 750 1100 A. D. The Piplaj hoard outwardly look like copper but after cleaning showed to be impure silver considerably alloyed with copper and lead. Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya who has studied the Piplaj coins assigns them to 550 to 700 A. D as the date would fit in with that of similar base silver coins previously found in or about Rajputana.

The coin collections of the Madras Museum which have long been accumulating are very valuable for the reconstruction of the history of South India. But in the absence of a Numismatist in its staff, catalogues have not yet been prepared. It is time that the rich treasures of this Museum as well as of other Museums should be disclosed to scholars for study.

Museums–The Museums Association of India formed recently have a valuable journal of their own called the 'Journal of Indian Museums' of which two numbers have appeared so far. This will serve as the Chief organ of the Association, as the forum for discussion of the problems affecting Museums, and as the chief link between the Association and the public. The Association's aim is the efficient organisation of a country-wide museums service as an effective means of the cultural rehabilitation of our people. The Museums Association has come at a very opportune moment. The old conception of the Museum is fast disappearing and we are on the eve of a new era. The Museums of the future have to play a part as important as that of colleges and universities for spreading knowledge. [The Curators are to be the chief actors in the drama.]

The Museums branch of the Archaeological Survey of India has been recently so reconstituted that the various site museums are now working under the co-ordinated control of the Superintendent of museums with his seat at the central Asian Antiquities Musuem at Delhi. As no training for Museum Curatorship is at present available in India, nor is likely to become available to an adequate scale or standard until a central National Museum on international lines has been established in India, a course on "Museology" must be included in the Department's programme of training. The principle has been accepted and the Director General of Archaeology is busy arranging for the course. In the near future we hope for great things to happen to Museums Branch which before long will form the nucleus of a Central National Museum representing the cultural heritage of India both to the Indians and to the world at large. Already we see a silver line in the clouds; the National Museum scheme with several departments in it and with Delhi as its headquarters is on the anvil and the Government of India are actively considering it.

What with the formation before long of a Central National Museum for India and the establishment of a properly equipped Indian Institute of Archaeology on the general lines of some of the American Institutes, India can proudly hope to attain the high international position which the astonishing wealth of her cultural heritage justifies and demands.

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CONSPECTUS OF A RECENT PREHISTORIC SURVEY IN SOUTH INDIA.

V. D. KRISHNASWAMI,

Fort St. George.

The Archaeological Survey of India was mainly engaged in protecting and conserving imposing ancient monuments like Temples, Forts etc., of historic times. 'With the important exception of the Indus Valley Civilization and its affinities in Baluchistan, the Prehistory of India has never been seriously tackled by the Survey. Its relics, particularly in the South, are abundant and their potential value in the interpretation of early Indian Cultures and of their relationship with other regions of Asia gives them an outstanding interest'. In 1939, Sir Leonard Woolley speaks of South India as one of the richest in the world for its heritage, of its reminiscences of prehistoric cultures and yet 'we know almost nothing about them.

The excellent 'List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras', compiled in 1882, by Robert Sewell, is the only list of its kind extant for this Province, though the information he compiled therein, was not vouched by him for their accuracy. Though general archaeological research in South India was very much stimulated by it, very little was done in the Direction of her Prehistory. In this Province, therefore, any attempt at "Exploration", not to speak of excavation has to be pronounced as non-existent (though a matter of much complaint) until in 1944, when Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler came in as the Director General of the Survey. He instituted at once, in South India, a systematic survey of Prehistoric Monuments.

During 1944-45, Madras and its neighbourhood was taken up for intensive exploration and as many as fifty new megalithic sites were discovered among which Chingleput Town, Tirupporur Temple Hill and Sanur in Madurantakam, to mention a few, are of outstanding interest. A very fine dolmen occurs in Uttiramerur village. A site plan for the megalithic site at Pottur, on the foreshore of the Red Hills Tank in the Saidapet Taluk was made at the instance of the Director General to save the site from being destroyed by quarrying created by war activities. This is the first of its kind in India. Side by side, prehistoric work in the States was also tackled (in 1945-46) and Pudukkottai and Cochin were surveyed in detail and once again systematic exploration is now afoot in British India.

Thus a welter of these megalithic burials discovered in this exploration is now being classified scientifically on the lines suggested by the Director General. At rhe same time the legal protection of these burial sites as providing the raw material for future excavations, is actively proceeding both by exhortation, through Descriptive Notice Boards, and through Punitive Notices enforceable by law, so as to create, in the result, the right veneration for these monuments of forgotten bygone periods. The experience of the past two years shows a revival of interest in them on the part of both of the lay and the literate public.

The Archaeological Survey of India is also imparting the specialised training in Prehistory for Scholars recruited by the Survey.

Special incentive for Indian Megalithic and Urn Burial Survey :

A large miscellaneous collection of prehistoric finds from different parts of Madras Province, had been flowing into the Madras Government Museum, till the close of the 19th century, the most important of which is the one by Commissioner Breeks who explored the Nilgiris Megaliths. These are all catalogued by Foote in his "Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities" of 1901. Then again Rea's excavations made in the beginning of this century at the focus of the urn burial culture in Tinnevelly in the extreme South. have enriched the Musuem, forming a separate gallery to which Foote himself added his valuable collections of prehistoric antiquities made all over the Peninsula, with explanatory field notes which makes his collections most valuable for future students of Indian Prehistory. All these collections are pregnant with data for systematic workers in the line; but except for these stray workers Indian Scholars did not pay any attention to India's Prehistory.

After a long lull, the Special Indian Number of Man issued in England in October 1930, has marked a milestone in the serious study of Indian Urn and Megalithic burials with articles on diverse lines of approach from Messrs. Myers, Beck, Plenderleith, Codrington and Cammiade. In the next year Prof. Das Gupta brought out an up-to date bibliography on Indian Megalithic and other Prehistoric Antiquities, affording an incentive to the Research Worker in the shape of a valuable vademcum.

Lack of Gazetteers :

Systematic work in India's Prehistory starts with the advent of Dr. Wheeler in the Survey, for, the first thing he did was to organise a regular campaign for megalithic exploration in South India. In attempting this task one should have complete data as to known sites which should give preliminary information to go about. Thus, Archaeological Gazetteers giving up-to-date information on a topographical basis with the location of finds from excavated sites, will have to be prepared by all Archaeological Departments and made easily available to research workers, as they form the **sine-qua-non** for any prehistoric exploration. The survey has done its share for Madras and Coorg and similar ones would have to come out from other Circles and States and other Research Departments to facilitate research in this line.

Need for Terminology:

The initial requisite for any systematic exploration is a self-explanatory nomenclature. In this respect, current nomenclature of megalithic literature in India is of no help for the terms e. g., Cromlech, Dolmen, Cairn etc., are used by various writers meaning entirely different monuments. Thus Taylor (1848) uses the term "Cromlech" for both a three-sided dolmen and a closed cist.

The word "Dolmen" again, is used in Pudukkottai both for underground cists and single urn burial with a capstone. The word "Cairn" is used in Hyderabad for cist-graves and Breeks in Nilgiris uses it to mean Stone-circles of any kind; while elsewhere it means nothing except a promiscuous heap of rubble hiding any kind of grave. Then again, the terms "Menhir", "Alignment" and "Avenues" denote monuments which may not prove to be really such, for it not infrequently happens that a series of stone-circles suffer mutations giving in the result to unrelated stones the appearance of Alignments and Avenues. Such dissimulations have been observed in the recent survey at Pudukkottai and real examples occur in the Hyderabad Dominion. Therefore, in defining a concealed burial, the surface appendages such as a stone-circle and a cairn or the like, can have no decisive bearing. Dr. Wheeler has, therefore, discarded the term "Cromlech" altogether and defined a set of terms for unambiguous use in the megalithic survey under progress. They are offered here for general adoption. They are of course not to be treated as rigid but to be adapted to regional differences that may crop in.

Barrows: A barrow is a mound (tumulus) made of earth. It may be either (a) circular on plan, in which case, it is called 'Round Barrow' or (b) oblong or oval on plan, in which case, it is called a 'Long Barrow'. It may or may not contain a stone cist, built on or below the original surface of the ground. It may or may not be defined by a circle of stone or a ditch or both

Cairns: A cairn is a barrow made of a heaped up stone rubble. Otherwise it may resemble any of the various types of Barrows.

Cists: A cist is a box-grave built of stone slabs, normally below the natural surface of the ground; usually but not necessarily, it consists of a single stone for each side and a cover-stone on top: it may also have a floor stone. One of the end slabs is sometimes pierced with a circular hole, or a semi-circular opening may be cut into top immediately under its cover slab.

Cists are classified as 'small' (3' in length internally) or 'large' (above 3' in length internally). A large cist built above the natural surface of the ground and 3' or more in height may be described as 'Dolmen'.

Dolmen: A dolmen is a large cist 3' or more in height built on the natural surface of the ground. It may or may not be wholly or partially covered by a barrow or cairn.

Stone-circle: A Stone-Circle is, as its name implies, a circle (sometimes oval or irregular in plan) built of juxtaposed stones. It is normally but may not always be an adjunct to a burial-mound.

Cromlech: This term has a varying connotation and will not therefore be used by the Archaeological Survey.

Sarcophagus: This term is to be used for terracotta legged cists.

Conventions in plans:

Next in importance to an unambiguous terminology for purposes of classification is regional surveys of prehistoric tombs and their accurate planning with uniform conventions. This necessity has been emphasised on, even in England, by Dr, Daniel, writing as late as 1938 and Dr. Clark in 1939. The necessity is all the greater in India, where as yet a 'survey' has never been attempted and all megalithic work has been quite casual and unrelated and mystified in language scarcely to be clearly understood. The 'murky fog' surrounding the megalithic question remains in India as dense as it has ever been and no pains will be too much that can be bestowed towards drawing their accurate plans based on conventions internationally acceptable. Dr. Clarke's conventions are the ones adopted in our Survey.

Exploration and its pre-requisites:

Recently attempts have been made at evolving some comprehensive classification of sepulchral monuments, through permutations of descriptive terms, in current usages, such as Dolmens, Cists, Cairns, Menhirs, Sarcophagus, and the like, but when no exploration worth the name has taken place, this empirical procedure does not answer on the field. Thus it is good to proceed as on a clean slate, defining monuments as and when found, through the morphological and other instrinsic features they actually present. The object of any classification being the establishment of archaeological sequence, this method, which involves no preconception has been of promise in this direction in the recent exploration.

1. As the basis for the present survey, the 1" ordnance sheets are taken and the plan of work is to proceed sheet by sheet exhausting each sheet. In this task a knowledge of previously noticed sites (gathered from the Gazetteers) proved of great help for it was a case of the known leading to the unknown, as geological features have played a large part in conditioning the geographical environment of prehistoric man, though the early notices of the known sites had been casual and not based on such data. In a half of Chingleput District, where hardly five important sites had previously come to notice, our present exploration led to the discovery of more than sixty sites many of them of far more importance.[†]

[†] The megalithic exploration in progress was first started in September 1944 by Dr. K. N. Puri and myself at the instance of the present Director General.

2. Place names, again, are not without some clue in the survey of prehistoric burials, as Rao Bahadur C.R.K. Charlu, has indicated, that components in Village names like **Vali, Kurakku, Vanara, Aru, Kil, Patti, Kurichchi** etc., have always been associated with prehistoric burials. The rationale of the connection may not be immediately apparent but that is no reason to discard their value if they will serve as clues. There are also local names fancifully given in different parts of S. India like, **Kulla-nari-vidu, Pongui, Pandu-Kuli, Pandavar-mane, Pare-kallu, Azaram, Hok-kallu,** and **Rakshasagullu** etc., with folklore attached to them which are apt to set one on the track for prehistoric burials.

3. An exploration card in this kind of work was designed by the Survey, one for each site, where in all the field observations could be noted on the spot with reference to the number of sherd-bag, drawings and photos. This card has also been adopted by the Archaeological Departments of Cochin and Pudukkottai, where the Archaeological Survey of India just now conducted prehistoric reconnaissance under the patronage of the respective Dewans.

Corpus making:

Closely connected with the field survey is the study of the museum material which excavations have yielded albeit the excavations themselves were not scientifically made and the materials have been jumbled up, in a manner that conceals all clues. An intelligent corpus with a view to chronology has to adopt the method given by Flinders Petrie viz., to analyse the pottery (and other objects) the most abundant of all the materials into types ranging from the open forms-the bowls, to the closed forms the jugs and flasks etc... When the excavations have been fairly wide and representative in two places and a large corpus of materials exist in both, the frequency tables of the different forms taken with reference to the types of monuments from which the articles have come, as also typological evolution, are evident sources of information as to relative chronology between the types of monuments in the respective sites.

A neglected field:

No less important than pottery is the evidence of beads. While most of the prehistoric burials would appear to go to the B. C.s, we have no collection of beads from some of the excavated sites like Adichanallur. The utter paucity of beads in the past collections has caused Codrington to exclaim "the reports are not satisfactory", especially with regard to beads. Dr. Wheeler's observations made last year bear upon this point with great force. Archaeologically he says, the type fossil of the (Prehistoric) period is the bead and it is on a careful study of bead forms that South Indian Archaeology of tne (megalithic) phase is most likely to make its first advances.

Classification of burials:

The minimum area of a megalithic site so far observed is about three acres containing not less than 100 monuments. Practically every site is a mixed one, so far as types are concerned, and the following types have been distinguished so far.

CHINGLEPUT.

Two distinct types of megaliths are found, the Cist Type and the Cairn Type.

(a) **Cist Type:** made up of megalithic stones both for orthostats and cap, the whole circumscribed by a stone-circle. The cap stone is surrounded by a cairn. The inside of this type invariably contains a Sarcophagus. This complex is denoted by the symbol K. S.

(b) **Cairn Type:** Stone circle surrounding a cairn beneath which is found a single urn or couple under a slab, or a number of urns without covering slabs. These will be distinguished by the symbols **C.U.**, **C.U.c**, **C.U.m**, and **C.S.**

Barrows concealing an urn or a sarcophagus are distinguished by the symbols **B.U. and B. S.**

A bare **dolmen** in its literal sense of 'Table stone' has been noticed in a solitary instance at Uttiramerur which will be symbolised here as **D.**

PUDUKKOTTAI STATE

Abounds in megalithic monuments which may be classified as follows :–

(a) **The Cist Type:** Mostly transepted Cists and occasionally non-septed. In the case of the former, there is an antechamber usually on the east which is denoted by the symbol K. T. The transepted cist of this state is the acme of cist burials in South India and has not been found anywhere else. The other type is denoted by the symbol **K.** Both are surrounded by stone-circles.

(b) **Cairn Type:** **C.U.**, **C.U.**c, **C.U.**m as at Chingleput. C. S. is wholly absent in the State.

The Cairn and Cist in both the above areas are not mutually exclusive but occur promiscuously.

COCHIN STATE

The monuments of Cochin are peculiar and intricate and do not show any resemtblance to those existing east of Palghat Gap.

A retrospect: A persual of the past literature in South India only exhibit an intricate mosaic which the unconnected character of the work has been wholly unable to unravel. The extreme south of the Peninsula appears to be the focus of the urn burial culture containing sometimes full burials, sometimes fractional and sometimes nothing. As we go north and west, urn burials coexist with the megalithic types, but still there is no sign of cremation. The cists themselves show very varying architectural features and modes of burial structures on seats, sometimes on the ground, sometimes with nothing at all and occasionally symptoms of human sacrifice also come in. Round about Hyderabad traces of cremation come in the cist, side by side with Menhirs, Alignments and Avenues. The types in the Kerala Coast again, such as the Topikals, Kodakals, Dolmens and Multiple Capstone-monuments are as interesting and intricate as the rest. Nothing definite is known about their prevalence or sequences. All attempts at classification in the present state of our knowledge concerning them is wholly futile and must await co-ordinated de-novo investigation all over the Peninsula.

Danger of delay :

The present exploration was commenced under very felicitous circumstances as recently the monstrous cactus growths that had impenetrably covered the sites for centuries, had been destroyed in the last two decades with the aid of the Cochineal insect. But if the cactus had been an enemy to exploration it was also the agency that has preserved such monuments as still exist from the ravages of the natural enemies–quarrymen, and the treasure hunters. Now that the monuments have been laid bare they are everywhere in danger of extinction and the exploration has not begun one moment too soon. The war has brought in a great demand for broken stones and already a large number of megalithic sites have disappeared. In Hyderabad the famous sites of Rajankallur, Jiwargi, brought to light by Taylor in 1848, have disappeared and in Chingleput, and doubtless elsewhere, one has to lament everywhere for the recent loss of what must have been promising monuments.

Our duty: From all the foregoing it is clear that before we can speak with assurance of the many problems which the Dravidian urn burial and megalithic tombs involve, before we can penetrate the dense fog shrouding the megalithic question, we must have the following :–

(a) A Gazetteer of sites within the jurisdiction of the various circles and States, where full-fledged archaeological departments exist. This must include all available information up-to-date, notices by various observers, information as to where the collections have gone and bibliography of available literature. Work of this kind is a sine-qua-non, as Sir Leonard Whooly has stressed in Sec. 18 of his Report and over which everything has to be built up. Except for the small State of Pudukkottai, nothing of this kind exists.

(b) On the basis of such Gazetteers, accurate and detailed regional surveys of the prehistoric burials in South India can well be taken up by systematic exploration on an agreed nomenclature and this net work of surveys simultaneously conducted will alone give the fundamental data as to distribution of types etc.

(c) Making of site plans and detailed plans on uniform conventions which will afford the means for comparative study of architectural and other details of similar structures from different parts of South India.

(d) Making available all excavated material, so far lying in Museums and other places in the form of corpus on the lines of Flinders Petrie which will become the basis of further excavations on economical and scientific lines.

(e) Detailed series of photographs of type monuments and materials therefrom.

(f) When all these have been well co-ordinated, scientific excavations conducted in different regions and for type monuments in each will alone give the broadest basis for a resurvey, with a certain amount of certainty of all the problems associated with these prehistoric burials which though they once formed the wealth of this land, is fast and automatically disappearing due to the impact of other civilizations.

As long as we do not do these under the usual pretexts of superstition, finance or lack of personnel, we will become justly responsible to posterity for the loss of this fine heritage and for the oblivion in which this apparently robust civilisation must otherwise soon fall. The megalithic survey, that is now going on, has been taken up as an urgent post-war measure in the much neglected prehistoric field in India which will reveal the personality of India, in prehistoric and early historic ages and even indicate the effect of the Indian environment on the 'distribution and fates of her people'.

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ICONOGRAPHIC GLEANINGS FROM EPIGRAPHY

by

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The usual study of iconography is from texts on the subject like Silpa works encyclopaedic works like Vishnudharmottara and chapters from regular Purāṇas like Agnipurāṇa. Iconography is dealt with in books dealing with other subjects and one such is the Brihadsamhita. The iconographic portion of a dharma-sastra work like the Caturvargachintāmaṇi is another example, The purpose of this paper is to show that epigraphical passages, specially the invocatory verses, enlighten the student of iconography as much as the rest. It is interesting to note that as these are not compositions for the purpose of explaining iconography as such the information on the subject is naturally less strained than that of the Siipa texts and naturally lack the pedantic and finicky descriptive detail but are yet characterised by a charm born of description which is natural and spontaneous which is often very suggestive and unconsciously points out the most noteworthy features of iconographic representations just from the areas whence the inscriptions originate. This geographical element is as noteworthy as the time element which is found suggested in these epigraphical lines uuconsciously illuminating iconography.

In some early inscriptions like the Pikira grant of Pallava Simhavarman of the 5th century A. D the earlier concept of four Lokapālas is indicated by reference to the reigning king as the fifth Lokapāla. Till nearly the end of the Gupta period the concept of the Lokapālas was simpler than that of the later period. Yama, Kuvera, Varuṇa and Indra were the principal Lokpālas. The line लाकपालानां पञ्चमस्य Epigraph. Ind. VIII p. 161., in Simhavarman's inscription, धनदवरुणेन्द्रान्तकसमस्य C. Inscr. Ind. III p. 8 of the early Gupta inscriptions beginning with the Allahabad inscriptions of Samudragupta are all suggestive of the tradition of four Lokapālas as they are clearly depicted guarding Māyādevi in the sculptures from Amaravati of the 2nd Century A. D.

During the Pallava period the form of Lakshmi bathed by elephants seated on a Lotus and carrying lotuses in her hands, the form of multi-armed Trivikrama with one of his legs raised aloft to touch the sky are among the popular panels carved and these are found beautifully described in the invocatory verses of the Kasākuḍi plates of Nandivarman.

पद्मा पद्मासीना पद्मोज्वलपाणिपद्मयुगला वः ।
प्रीत्या पश्यतु करिणा करधृतकनकघटसुस्नाता॥ S. Ind. Inscr. II p. 346
मायाविना येन पदत्रयार्थिना सद्यः प्रवृद्धेन पुनर्बलेर्मखे ।
विचक्रमे त्रिर्जगतस्स्वसात्कृते स वोऽस्तु भूत्यै भगवान्स्त्रिविक्रमः॥ S. Ind. Inscr. II p. 346

Trivikrama concept appears to have been rather popular and there are other verses from Epigraphy describing the deity.

त्रिभुवनस्तम्भो नभस्थलाम्भोधिसेतुरघदहनः।
ब्रह्मांडमण्डलाम्बुजदण्डरुचिर्जयति हरिचरणः॥ Epigraph. Ind. IX p. 252
हेलालालितलोकपालमुकुटश्रेणिलसत्कोटयो लीलालम्बितहेतिजालविलसद्दिक्चक्रवालान्तराः
आकल्पं कलयन्तु वो बलिमखव्याजृम्भमाणा हरेश्श्रेयांसि त्रिदशेशनीलशिखरिश्रेणीश्रियो बाहवः॥
Epigraph. Ind. XV. p. 59.

Another verse from the Kas'ākuḍi plates described graphically the form of Hari-Hara which is also a favourite deity of the period.

कण्ठे कौस्तुभकालिकाभरणयोश्छायां परां बिभ्रतौ
दैत्यध्वंसनचक्रपट्टसधरौ श्यामावदातौ रुचा।
श्रीगौरीविलसत्कटाक्षविशिखव्यायामरोमाञ्चितौ
पायास्तां भवतस्त्रिविक्रमहरौ संपृक्तदेहान्तरौ॥ S. Ind. Ins. II p. 346

The most remarkable representations of Hari-Hara with Pārvati and S'ridevī on either side is from the Badami cave where one can see the full purport of the anxiety of the two goddesses in such a union of the two gods in one form denying both of them the embrace of their lords as described in the verse of the Deopara inscription of Vijayasena.

लक्ष्मीवल्लभशैलजादयितयोरद्वैतलीलागृहं
प्रद्युम्नेश्वरशब्दलाञ्छनमधिष्ठानं नमस्कुर्महे।
यत्रालिंगनभंगकातरतया स्थित्वान्तरे कान्तयो-
र्देवीभ्यां कथमप्यभिन्नतनुताशिल्पेऽन्तरायः कृतः॥ Ep. Ind. I p. 307

But for details that help the sculptor in executing the two halves of this iconographic form the description from the Pallava inscription already mentioned and the prasasti of the Parmāra rulers of Malwa from Nagpur are really helpful,

वैराग्यं च सरागतां च नृशिरोमालां च माल्यानि च
व्याघ्रानेकपचर्वणी च वसने चाहींश्च हारादि च।
यद्भूतिं च विलेपनं च भजते भीमं च भव्यं च तद्
दिश्याद्रूपमुमारमारमणयोर्भुक्तिं च मुक्तिं च वः॥ Ep. Ind. II p. 182

The early mediaeval period is rich also in panels depicting the attempt of Rāvana to lift Kailās'a. In the Elephanta cave, in the Ellora cave and in many of the Pallava structural temples pannels of Rāvaṇānugrahamurti abound. The description of this murti is therefore prominently mentioned in the Pallava inscription of Srinidhi from S'aluvaṅkuppam.

यस्यांगुष्ठभराक्रान्तः कैलासः स दशाननः ।
पातालमगमन्मूर्ध्ना श्रीनिधिस्तं विमर्श्ययम् ॥ Ep. Ind. X p. 8

Rāvaṇānugrahamurti is described in the opening verse of the Dewal pras'asti of Lalla.

हेलाङ्गुष्ठाग्रपीडाभरनमदचलोत्संगसंभारदूर-
भ्रश्यद्भूभारतिर्यग्दलितमणिफणामण्डले भोगिराजे ।
तत्कालोद्भ्रान्तलोकत्रितयकृतमहास्तोत्रमन्त्रावतारः
पायाद्वः पार्वतीशः शमितदशशिरःशौर्यवीर्यावलेपः ॥ Ep. Ind. I p. 77

Here the ease with which S'iva pressed down the mountain Kailās'a terrifically shaken by the ten-headed demon is clearly portrayed. In the sculpture of Rāvaṇa shaking the mount Kailās'a from Ellora and elsewhere the ten heads of Rāvaṇa and the mighty act of shaking a great mountain are graphically portrayed like an illustration of such description as this. But in another, a Kalachuri inscription from Kāsia, a verse described the joy experienced by Siva as Pārvati embraced him in her sudden fright at the terrific shake of the mountain, beautiful portrayal of which in the centre of the Rāvaṇānugraha panel as the most important theme makes it so attractive.

दृष्ट्वा कोपपराङ्मुखीं गिरिसुतां सन्ध्याप्रणामेर्ष्यया
तत्कालोचितचारुचाटुघटनापर्याकुलस्तत्क्षणम् ।
पौलस्त्योर्जितदोर्द्वयी............नस्तया
पायाद्वः सुचिरं तया हठकृताश्लेषोत्सवः शङ्करः ॥ Ep. Ind. XVIII p. 131

The geographical area from which the inscription emanates is clearly an index to the iconographic form of the deity described, for it is always the type of the locality that is described and this is quite natural. Comparison of a prince to Revanta on a horse cannot certainly occur in an inscription from South India and the very occurrence of this locates the inscription somewhere north of Deccan; and a line चतुरस्तुरगारूढो रेवन्त इव गोवनः । Ep. Ind. I p. 342 is from the inscription of Yādava Simghana from a ruined temple at Patna.

Another instance is a verse describing the sportive taunt of Saraswati towards Vishnu who after embracing Kamalā with his chest covered with the marks of creeper decoration from her breasts approaches Saraswatī who tauntingly expresses her great concern at the possible disappearance of these marks serving as a new Vanamālā, the moment he embraced her

गाढोपगूढकमलाकुचकुम्भपत्रमुद्राङ्कितेन वपुषा परिरिप्समानः ।
मा लुप्यतामभिनवा वनमालिकेति वाग्देवतोपहसितोस्तु हरिः श्रिये वः ॥
Epigraph. Ind. VI p. 205

This concept of Vishṇu as the spouse of Srī and Saraswatī is possible only in a North Indian icon, as in South India it is invariably Srī and Bhudevī who are the consorts of Vishṇu. The inscription is from Bhuvaneswar.

✓ Gaṇesa in South India always wears a Karaṇḍamukuṭa. Images of Gaṇesa with Jaṭāmukuṭa are unknown though they are the regular feature in Orissa, Bihar, Bengal and many other places in North India. It is no wonder therefore that in a description of Gaṇesa in the Chintra prasasti from Chalukyan area in Gujarat the description of Gaṇesa in the invocatory verse represents him with the usual single tusk, elephant's head and Jaṭāmukuṭa

त्रैलोक्यमंगलमनङ्गरिपोरपत्यमंकूरितैकदशनोल्लसदाननश्रीः ।
देवः प्रपद्य हृदयैकपदीं कपर्दी भूयादनेकरमुखः सुखसंपदे वः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. I p. 280

Similarly the multi-armed form of Naṭesa which Kālidāsa describes as Bhujataruvana is an invariable feature in North Indian sculpture, while the four armed figure of the dancing deity is normal in South India. The form of Siva described in the Bilhary Chedi inscription from Jubbulpore district

दिक्षु प्रेंखाभियोगप्रवलितवलनाविभ्रमाकाण्डचण्डैर्दोर्दण्डानां प्रकामप्रथिमभिरनिलैर्दूरमुत्सारितासु ।
किं च प्रस्फारचारीनमदवनिवशाद्व्योम्नि याते महत्तामव्याद्व्याहतच्छं त्रिपुरविजयिनस्ताण्डवाडम्बरं वः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. I p. 254

which describes the arms of Siva as raising mighty blasts of wind on account of which the quarters recede represents the great dance of the conqueror of the Tripura with ten arms swaying all around as in the Chatura and Lalita dance panels of Siva in Elephanta, Ellora, and for the matter of that everywhere all over in North India. In the Orissa plates of Vidyādharabhañjadeva a picturesque description of the snow-white arms of dancing Siva bathed in moon light is given comparing them to the many hoods of Seshanāga or the peaks of the snow-clad Himālaya

शेषाहेरिव ये फणाः प्रविलसन्त्युद्भास्वरेन्दुत्विषा
प्रालेयाचलशृङ्गकोटय इव स्वङ्गन्ति येऽत्युन्नताः ।
नृत्ताटोपविघट्टिता इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाम्भवाः॥
ते सर्वाघविघातिनः सुरसरित्तोयोर्मयः.................... ॥ Epigraph. Ind. IX p. 275

Siva and Pārvatī seated or standing are known in three definite iconographic forms in South India, Umāsahita, Somāskanda and Umāmahesvara. Alingana-Chandrasekharamurti or Prodoshamurti is a fourth nominally but essentially it is not different from Umāsahita except that Siva is shown embracing Parvati. This embrace in Alingana- Chandrasekharamurti depicts the deities standing. Siva embracing Parvati in seated posture is in the Umamahesvara form. Uma is seated on Siva's lap while the lord embraces her. But he does not embrace her in the way he is depicted in North Indian sculpture. Here, in North Indian sculpture, he not only embraces Parvati but also presses her breast and caressres her chin as well. This caressing of the chin and pressing the breast of Parvati while embracing is the most characteristic feature of the Northern type of Siva and Parvati of which there are very fine examples in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. One or both these features which invariably occur in Northern sculptures should therefore be expected in 'iconographic description from the area. In the Chintra prasasti the North Indian type of Hara-Gauri describes the hand of Siva as resting on the leafy couch of the creeper decoration on the breasts of Gauri

शैलात्मजोरसिजशृङ्गकुरङ्गनाभिपत्रावलीनलिनतल्पशयालुपाणिः ।
पीयूषभानुकलिकाकलितावतंसो देवः शिवानि वितनोतु दिवानिशं वः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. I p. 280

while the caressing of the chin and the breasts of Devi is described in the Pattadakal inscription of Kirttivarman

स जयति वामबाहुपरिचुम्बितवदनपयोधरस्थलो अलिकुललोललीलअलकावलिविधृतकराग्रमण्डलो ।
दशशतनयनकिरणपरिवर्धितरागरसातिवर्धितो विकसितपुण्डरीकप्रतिमो हरगौरीसङ्गमो स जयतु ॥

Epigraph. Ind. III p. 4

It may here be remembered that Pattadakal and Aihole represent the region where the southern and northern elements meet and occur side by side in architecture and sculpture.

In Eran in Central India the famous representation of the boar contains an inscription describing it as the pillar of the mansion namely all the three worlds

जयति जगत्युद्धरणे घनघोणाघातघूर्णितमहीध्रः ।
देवो वराहमूर्तिस्त्रैलोक्यमहागृहस्तम्भः ॥ C. Inscr. Ind. III p. 159

It should be remembered that this boar has deities of all the three worlds Siddhas, Sadhyas, Nagas, Yakshas, Chandra, Surya, Varuna, in short from every region, sky and netherworld included, all on its body and therefore it is truly the mansion of the three worlds. In North Indian sculpture such zoomorphic representations of Vishnu as Varaha abound in early and later mediaeval periods apart from the regular anthropomorphic representations which abound everywhere. In a Kakatiya inscription from Conjeeveram this concept of depicting the three worlds on the body of the boar is explained in greater detail making mountains, streams, elephants of the quarters, the ocean, in fact everything, occupy every bristle of the animal

यद्देहे तनुलोमकूपविवरे शैला नगा दिग्गजा नद्यः सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीविस्तारमध्यासते ।
दंष्ट्रादण्डकरालकालवदनः श्रीलङ्घिताग्रासनो लीलाकोलकलेवरः स मुरभिद् पायादपायाद् भुवम् ॥

Epigraph. Ind VII p. 130

In sculpture actually every bristle of the animal is composed of some deity or other, a mountain deity or a river nymph or Samudraraja himself. This element in the Kakatiya inscription is probably due to northern contacts that this kingdom had towards its northern border.

In the regular anthropomorphic form of Varāha there is a peculiar feature occurring in early mediaeval sculpture all over India. Seshanāga is shown paying obeisance to the lord from near his feet as he rises from the ocean, the water and foam of which are suggested in sculpture by conchs and shells and lotuses as convention would require it. In the Vanapalli plates of Ana Vema the all-pervasiveness of Vishnu as suggested by his many images in the reflections of his in the numerous hoods of Seshanāga at his feet is described

> अव्याद्विभुः किरिवपुर्भुवमुद्धरन्यश्शेषस्फटामणिसहस्रगतस्वबिम्बः ।
> सुव्यक्तमाश्रितजनाय तदादरेण स्वीयं विभाति कथयन्निव सर्वगत्वम् ॥
>
> Epigraph. Ind. III p. 60

but it is in two other verses, the one from the inscription of Rachavema from Koṇḍaviḍu

> कल्याणं जगतां तनोतु स विभुः कादम्बिनीमेचकः क्रीडाक्रोडतनुः पयोधिपयसो विश्वम्भरामुद्वहन् ।
> भारापेतफणाविवर्तनवशान्मोदाय यस्याभवन्निर्यन्त्रा भुजगेन्द्रमौलिमणिभिर्नीराजनप्रक्रिया ॥
>
> Epigraph. Ind. XI p. 320

and the other from the Motupalli Pillar inscription of Ganapatideva

> देवः श्रीकमनीययौवनवनक्रीडायिताम्रेडनस्वातंत्र्यानुगृहीतसूकरतनुः पुष्णातु वो वाञ्छितम् ।
> क्षोणीमुद्धरतो महाब्धिजठराद्विक्रान्तनीराजनां चक्रे यस्य फणीश्वरो निजफणामाणिक्यदीप्तोत्करैः ॥
>
> Epigraph. Ind. XII p. 191

that a beautiful suggestion is made by describing the obeisance of Seshanaga with his numerous hoods illuminated with crest gems as Nīrājana i. e. waving of auspicious lamps.

A very picturesque description of Narasimha in his terrible aspect is given in one of the verses of a stone inscription from Sirpur in the Central Provinces where the fearful contour of Narasimha of about the 8th century A. D. in sculpture is faithfully and artistically compared to those of the fearful weapons of the deity, for instance the teeth carved like the sword and white like the conch, the face surrounded by a circular halo or rays namely the bushy mane, his fearful brows sharply arched like the contour of his mace

> वहदिव रुचा शाङ्ग्या दंष्ट्रां सजिह्ममिवासिना
> ज्वलदिव लसच्चक्रेणास्यं गदां भ्रुकुटीमिव ।
> ग्रसितुमसुरान्संमूयेव श्रितान्तकविभ्रमं
> दुरितमिति वेपोयं विष्णोः .... Epigraph. Ind XI. p. 190

Another description of Narasimha describing the dishevelled mane and the blood red eyes of Narasimha is found in an inscription of Paramāra Siyaka

विद्युच्चक्रकडारकेसरसटाभीमाम्बुदश्रेणयः शोणं नेत्रहुताशडम्बरभृतः सिंहाकृतेः शार्ङ्गिणः ।
विस्फूर्जद्दलगर्जितार्जितककुन्मातङ्गदर्पोदयाः संरंभाः सुखयन्तु वः खरनखक्षुण्णद्विपद्वक्षसः ॥
Epigraph. Ind. XIX p. 241

But a more important form of Vishnu with the head of Narasimha on one side and that of Varāha on the other usually known in special forms like Trailokyamohana, Ananta, Vaikunthanātha and Visvarupa occurs in an inscription from Khajuraho

दधानानेकां यः किरिपुरुषसिंहोभयजुषं तदाकारोच्छेद्यां तनुमसुरमुख्यानजवरान् ।
जघान त्रीनुग्रान्जगति कपिलादीनवतु वः स वैकुण्ठः कण्ठध्वनिचकितनिःशेषभुवनः ॥
Epigraph. Ind. I p. 124

This form is met with though not very frequently in North India but is unknown in South India and it is interesting to note that the verse describing this form occurs in an inscription beyond the Deccan to the North.

In sculpture from North India, specially in carvings from Orissa, the form of Bhairava and Andhakāsurasamhāra are combined in one. Beautiful representations of this murti are known from Orissa and all the fearful aspects of Bhairava may here be observed. Stuck on the tip of the trident piercing his heart the body of Andhakāsura appears like the top of an umbrella with the handle of the trident itself as the handle. An accurate and perfect description of this sculptural form specifically stating the combination of Bhairava and Andhakāsurasamhāra elements is given in the opening verse of Raṇabhanjadeva' s grants from Orissa.

संहारकालहुतभुग्विकरालघोरसंभ्रान्तकिंकरकृतान्तनितान्तभिन्नम् ।
भिन्नान्धकासुरमहागहनातपत्रं तद्भैरवं हरवपुर्भवतः प्रपातु ॥ Epigraph. Ind. XI p. 99

Coming from the region of Pandarpur is the verse describing Krishna in an inscription of Bhillama from Gadag

अवतु स वः कंसारिः कुमुदरुचिर्भाति यत्करे शङ्खः ।
क्षीराब्धिमथनसंभ्रमसंक्रान्तः फेनपुंज इव ॥ Epigraph. Ind. III p. 219

Here the form represents him with a conch in his hand white like foam from the milky ocean. It may be remembered that Krishna in his Panduranga form may be represented both with his hands on his hip and with a conch in one of them. A lovely example of this type of Krishna is found near a sacred tank in Tirupati al. around which are placed a number of fine stone sculptures.

Though in earlier sculpture Gangadhara is represented with due emphasis on the descent of Ganges on to his locks as in the representation at the Pallava cave at Trichinopoly, from the time of Rājarāja the Great and even earlier the Gangādhara panel lays greater emphasis on the displeasure of Parvati at the prospect of a co-wife specially when she is to occupy the crest of Siva, and Siva is shown conciliating

Parvati with very great effort. This is beautifully described in some of the invocatory verses in Epigraphy describing Gangādhara. Though in the fragmentary verse of Sridhara's, Devapattana prasasti from Somanathpātan the mere fact of Ganga's presence in anthropomorphic form on his locks and the consequent anguish of Parvati is stated,

......स वः श्रेयो देयात्परमसुरनाथः सुरनदीं
सरूपां बिभ्राणः शिरसि गिरिजाक्षेपविषयः ॥ Epigraph. Ind. II p. 440

a poetic suggestion of Ardhanārisvara consequent on Parvati's anger at the entry of Ganga in her domestic sphere is beautifully couched in the verse from the Udaipur Prasasti of the Paramara kings of Malwa

मूर्द्धस्थिताम्रसरितोक्षमयेव शम्भोरर्धाङ्गमङ्गघटनाद्धनमाश्रयन्ती ।
दृष्ट्वात्मनाथवमतां सकलाङ्गतुष्टा पुष्टिं नरन्द्रतनया भवतां विदध्यात् ॥
Epigraph. Ind. I p. 234

The form of Andhakāsurasamhāra as may be observed in Elephanta, Ellora, Central India and Orissa always shows the deity not only as Andhakāri but also as Gajāri. In South Indian sculpture Gajāntaka murti is a special form not to be confused with Andhakāri, but in Western India, in the Deccan and in Orissa the two concepts go in one icon. It is therefore interesting to find an invocatory verse in Canarese in an inscription from Madagihal, a village in Jat State in Bijapur District describing this combination, excellent sculptural example of which may be seen in the Rashtrakuta area in Ellora cave

Similarly, another Canarese verse from the Kolur inscription of Yādava Simghana gives a fine description of Bhairava with great stress on details.

Mahishamarddini with her foot on the demon as she destroys him, a form which is very common all over North India and the Deccan, is described in that attitude in the Nagarjuni hill cave inscription of Anantavarman.

उन्निद्रस्य सरोरुहस्य सकलामाक्षिप्य शोभां रुचा
सावज्ञं महिषासुरस्य शिरसि न्यस्तः क्वणन्नूपुरः ।
देव्या वः स्थिरभक्तिवादसदृशं युञ्जन्फलेनार्थिनां
दिश्यादुच्छनखांशुजालजटिलः पादः पदं सम्पदाम् ॥ C. Inscr. Ind. III p. 227

The noble representations of Govardhanadhara Krishna at Mahabalipuram and at Ellora and even later representations including those from the Hoysala area emphasise the wonder with which the cowherds and milkmaids witnessed the great miracle performed by Krishna. This is clearly brought out in the invocatory verse of the Jodhpur inscription of Rupadevi

प्रारम्भे हसितं भुजभ्रमकृतैरान्दोलनैर्विस्मितं
म्लानं बाहुलतोपपीडनभिया प्रोल्लासने भूभृतः ।
दत्ताः कृष्णकराब्जशायिनि नगे श्रेयांसि पुष्णन्तु वो
गोपीभिर्भुजवल्लिकङ्कणकणत्कारोत्तरास्तालिकाः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. IV p. 313

Śiva as Bhikṣāṭanamūrti, Gaṇapati as Tāṇḍava Gaṇapati and Sūrya riding his chariot drawn by horses dispelling darkness by his illuminating rays are all described in invocatory verses of inscriptions —

संभ्रान्तजम्भरिपुसम्पदुपास्यमानलीलालसेन्दुनयनाञ्चलशासनानि ।
भिक्षाविलासचरितानि जयन्ति शम्भोर्नेत्रामृतानि सुरराजपुराङ्गनानाम् ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XII p. 151

पादन्यासभरातिरेकविनमत्पृथ्वीमियस्सम्मिलत्सप्ताम्बोधिपयःप्रवाहकलनावित्रस्तविश्वत्रयाः ।
चञ्चत्कौतुककन्दुकीकृतकुलक्षोणीधरश्रेणयो हेरम्बस्य जयन्ति दानरभसभ्रान्तालयः केलयः ॥

Epigraph. *Ind. XIII p.* 200

जयति जलदध्वान्तमुत्सारयन्स्वैः किरणनिवहजालैर्व्योम विद्योतयद्भिः ।
उदयगिरितटाग्रं मण्डयन्यस्तुरङ्गैः चकितगमनखेदश्रान्तचञ्चत्सहान्तैः ॥

C. Inscr. Ind. *III* p. 162

Viṣṇu as Kṣīrābdhiśāyi is picturesquely described with Śrī and Kaustubha on his chest in the Paṭṭamangalam grant of Nandivarman

श्रियो भर्त्तुर्मूर्तिर्मरकतसमानैर्भुजशतैश्शयानस्याम्भोधावुरसि विलसत्कौस्तुभरुचेः ।
पयः पातुं सिन्धोर्जलधरघटेवाप्सु पतिता तटित्यक्ता भान्ती दिशतु भवतां मङ्गलमसौ ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XVIII p. 120

The colour scheme of this composition is given in a verse of the Gwalior praśasti of Bhoja.

शेषाहितल्पधवलाधरभागभासिवक्षस्थलोल्लसितकौस्तुभकान्तिशोणम् ।
श्यामं वपुः शशिविरोचनबिम्बचुम्बिव्योमप्रकाशमवतान्नरकद्विषो वः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XVIII p. 107.

The same theme with the lotus springing from Viṣṇu's navel to support Brahma which converts itself into the Padmanābha motif is portrayed in the Moṭupalli pillar inscription of Gaṇapatideva

अधिजलनिधि शेषे कोऽपि पर्य्यङ्कशेषे विहरति किल देवः पद्मवासासहायः ।
प्रसवसवनयष्टा विष्टपानाममुष्य स्वयमजनि हि नाभीपद्मतः पद्मयोनिः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XII p. 191.

Śiva as Kalyāṇasundara is described in the Paramāra inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja from Arthuna

पाणौ वद्धभुजङ्गफूत्कृतिभयात्संकोचयत्याः करं व्याकृष्टं जरतीजनेन रभसाच्छंभोर्दृढं गृह्णतः ।
भ्रान्ताः संभ्रमतः सुखान्मुकुलिता विस्फारिताः कौतुकाद् व्रीडामंथरिता विवाहसमये देव्यादृशः पान्तु वः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XIV p. 297.

and in the Kharod inscription of Ratnadeva.

कल्याणानि करोतु पर्वतसुतापाणिग्रहप्रक्रमे दवः केलिकलानिधिस्त्रिजगतां दक्षाध्वरध्वंसकः ।
यः कण्ठद्युतिवाससा जनदृशा ...... गौरीवक्त्रनिरीक्षणाय विदधे मुग्धेन्दुदीपत्विषा ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XXI p. 163.

Tripurahara seated on his chariot composed of the earth with the Sun and Moon as the wheels is described in Rāchavema's inscription from Koṇḍavīḍu

तमो हरेतां तव पुष्पवन्तौ राकासुपूर्वापरशैलभाजौ ।
रथाङ्गलीलामिव दर्शयन्तौ पुरा पुरारेः पृथिवीरथस्य ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XI p. 320.

But a more effective description is in a Paramāra stone inscription from Jainad in Hyderabad State wherein a picturesque representation of Śiva with his terrible bow with snake bow-string and Viṣṇu as arrow is effectively achieved as in the marvellous painting of the theme in the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore.

तद्भ्रूभङ्गविचेष्टितं भगवतो भर्गस्य भव्याय वो भूयाद्भङ्गुरिताङ्गुली किसलये पाणौ धनुः पश्यतः ।
दग्धुं त्रीणि पुराणि पन्नगशतैर्ज्यावल्लिना लंभिते यत्राविर्भवति स्म भास्वरशरव्याजेन विष्णोर्वपुः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XXII p. 60

In the Kūram grant of Parameśvaravarman Pallava an excellent description of Sadāśiva is found in the opening verse

पञ्चास्यस्त्रिंशदर्धप्रतिभयनयनश्चन्द्रमौलिस्त्रिशूली
भीमव्यालोपवीती दशभुजपरिघस्तत्वमात्रात्ममूर्तिः ।
दिव्योवेक्ष्यो मुकुन्दप्रभृतिभिरमरैस्सृष्टिकृन्मन्त्रसिद्धः
कर्ता नो मूर्तविद्याविहितपरयमस्त्रायतां विश्वमूर्त्तिः ॥

S. Ind. Inscr. I p. 148

In the long and very important inscriptions of Rājarāja in the Brihadīśvara temple at Tanjore which supply quite an amount of information pertaining to the history of the period there are passages describing the bronzes presented by Rājarāja, his queens and generals to the temple and they are very illuminating as they describe the various images, giving their special features and the local names. Chaṇḍeśvaraprasādadevar, Āḍavallār and Lingapurāṇadevar are Chaṇḍeśānugraha, Naṭeśa and Lingodbhava. It may here be remarked that but for the record in the inscription of a Lingodbhava and Chaṇḍeśānugraha we have no other example in bronze of such images and the inscription is therefore quite useful as it helps us to understand the rich variety of bronzes in the Chola period.

It is not Hindu images alone that occur in the invocatory verses of inscriptions. There are evcellent descriptions of Jain ond Buddhist images as well. Vṛṣabhadeva with his characteristic bull cognizance, with the Śrīvatsa mark on his chest common to Tīrthankaras is described in a verse from an inscription from Śatruñjaya wherein the use of pun on words and suggesting similarity and difference with and from Śiva make it interesting

स्वस्ति श्रीवत्सभर्तापि न विष्णुश्चतुराननः ।
न ब्रह्मा यो वृषङ्कोऽपि न रुद्रः स जिनः श्रिये ॥

Epigraph. Ind. II p. 64

Another such verse is from an inscription from the Vimala temple at Mount Abu

अङ्गीकृताचलपदो वृषभासितोऽपि मूर्तिर्गणाधिपतिसेवितपादपद्मः ।
शम्भुर्युगादिपुरुषो जगदेकनाथः पुण्याय पल्लवयतु प्रतिवासरं सः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. IX p. 155

Vasudhārā and her essential characteristics are described in a verse of an inscription from Sārnāth

समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा प्रशमितबहुविश्वोद्दामदुःखोरुधारा ।
धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः स्वः किरन्ती तदखिलजनदैन्यान्याजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥

Epigraph. Ind. IX p. 323

Similarly Mañjughoṣa is described in the Rewa inscription of Malayasimha.

अष्टारचक्राकृतिपूर्णचन्द्रपद्मासनस्थं हिमशैलगौरम् ।
सव्येतरापाणिगखड्गपुस्तं वक्ष्यामि नत्वा खलु मञ्जुघोषम् ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XIX p. 296

Special iconographic features are sometimes well emphasised in these verses from inscriptions containing iconographic material; and though they are not intended to lay down rules of iconography, they still throw great light on special forms in special areas and during the centuries. That Buddhi and Siddhi are consorts of Gaṇeśa is mentioned in a verse of an inscription from Ranthambhor

शं वो लम्बोदरो देयादेककालं कलत्रयोः ।
बुद्धिसिद्ध्योः स्तनस्पर्शहेतोरिव चतुर्भुजः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. XIX p. 49

And in the most poetic spirit Rati is compared to the flower arrow of Kāma whose friend is the Moon.

तत्तादृक्कुसुमनोमनोहरतनुर्वामाङ्गशृङ्गारिणी मुष्टिस्वीकरणीयमध्यमधरावष्टम्भनम्राकृतिः ।
आकर्णान्तनटत्कटाक्षविशिखव्यापारधन्या जयत्यन्या चापलतेव चन्द्रसुहृदो देवस्य कान्ता रतिः ॥

Epigraph. Ind. VIII p. 101

Study of iconographic material from the inscriptions is thus helpful in understanding the forms of the deities.

THE PART PLAYED BY TEMPLES IN THE PRESERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MUSIC

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Temples in India have played an important part in the preservation and development of music. Music in its triple aspect of gīta, vādya and nṛtya (vocal music, instrumental music and dancing) was given a prominent place in temple rituals. In India music and dance were never conceived of as mere items of entertainment, but as subjects worthy of serious study by even the greatest men and women of this land. These two arts wore elevated to the status of *vidyā*. They helped the thinking men and women to understand something of the Infinite. It is not without significance that the divinities and celestials are associated with music, and musical instruments and dance. The performance of music and dance in temple rituals was obligatery and not something that could be dispensed with at the sweet will and pleasure of the managing trustees. In fact it is in temples that one can witness rare specimens of sacred dance like the Bhujangalalita nrittam, Gaṇapati nrittam, etc. Special musical forms like the Kaustubham could be heard only in temples.

The Institution of music and dance in temples was conceived and planned in a spirit of offering to the Deity. In order to ensure a continuity of performance, the artists were in most cases given inams of land. There are instances of *Vinaikkani*, i. e., land being given in perpetuity to Vainikas by rulers in return for performances on the Vīṇā during temple rituals Many Śaivite temples have Oduvars who recite selections from the Tevaram during temple services. The Vaishnavite temples have the Araiyars. The Veda-Parāyaṇa-Goshṭies provide the hymnal music From the 15th century onwards, Bhajana as a special form of worship took shape. The Bhakti movement of the medieval period gave a great impetus to this form of worship and the masses took to it with great fervour and enthusiasm. Bhajanas came to be performed in the Temple precincts on Ekādaśi and other sacred days. Men and women, old and young, all alike took part in this democratic form of worship, either as singers or as devout listeners. In fact, the Bhajana became the first introduction for the child to the realm of music.

The nāgasvaram party provide instrumental music in temples. In some temples we hear special instruments being played during rituals. The Panchamukha vādyam is the pride of the shrines at Tiruvarur and Tirutturaipundi. It is played solo and also in conjunction with the suddha mardalam. Parasaivas are the privileged class of people entitled to play on this instrument. The present performer on this instrument in the Tiruvarur temple is a descendant of Tambiyappan, one of the disciples of the composer, Muthuswami Dimshitar.

The Panchamukha vādyam is a five-faced drum with plain drumheads. This complex instrument belonging to the group of membranophones is of interest both from the musical and scientific points of view. It is a development from out of the ancient Kudamuzha (a drum with a pot-shaped resonator) and familiar to students of Tamil Literature. There is a fine sculpture of the Kudamuzha in the Avadayarkeil. Arunagirinathar in his Bhūta-vetala-vaguppu. refers to the Kudapanchamukhi. The Panchamukha vadyam has a big shell of bronze and from the tip of the shell emerge five hollow cylinders. The open ends of these cylinders are covered with skin. The drum heads are all on the same level and are played by the two hands. The faces are struck successively, and sometimes two faces are played upon simultaneously by the two hands. Special sequences of jātis are played on this instrument. The central face is slightly larger than the peripheral ones. The five faces are named after the five faces of Śiva--the central one bearing the name sadyojāta and the four peripheral faces Īsanam, tatpurusham, aghoram, and vāmadevam. Being a big and a weighty instrument it is mounted on a four-wheeled carriage. The tone colour of this instrument resembles that of the tablā-tarang. Since the instrument has a common resonating chamber, it follows that even when one face is struck, the other faces vibrate and this can be visually seen by sprinkling rice flour or particles of fine sand on the unstruck drum-faces. The notes heard are perfectly musical and the drum-faces are appropriately enough tuned to notes which bear the samvādi or anuvādi relationships.

Sarva Vādyam

SARVA VĀDYAM, literally all instruments, is an interesting institution by itself and is played only in a few temples. In the Kāmikāgamam, details relating to the rāgas, tālas, paṇs, instruments and dances to be performed in the nava sandhis during the Brahmotsava are clearly given. But it is a pity that even in the bigger and wealthier temples the archakas have lost touch with these details. The archakas no doubt recite the appropriate ślokas at the concerned sandhis but the question is whether the vocalists, instrumentalists and dancers do comply faithfully with the meaning of the śloka. When Gurjari rāga has to be played, invariably the nāgasvaram player plays a cinema tune for the entertainment of those assembled, and when Bhujanga lalita nrittam has to be performed, the dancing girl dances something familiar to her. In this manner musical frauds are being perpetrated in the holy precincts of temples. In the temple at Cheyyur in Chingleput district, the Sarva Vādyam is still being played during the Annual Brahmotsavam. Cheyyur is also familiar to musicians as the place where lived the composer Cheyyur Chengalvareya Sastriar, in the last century.

He has to his credit a number of kritis in Telugu and Sanskrit. He has also composed some śabdas. The idea underlying the performance of the Sarva Vādyam is musical homage to god in the triple aspect of gīta, vādya, and nṛtya. The function starts with the recital of selections from Tevaram, Tiruvachakam, Tiruppallandu, and Tiruppugai by the Oduvar and this is followed by Pushpāñjali. The Nandikeśvara vādyam (mṛdangam) and Bramha tālam are next played and this is followed by a nrittam. Different musical forms like gīta, varṇa, kīrtana, padam, and tillana, are sung and this is followed by the singing of literary forms like Churnika, ashṭaka, venba, kalitogai, varieties of viruttam, ammanai, vannam and ula. The playing of different instruments like Tiruchinnam, murali, mukhavīṇā, ṭakora vādyam, mallari, Dhanka, conch, navuri, bhujanga svaram etc. follows. Items of classical dance and thematic dances liks bhujanga nṛtyam are also given. More than forty items figure in this programme. It is an education, entertainment and a spiritual experience to witness a performance of Sarva Vādyam. The whole thing lasts for about three hours.

Classical dance found its due encouragement in temples. The dancers performed before the Deity on special occasions. The performances of dance, dramas and Kuravanji nātakas kept alive the art of dance. The Tiruvarur temple is noted for the performance of the Pallaki seva prabandham, a beautiful dance drama in Telugu by Shahaji Maharajah. The performances of the Bhagavata mela natakas in places like Merattur, Sulamangalam, Uttukadu and Nallur in Tanjore district enabled the audience to appreciate and understand the beauties of dance dramas.

The dance dramas of South India are an annual feature of the community life of the villagers. Almost all the adult members took part in them, either as actors, singers, or instrumental accompanists. Some looked to the stage management or green-room work and others to the general reception arrangements. In addition to the local people, large numbers of people from the neighbouring villages attended these dance dramas. As these dance dramas were enacted in front of the temples and in the immediate presence of the Deity specially brought and placed at a prominent place in the direct view of the stage, a spiritual atmosphere was imparted to the whole show. In these villages it has been the custom for particular families to provide particular actors for these dance dramas. There have been instances when the right to appear in a particular role was even pledged by the person who was in need of money. Till the period of re-payment he denied to himself the privilege of appearing in that role in the dance dramas. The dance dramas ensured the corporate life of the village each one willingly sharing some part of the work.

South India is the home of musical iconography. The beautiful imagas in stone and bronze as also the paintings and frescoes depicting performers on musical instruments, furnish valuable materials. Important inferences of both negative and positive character are furnished by them. The musical stone pillars found in some of the temples are marvels of architectural and musical skill. The cluster of pillars carved out of a huge block of resonant stone was played upon with two thin sticks. The performers stood on opposite sides and played on the pillars. Solo music as well as accompaniment were provided by them. Rhythmic accompaniment was provided to performances of dance by playing jātis on them. The tone-colour of the notes emanating from the pillars approximate to the tone of the jalatarangam. The pillars are of various artistic shapes-cylindrical, square, octogonal, twisted etc. They show how art could be combined with the requirements of music. When a pillar is struck, one can feel and hear the sympathetic vibration from the other neighbouring pillars of the same frequency. The Pampāpati, Cowḍeśwari and Viṭṭala shrines at Humpi and the temples at Lepākṣi, Tāḍpatri, Madura, Azhagarkoil, Tinnevelly, Suchindram and Trivandrum contain splendid specimens of musical stone pillars. Where resonant stones occurred in plenty, they were used for carving resonant images as in the Kṛṣṇāpuram temple in the Tinnevelly District. In the temple at Dārāsuram the stone steps of the balipīṭam give musical notes. In the temple at Simhāchalam, notes are heard from the stone foliage work on the top of Pillars.

The sculptures of Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇamūrti in some temples, the sculpture of Aṣṭabhuja Kṛṣṇa playing the flute in the Conjeevaram temple, the sculpture of Sarasvati playing a fretted vīṇā of the pre-Raghunātha Naik period, in the temple at Paṭṭisvaram, the images of Nartana Gaṇapati and Tāṇḍava Kṛṣṇa the figures of trimly-clad girls playing Kolāṭṭam in cross-wise posture in the temples at Perūr, Avaḍayārkoil and Rāmeśwaram, the sculptures of celestial musicians in the Kumāraswāmy Temple at Cheyyūr and in the Anantapadmanābhaswāmy Temple, at Trivandram the sculptures depicting the different dance-poses with illustrative ślokas beneath them, in the Gopuram at Chidambaram, the musical inscriptions at Kuḍimiyamalai and Tirumayam in the Pudukottah State and the epigraphical Records of ināms of land granted to musicians found in some temples are all important materials, and highly useful for Research.

In the sculpture referred to above in the temple at Paṭṭīśvaram, the instrument depicted is the Rudra Vīṇa, with two strings, two gourds and frets. The instrument is held in the horizontal posture unlike the oblique posture of the vīṇā in the earlier sculptures. With the disappearance of the Yāzh, the Vīṇā emerged as an important concert instrument. The head-piece of the modern South Indian Vīṇā reminds us of the head-piece of the Yāzh. The fact that the modern South Indian Vīṇā with its hemispherical resonator on the right, the gourd resonator on the left, twenty-four frets, seven strings and the head-piece carved in to the head of a Yāli, is not found in any of the temple sculptures, shows that this instrument came into existence after the period of these sculptures.

The Rāśimaṇḍalam depicted on the roofs of the Kolu maṇṭapas in the temple at Gangaikoṇḍachozhapuram and Kumbheśwaraswāmi temple in Kumbakonam, shows how the process of deriving scales by the process of modal shift of tonic was explained practically by girls participating in pinnal Kolāṭṭam.

The Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava poses of Naṭarāja in the shrines at Perūr and Tiruvālangūḍu and in the Gopuram of the temple at Tirumazhappāḍi offer interesting study. In addition to the usual ḍamaru there is an extra drum held between the legs by the Deity. One hand holds it and the other plays upon it. The explanation for this extra drum may be as follows : In the Ūrdhva tāṇḍava, the Lord was developing a new type of dance unknown to the devatas. In the earlier stages, He dances to easy rhythmic beats and subsequently the technique of dance became more intricate. The erstwhile accompanists were taken by surprise at the new type of dance. They stopped playing. All that they could do was only to gaze with amazement at the thrilling performance of Naṭarāja. Finding that the significance of the new dance will go unnoticed the Lord himself took up an extra drum and provided the rhythmical accompaniment himself. Pārvati who was responding to his dances with equal vigour and excellence in the earlier part, became absorbed in the new poses and the new sequences of rhythmical patterns. The Ūrdhva tāṇḍava almost unnerved Her and she silently gazed at the thrilling performance. Pārvati's failure to respond to the Ūrdhva tāṇḍava is popularly taken as Her defeat. In fact there is an image in the Tiruvālangāḍu temple showing how in the initial stages of Ūrdhva tāṇḍava, Pārvati even attempted to respond by partially lifting up her legs.

In some temples like those at Tirupati, Bhadrāchalam and Trivandrum great composers have composed special songs for being sung during the Temple rituals. The managements of these Temples would do well to print these songs in notation and make them available to the worshippers. It is time that temples appointed art curaters who would look after the preservation of art treasures of these temples.

Temples in South India have been the home of *Static music*, *dynamic music* and *static dance* and *dynamic dance*. Representations of concert parties and dance parties through sculptures and paintings come under the heading-static music and static dance. These records on stone and colour are valuable documents and help us to form clear ideas of the concerts of those periods, the number that constituted a concert party or a dance party, the instruments that were used as accompaniments, their construction and shape, the number of strings, finger holes and drum faces, the seating plan of performers, etc. The mag es playing on musical instruments and the sculptures of celestial musicians are interesting from many points of view. The postures in which the instruments were held, their manner of play, their possibilities in gamaka aud compass are important details furnished by these specimens of static music. The costumes and jewels worn by dancers as depicted in the sculptures and paintings threw a flood of light on the subject of *Āhārya Abhinaya*-through the centuries. *Dynamic music* and *dynamic dance* comprise actual concerts of music and dance performed in temples. Here we see the actual performers in life, flesh and blood before us and we listen to a continuous flow of music from them. The Veda pārāyaṇa ghoshṭis, oduvārs, araiyars, bhajana ghoshṭis, concert parties and nāgaswaram parties provide dynamic music. The Vālmiki naṭanam performed on all full moon days in the shrine at Tiruvānmiyur is of special interest. The deity is taken out in a palanquin. The bearers of the palanquin dance to quadruple time and triple time with remarkable precision and accuracy.

Temple music has got to be revived and revitalised. Steps should be taken to re-introduce the items of music and dance that were formerly given on the occasions of temple rituals.

TIRUKKAMAKOTTAM

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In most of the South Indian Śiva temples a separate shrine is dedicated to *Devi* (Umā or Pārvatī) and this is popularly called the *amman* shrine, *amman* being the general term by which the *Devi* is referred to, though in each temple she has a specific name, a name which is in accordance with the name of the God in the temple, e. g. Bṛhannāyaki in the temple of Bṛhadīśvara, or in Tamil Periyanāyaki in the temple of Peruvuḍaiyār. She is represented as the divine consort of Śiva enshrined in the main sanctum, and in inscriptions she is referred to as the *tampirāṭṭiyār*, *pirāṭṭiyār*, *nācciyār* or *Bhaṭṭāraki*, while the god is referred to as *uḍaiyār*, *Perumānār*, or *Nāyanār* or *Bhaṭṭārar.*

Among the earliest extant stone temples in the south-excavated or carved out of rock or constructed of stone — we do not come across an exclusive shrine for the *Devī* as consort of the Lord of the sanctum, though we have numerous instances of separate temples excavated or carved out of rock or constructed of stone, and dedicated to *Devī* as Durgā which did not form part of a Śiva temple unit. Durgā was in worship in earlier times too, as revealed by the Saṅgam literature. We may mention here two rare instances in the Deccan and western part of the peninsula, where we have a shrine for Pārvatī in the original composition. In the Kailāśa at Ellora, the sub-shrine attached to the main shrine on its west was dedicated to Pārvatī, while the four others on the other two sides and hind corners of the main shrine were dedicated to the Saptamātṛkās, Caṇḍeśa, Bhairava and Gaṇeśa.* In the Elephanta cave the shrine on the side of the eastern gate in front of the central sanctum contains Pārvatī, while the other shrines flanking the gateways and in the hind wall are dedicated to other manifestations of Śiva, including the famous Trimūrti.†

In the South, the early temple units of the Pallavas and their contemporary Pandyas of the 7th–9th centuries A. D. do not have a shrine for Pārvatī in the scheme of subsidiary shrines in the peristyle. In the famous Kailāśanātha, for example, a temple unit which has come down to us almost in its original plan, the peristylar sub-shrines as well as the seven sub-shrines attached to the three sides and four corners of the main *vimānam* contain representations of Śiva alone.*

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* Fergusson : History of Indian and Eastern Architecture, (1910) — Vol. I, pp. 343--44 & ff.

† Fergusson : Cave Temples of India (1886) — pp. 467--74.

The early Coḷa period, 9th–11th centuries A. D, witnessed great temple building activity in the south, the shrines in these temples being built of stone from *upānam* (basement) to *stūpi* (finial) were called *kaṟṟaḷis* or stone temples (*kal--taḷi*) as opposed to the brick and mortar structural temples of the earlier phases. Though many of these temple units are extant complete with the *śri vimānam* or the main shrine with the pyramidial superstructure, the *ardhamaṇḍapam* or *mukhamaṇḍapam* in front in the axial plane, a group of eight all–stone sub-shrines or *aṣṭaparivāra* of smaller dimensions, all round, and a *tirumadil* or compound enclosing the whole group with one gateway or *gopuram* of modest dimensions always of lesser stature than the *śrivimānam* in front, sometimes also on the rear or on the sides we do not find the Devi shrine in them.

The Sundareśvara temple, called Tirukkaṟṟaḷi in its inscriptions, in Tirukkaṭṭaḷai in Pudukkottai State, is a good example of such an early Cola temple which is extant with almost all its original parts, viz. the *Śrivimānam* and *ardhamaṇḍapam*, the sub–shrines of the *aṣṭaparivāra* and the *tirumadil*. The Vijayālaya Coḷīśvaram on Nārttāmalai in the same place is the earliest Coḷa temple extant. It has these sub–shrines, but some are in ruins. When I cleared the sites of some of the other early Coḷa *kaṟṟalis* in the State, I found the same plan in the disposition of the sub–shrines in relation to the main shrine.

The sub–shrines in Tirukkaṭṭaḷai contained Sūrya, Saptamātṛkās, Gaṇeśa, Jyeṣṭha, Subrahmaṇya, Caṇḍeśa and Candra with Nandi in the eighth shrine in front, and the same appears to be the scheme in the case of the other examples cited above. An inscription in the Siva temple in Tiruppaḷātturai (Trichinopoly district), an early Coḷa temple, now completely renovated, enumerates the *aṣṭaparivāra*.† Another inscription on the Eṛumbūr (North Arcot District) *kaṟṟaḷi*, dated in 935 A. D., registers that the *Śrivimānam* was built of stone and the *gopuram* erected and *aṣṭaparivāram* installed by a certain Iruṅgoḷa chief.‡

Thus it is clear that while Saptamātṛis and Jyeṣṭha found a place in the sub–shrines of an early Coḷa temple unit, Pārvati had none. The Saptamātṛikā and Jyeṣṭha cults were popular from the 7th century. We see them in Kailāśa in Ellora and in the cave and structural temples of the Pallavas and contemporary rulers in the south. But by the beginning of the 11th century they were discarded, and this seems to coincide with the appearance of the Amman shrines in Śiva temples. In the great temple, the Bṛhadīśvara in Tanjore, the Amman shrine was not built at the time of the construction of the *śrivimānam*, though the Caṇḍikeśvara shrine on its northern side is almost contemporary. The original scheme was a temple unit of these times complete with all its necessary adjuncts, viz. the *vimānam*, *mukhamaṇḍapam*, peristylar cloister or *suṛṛālai* of 35 miniature sub-shrines, a *tirumadil* with a *gopuram* on the east, and another in front, and this original scheme did not include a separate shrine for the goddess. This is also confirmed by epigraphy. The present amman shrine or shrine of *Umāparameśvarī* to the north of the great *nandi* in the fore-court was constructed and the goddess installed in it in the 13th century as an inscription on it tells us.[*] Curiously enough the inscriptions on the walls of the main *vimānam*, and elsewhere, do not refer to the amman shrine at all.

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* A. Rea : Pallava Architecture, pp. 27--42.

† A. R. E. 268/1903; S. I. I. VIII, 560. The deities are, Nandi (?); Saptamātris; Gaṇapati; Subrahmaṇya; Jyeṣṭha; Caṇḍeśa; Āditya and Nama (Yama) instead of Candra.

‡ A. R. E. 384/1913.

In the Gaṅgaikoṇḍacoḷapuram temple built by his illustrious son Rājendra I, the construction of the amman shrine seems to have followed the completion of the great *vimānam* and its axial structures in front. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the earliest inscription on an amman shrine or a reference to it is of the time of Rājendra I. An inscription[†] on the wall of the Maṅgaḷāmbika shrine in the Śiva temple in Kaṇḍiyur or Āyirattaḷi, which was one of the Cola capitals, is dated in the reign of Rājendra I, though the sanctum or *mulasthānam* of Śiva seems, from its inscriptions, to belong to the Pallava-Coḷa transition period — 9th century. Another inscription from Eṇṇāyiram (South Arcot District)[‡] enumerates the temples in the village which include three Viṣṇu temples — Rājarāja Viṇṇagar, Kundavai Viṇṇagar and Sundara Coḷa Viṇṇagar and various other shrines all of which perhaps formed the Śiva temple unit, viz, *Śri mūlasthānamuḍaiyār* (i. e. Śiva in the sanctum) shrines of Devendra. Sarasvati, Śri Bhaṭṭāraki (Pārvatī), Sūrya, Saptamātṛis, Subrahmaṇya and Jyeṣṭha, besides the temples of Durgā, Mahāśasta, the gods of the *ceris* (village gods) and others. The separate mention of a temple for Durgā rules out the possibility of Śri Bhaṭṭāraki referring to her. She could not also be the Śri Devi of a Viṣṇu temple, for the reason that when three such Viṣṇu temples are mentioned, there cannot be only one for Śri Devi. That Śri Bhaṭṭāraki refers to Pārvati is thus evident.

Towards the end of the same century we have the inscription of Rājendra II[§] dated about 1061 A. D. on the wall of the *amman* shrine in the

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[*] S. I. I. Vol. II, part ii, No. 61; also foot--note, ibid. part V, p. [13] of introduction.

[†] A. R. E. 22/1895 (S. I. I. V, 578); 23/1895 (S. I. I V, 579).

[‡] 335/1917 of the 27th year of Rajendra I.

[§] A. R. E 65/1890(S. I. I. iii, 22).

Śiva temple in Karūr (Trichinopoly District) which shows that it came into existence during that period. Two inscriptions of Kulottuṅga I[*] dated about 1080 and 1082 A. D. on the wall of the *amman* shrine in the Śiva temple in Dharmapuri, or Tagaḍūr, the ancient capital of the Adigaman chiefs, refer to repairs to the amman temple and other Śiva temples in the village and restoration of worship in the latter.

In the 12th century again we have an inscription[†] — dated about 1164 A. D. during the reign of Rājarāja II — in the Śiva temple in Śri Vañjiyam which registers the construction of the temple to the goddess and an endowment for the same temple. In the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Śiva temple, where the main shrine dates from the time of Nṛpatuṅga Pallava, another inscription[‡] dated 1173 A. D. in the reign of Rājādhirāja II refers to a gift of lamps to the *Periyanācciyār* of the *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam.*

In the reign of Kulottuṅga III which began towards the close of the century, and in those of his two successors, Rājarāja III and Rājendra III, whose reigns in the 13th century mark the close of the Coḷa rule in South India, the addition of *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam* to temples already existing or their inclusion in contemporary constructions and lavish endowments therefor seems to have become a prominent feature.

In the Voḷuvūr (Tanjore District) Śiva temple a shrine for the goddess was constructed in the north-west corner of the north court of the temple in the reign of Kulottuṅga III, about the year 1182 A. D. according to an inscription[$] from the temple. In Vijayamangalam (Coimbatore District) the goddess in the *Tirukkamakoṭṭam* was installed and consecrated about 1186 A. D. in the time of Kulottunga III.[||] Inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya dated about 1262 A. D. and Sundara Pāṇḍya I[¶] dated about 1243 A. D. refer to endowments of lamps to this Nacciyar of *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam.* The shrine of *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam-uḍaiya-nācciyār* was constructed in the Āccāpuram (Tanjore District) Śiva temple in about 1210 A. D. in the same reign.[ψ] In the Haratīrtheśvara in Tiruvaraṅguḷam (Pudukkoṭṭai) a Nishadarāya princess constructed the *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam* according to an inscription[§] from the temple dated about 1216 A. D., towards the close of the King's reign, and another of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, dated about 1221 A. D.,[@] records gifts to the same shrine. The construction of the stone temple and *prākāram* for the goddess in the Uṭṭattūr (Trichinopoly) Śiva temple by a dancing girl referred to in an inscription[*] there was also in the time of Kulottuṅga III. Besides all this Kulottunga III is famous as the builder of the *gopuram* of the Śivakāmasundari (*Girīndrajā* or *Iṛaivi*) temple in Chidambaram, as the *praśastis* in his Tribhuvanam inscriptions,[†] and two Pudukkottai inscriptions[‡] tell us. The other early inscriptions in the temple which refer to the shrine of the goddess are those of the reign of Kopperuñjiṅga, dated between his 9th and 19th years. Kopperuñjiṅga was the Pallava vassal under the Coḷas, the later contemporary of Kulottuṅga III and the contemporary of his successors Rājarāja III and Rājendra III. He usurped power, and ruled over these parts and was prominent during the decline of Coḷa power.

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[*] A. R. E. 307/1901, and 308/1901.

[†] 70/1911.

[‡] 469/1905.

[$] 429/1912.

[||] 577/1905.

[¶] 586/1905; 589/1905.

[ψ] 530/1908.

[§] 320/1914; P. S. I. No. 174.

[@] 322/1914.

The shrine of the goddess Nallanāyaki in the Tiruvālīśvaram Śiva temple in Tuṛaiyur (Trichinopoly district) was built in about 1218 A. D.,[$] in the time of Rājarāja Coḷa III and seems to have closely followed the construction of the main temple the Vālīśvaram which was in the time of Kulottunga III.[||] The *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam* in the ancient Tirumaṇañjeri (Tanjore district) temple was constructed in about 1222 A. D.[¶] by a Miḷalai chieftain. In Kovilūr (Tanjore district) an inscription[Ψ] of Rājarāja III dated about 1248 A. D. refers to the shrine of the goddess *Bhuvanapatinācciyār* in which she was consecrated by Prince Purośaikkuḍaiyān in about 1273 A. D. according to other inscriptions.[§] The shrine itself was constructed by a Pallavaraya chieftain.[@] Neyyaḍidpākkam (Chingleput district) inscription[**] records the construction of the stone temple for the goddess in the Śiva temple in about 1243 A. D. in the same reign. The earliest epigraphical reference to Akhilāṇḍanāyaki in the Jambukeśvaram in Tiruvānaikkāval (Trichinopoly district) is found in connection with a *maṭha* named after the goddess, mentioned in an inscription from Kumāramaṅgalam in Pudukkoṭṭai State.[††] The inscriptions in the Jambukeśvaram referring to the *amman* shrine are later ones, dated 1453 A. D. and 1578 A. D.[‡‡] Another inscription[$$] of the time of Rājarāja III, from Āṛagal (Salem district) dated about 1220 A. D. is of interest, since it refers to endowments to the god of Kāmīśvaram, the goddess and the deities of the subsidiary shrines. The whole temple seems to have been built in the time of Kulottuṅga III.[||||]

In the time of Rājendra III, the last Cola ruler, and of his Pāṇḍya, Hoysaḷa and Telugu Coḍa contemporaries, more *amman* shrines were built. An inscrip-

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[*] 504/1912.

[†] 190/1907.

[‡] P. S. I. 165 & 166.

[$] 70/1919.

[||] 698 & 699/1909.

[¶] 28/1914.

[Ψ] 187/1908.

[§] 195 & 196/1908.

[@] 187 & 189/1908.

[**] 262/1922.

[††] P. S. I. 196.

[‡‡] 67-1903 & 65-1903.

[$$] 410-1913.

[||||] 416-1913.

tion* from Nārttāmalai dated about 1252 A. D. in the reign of Rājendra III, records gifts to a mason and his father, who renovated the Kaḍambīśvaram and built the *amman* shrine for it and also built the Śiva and amman shrines in the Tirvānaikkā temple, all in the same village. According to an earlier inscription (P. S. I. 158) in the time of Kulottuṅga III, dated about 1204 A. D., the construction of rhe Śiva temple of Tiruvānaikkavuḍaiyār had started. The *nācciyār* was consecrated in the *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam* of the Kadambīśvaram in 1228 A. D. in the time of Māṛavarman Sundara Pandya I (P. S. I. 279) and another inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara Pandya I dated in the same year refers to an endowment to the *Tirukkāmakoṭṭa Nācciyār* in the Tiruvānaikkā temple. The present inscription refers only to the gifts made to two generations of masons who built these temples. The installation of *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam-uḍaiya-nācciyār* or Harālakeśvari in the Ratnagirīśvara temple in Ratnagiri (Trichinopoly District) is recorded in an inscription of the Hoysaḷa Vīra Someśvara, dated about 1253 A. D. In the north, an inscription† of Vijayagaṇḍagopāla (1253–1283 A. D.) from Reddipalem Pāntrāṅgam (Nellore district) records the gift of the image of the goddess of *Tirukkamakoṭṭam* in the Pāṇḍaraṅgeśvara temple; the Śiva shrine in this temple dates from the time of Kulottuṅga Coḷa I. A record on the wall of the *amman* shrine relating to gifts to the *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam* shrine in Tiruvaḍiśūlam (Chingleput district) temple is dated in the 4th year (1254 A. D.) of Gaṇḍagopāla. The goddess herself, according to an undated inscription‡ on the walls of the shrine, was consecrated by a native of Perundaṇḍalam, probably during this period. The shrine of the goddess in the Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi (Tanjore district) Śiva temple was built in the time of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, according to two inscriptions$ dated about 1223 and 1229 A. D. The main temple dates from the time of Rājarāja I. Among the other Pāṇḍya inscriptions of this period referring to gifts to the goddess installed in *Tirukkāmakoṭṭams* in temples, may be mentioned two records, one dated 1213 A. D. from Ponnamarāvati (Pudukkottai)‖ and another from Tiruppattūr (Ramnad district).¶ The main shrine and *amman* temple in Śembāṭṭūr (Pudukkottai) were built by Śema Piḷḷaiyār (1267–78 A. D.) a feudatory of the Colas, and an inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya dated 1270 A. D. refers to a gift of land to the *Tirukkāmakoṭṭam*.

It will be clear from the above that within the centuries between the 11th and 13th. which marks the later half of the Cola rule in the south, numerous temples had their amman shrines constructed. This activity was continued by the Pandyas of the second empire who took their place in the first half of the

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* 357-1904; P. S. I. 200.

† No. 42 of I. M. P.

‡ 346-1908.

$ 52-1897 E I. VII, p. 304 and 53-1897.

‖ 10-1909; P. S. I. 245.

¶ 123-1908.

13th century, and the succeeding Viyajayanagar and Naik kingdoms which followed in their wake. The amman shrine was invariably built on the northern side of the *mahāmaṇḍapam* or in the fore-court, facing south, and occasionally it was built in other places in the temple in the north-west corner of the north court of the Vaḷuvūr temple quoted above.

Just as every shrine to Śiva was called in the numerous inscriptions, *Tirumalai* (Holy hill) or *Kailāsa* or *Meru* or *Pommalai* after the eternal abodes of Śiva, every Devi shrine was called *Kāmakoṭṭam* or *Tiru* (*Śri*) *kāmakoṭṭam* after *Kāmakoṭi* which was believed to be the most important shrine or seat of Devi in Kāñcīpuram where she is herself called Kāmakoṭi or Kāmākṣi. Kāñcī, like Kashmir, is believed to have been built in the form of *Śrīcakra*, according to the Śākta āgamas, and the *puraṇas* praise it as one of the seats of *Devipiṭhas*. The constructions of *kāmakoṭṭams* in other temples evidently followed after its construction in Kāñci. The earliest epigraphical reference to Kāmakoṭi of Kāñci seems to be in the undated inscription* from Gotlagattu (Nellore district) and another dated in 1259 A. D.† from Tripurāntakam (Kurnool district). Both mention a chief-Pallava Immaḍi Bāsava Samkara Allāḍa Premaya Deva, lord of Kāñcīpura and a devotee of Kāmakāṭyāmbikā and the receiver of many boons from her. The Tripurāntakam temple itself was built in 1255 A. D. under the orders of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapati.‡

Other Kāmākṣi amman temples are known from epigraphy, e. g. in Chundi (Nellore district) with an inscription dated 1430 A. D.$ and in Dharmapuri (Salem district) dated in the years of Kulottuṅga I, i. e. the close of the 11th century A. D.|| The latter example thus takes the date of the original *Kāmakoṭi* to the 11th century A. D. at the earliest. All the inscriptions in Kāñcīpuram which refer to the Kāmākṣi temple are later ones, dated in 1393 A. D. in the time of Harihara II¶ and after.

The original *Kāmakoṭṭam* in Kāñcī, and its duplication in the other Śiva temples from the 11th century onwards seem to mark the advent of new schools of Śaktaism and Śaivism in the south, but Durga continued in worship in separate temples, or found a place in the niche in the northern wall of the *ardhamaṇḍapam* of a Śiva etmple.

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* Nel. Ins. No. 18.

† 217-1905.

‡ 169 & 171-1905.

$ Nel. Ins. No. 16.

|| 307 & 308-1901.

¶ 29-1890.

COINS OF JAGADDEVA PARAMĀRA

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The coins that form the subject of this paper were acquired for the Coin Cabinet of the Central Museum, Nagpur, in 1912. They are three in number and were discovered in the Central Provinces. From their fabric and type the coins appear to be South-Indian On the obverse they show four punched-areas as seen on the issues of the Western Chālukyas and the Yādavas. Of the four punched-areas on the coins under discussion the top one shows a legend in Nāgarī Characters of the 12th century A. D. I read it as 'Srī Jagadava.' Both the side-areas show a symbol formed by curved lines and dots, looking like an arch within an arch with a small compartment on the left hand side. The symbol appears to be a crude representation of the old Kannada letter Śrī. The bottom area contains a symbol formed by a rectangular area over which rises a tower like thing. The symbol appears to be a representation of a temple. On both the sides of this symbol are seen some dots. The reverse of the coins is blank. The metal of the coins is base gold and their average weight is 57 grains.

In the supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of coins, Assam, is published a coin of this type on page 18. The obverse of the coin shows four punched-areas. Of the four punched-areas the top area gives a legend in Nāgarī characters. It is read as 'Śrī Tagadeva'. The symbols in other areas are formed by curved lines and dots. The reverse is blank. The metal of the coin is gold and its weight is 57.5 grains. The coin is not illustrated but from its description it appears to be exactly similar to the coins under discussion. The reading of the legend appears to be incorrect. The legend on the Nagpur Museum coin is 'Śrī Jagadava' for 'Śrī Jagaddeva'. I think the legend on the coin in the Coin Cabinet of Assam is also 'Śrī Jagadava' and not 'Śrī Tagadeva'. The coin remains unassigned.

From the characters of the legend on the coins they appear to be the issues of some Jagadeva or Jagaddeva who must have flourished in the 12th century A. D. From the Jainad[*] and the Dongargaon[†] inscriptions it becomes clear that Jagaddeva Paramāra was placed in charge of Berar and the northern portion of the Nizam's dominions by his overlord, Vikramāditya VI of Kalyānī. The Paramāra prince was very much liked by his overlord, who treated him like his own son. Whether Jagaddeva enjoyed the privilege of issuing coins in his own names is not known to the numismatists. From the legend on the coins it is clear that they are the issues of a ruler whose name was Jagadeva or Jagaddeva. As Jagaddeva Paramāra was a powerful ruler I think he may have enjoyed the privilege of issuing coins in his own name and assign these coins to him, whose coins have remained unknown so far.

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[*] E. I. Vol. XXII, pp. 54 ff.

[†] Ibid. Vol. XXVI pp. 177 ff..

SUBHAGĀ IN EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE

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In early Indian sculpture all over India man or woman is represented draped and at the same time the sex is indicated. In the case of the Yakṣīs from Mathura, beautiful representations of Śrī from different places like Sānci, Bharhut, Mathurā, Amarāvati etc., the sex of the beautiful woman is emphasised. The diaphanous apparel of the woman is quite clear in the fringe of the cloth prominently shown in the representation of the Bhuteśvara Yakṣīs. In the sculptures from Nagarjunakonda the Yakṣīs and Kinnaris at the tail end of each frieze, the women in the Mithura panels have all their sex prominently shown. In the case of the beautiful Lakṣmī image pressing her breast preserved in the Lucknow Museum Dr. Coomaraswamy has remarked that 'it is a voluptuous womanly figure, evidently that of our Lady. of Beauty and Abundance.' A similar figure of a nymph from Dandan Uiliq is also discussed by him and he says 'the sex is strongly marked as in Indian Sunga and Kushāna type' though the fig leaf may be of alien origin. One hand rests on the breast and other on the navel; needless to say that these are not gestures of false modesty but rather intended (such at least would have been the original intention) to emphasise the sources of life and nourishment.'

The early representations of the Mother Goddess always emphasise the productive aspect of the Mother and she is literally portrayed as Bhagavatī with the emphasis on Bhaga. Śiva as the Parent of the Universe and the source of all that is born is represented truly as Bhagavān and his earliest representations like those from Gudimallam lay the same emphasis on the Bhaga element.

As all the source of happiness in conjugal life. is centred on Bhaga, happiness, luck and beauty came to be associated with this and the word Subhaga and Saubhāggya became pregnant with meaning. It is from this point of view that the charm of the use of both the words in the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa

वेणीभूतप्रतनुसलिलासावतीतस्य सिन्धुः
पाण्डुच्छाया तटरुहतरुभ्रंशिभिर्जीर्णपर्णैः ।
सौभाग्यं ते सुभग विरहावस्थया व्यञ्जयन्ती
कार्श्यं येन त्यजति विधिना स त्वयैवोपपाद्यः ॥ Megha I. 30

has to be understood. The consciousness of Subhagatva is itself referred to in another verse of Kālidāsa

जाने सख्यास्तव मयि मनः सम्भृतस्नेहमस्मा –
दित्यंभूतां प्रथमविरहे तामहं तर्कयामि ।
वाचालं मां न खलु सुभगम्मन्यभावः करोति
प्रत्यक्षं ते निखिलमचिरात् भ्रातरुक्तं मया यत् ॥ Megha II. 33

Mallinātha says that he is a Subhaga whom damsels adore स खलु सुभगः यमङ्गनाः कामयन्ते on Megha I. 30 and that is a secret known only to the women who have experience in that happiness. In a suggestive manner the prominence of Subhagā in Srṅgāra for Rasāsvāda is given by Kālidāsa in his own inimitable way in the verse from Meghadūta.

वीचिक्षोभस्तनितविहगश्रेणिकाञ्चीगुणायाः
संसर्पन्त्याः स्खलितसुभगं दर्शितावर्तनाभेः ।
निर्विन्ध्यायाः पथि भव रसाभ्यन्तरः संनिपत्य
स्त्रीणामाद्यं प्रणयवचनं विभ्रमो हि प्रियेषु ॥ Megha I. 29

Sri the Goddess of Luck and Beauty is always represented in early sculpture as a Subhagā with proper emphasis on the sex. Though Bhaga may connote luck as well, the other aspect seems to have come in for greater emphasis as this was in itself a beauty spot full of luck.

Ths use of beauty spots of the body describing their essential charm in personal names is quite common and we have such names as Arālakeśī, Karabhorū, Candramukhī, Sumukhī etc. Passion, Love and Sex are also similarly emphasised in names like Pramadā, Madayantikā, Surathā, Manoharā, Manoramā, Pramathinī, Surasā etc. Subhagā may come under both. The great beauty of man and woman in youth and Sriṅgārarasa are thus emphasised in early Indian sculpture by showing prominently the Bhaga beneath the drapery and this may be the explanation for such representation.

EXPLANATION OF PĀTRĀSANA IN EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE

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Life changes so rapidly through the centuries that though man essentially remains the same in feelings and basic thoughts outwardly he changes immensely. His dress, style of living, customs, intellectual equipment, attitude to society, in short the very mode of life and outlook changes with the change of time. The dress of Sir Francis Drake is not the dress of Sir Claude Auchinleck nor is the tower of London perceptibly the predecessor of the most modern American style sky-scrapers. Though a ceremonial chair may still represent the ancient fashion in furniture the latest simple type of steel furniture shows no link with the past. Sometimes the change has been so great that the very objects that have changed have been forgotten and the very historicity of their existence questioned.

In India it is a common belief today that chairs and tables were unknown to the ancients in this land. Sitting in a chair has been considered so unnatural that there are not descriptions wanting where Buddha seated in such a way is characterised as seated in the European fashion. But strictly speaking there is no European fashion about it as there are as many examples of Indians seated exactly in the same manner on seats which are in no way different from those of the Europeans.

South India, where most ancient Indian customs are still preserved, does not preserve a tradition of sitting on chairs. But the seats used are planks with very low rests below. And similarly there are planks placed against the wall for the back to rest on. This is an improvised chair without legs. But this does not mean that chairs were unknown in India. Not only were chairs, seats, stools common in ancient India but even teapoys to hold vessels for food. The usual custom in taking food in the orthodox fashion is to spread a plantain leaf on the ground opposite the plank on which the person is seated who is to take the food. All the items of the feast are arranged on the leaf and squatting on the plank comfortably the food is partaken. It is in this manner that the food is served for the Brahmans who are invited (Nimantritas) for the Śrāddha ceremony. But if we were to suggest to any of these people performing the Śrāddha with the utmost śraddhā as behoves the performance of it that these Brahmans may be given chairs to sit on and food served on the leaves spread out on small tables in front of them they would certainly be outraged and exclaim that the very thought is sacrilegious and would vehemently oppose such a move as opposed to traditional Indian custom and smacking of Europeanised habits.

But this should be examined with a more dispassionate mind. During the performance of the Śrāddha ceremony we may say 'Pitṛ-pitāmaha-prapitāmahānām idam āsanam,' then darbha or kuśa grass is placed beneath the plank, then we say 'idam pātrāsanam' and similarly kuśa is placed beneath the plantain leaf on which food is spread. *But* though this is done with great care what it really means is clear neither to the performer of the Śrāddha nor the *nimantrita.* The explanation for this which is a survival of an old custom of taking food seated on a seat the food being served in a vessel or on a leaf spread over a low teapoy or dining table, is to be found in early Indian sculpture. In the sculpture of the beginning of the Christian era in Mathura as well as in the Krisṇā Valley and for the matter of that in all the sculpture of the land of the time any dining scene is remarkably similar to what we would consider to be in India a purely Western mode of taking food today. In some of the sculptures of the second century A. D., from Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda depicting the scene of the interpretation of the dream of Māyā Devī this mode of dining may be seen. Brahmans well versed in astrology were invited by King Śuddhodana, feasted sumptuously and requested to interpret his queen's dreams. The sculptures show the astrologers seated on chairs with small tables in front of them for taking food, an attendant moving about with a water jug for filling their drinking cups and also for serving them the viands. The small tables in front are of wicker and are shaped like a pair of trunkated cones with their apices together.

So these are the pātrāsanas which are substituted like *āsanas* themselves by *kuśa* just as in the Gaṇapati Pūjā in a main pūjā where vastra, mālya, yajñopavīta, etc., are reserved for the latter and substituted by akṣatas in the case of the former. They have so long gone out of use that the substituted objects are forgotten and only the act of substitution survives.

Though it is the sculpture of the early centuries of the Christian era that helps us to understand the true import of pātrāsana and āsana, early literature is not without its own light on this point. Bhojana-phalakas, stands with wooden tops and pattakondolikas, wicker stands are known from Buddhist literature i. e., the Chullavagga of the Vinaya.

AN OLD REFERENCE TO PERSIAN OIL IN SANSKRIT LITERATRE

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The use of mineral oil in India is considered to be of recent origin. An old reference, however, from the poetical work known as the *Vikramankadeva-charita* by Bilhaṇa (last quarter of the 11th century A. D.) is worthy of attention in this connection. Speaking of the love-smitten oondition of King Vikrama (1076-1127 A. D.) before his marriage with queen Chandaḷā Devi, the poet says:

अचिन्तनीयं तुहिनद्रवाणां श्रीखण्डवापीपयसामसाध्यम् ।
असूत्रयत्पत्रिषु पारसीकतैलाग्निमेतस्य कृते मनोभूः ॥[*]

'The God of love produced in his arrows shot at king Vikrama the fire lit from 'Persian Oil', of which the intense heat could not be quenched either by icy water or by liquids of sandal wood paste.'

The Pārasika oil appears to be kerosine oil which seems to have been imported in Western India and the Deccan from Persia and obtained in that country from the well-known Persian oil-fields. An old commentary on the *Vikramānkadeva-charita* given in a manuscript to be dated about 1286 A. D. in the Jaisalmer manuscript Library explains पारसीकतैलाग्निम् as पारसीकदेशजतैलवह्निम् i. e. fire lit with the oil produced in the Pārasika country.[†] The poet certainly seems to know that the heat generated from the Persian oil, i. e. petroleum, was much more intense than that from ordinary vegetable oils being used in India. It may be argued that the poet had only *heard* of the Pārasīka oil and not actually seen it in use in this country. But the manner in which he has used the expression 'fire from Persian Oil' for the understanding of his average readers, suggests that the use of this oil was a common enough sight in the Kingdom of King Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty at the close of the 11th century A. D. This was also the period when Arab traders and mariners who held the monopoly of naval transport between India and the Near East countries were visiting Western and Southern India. A host of Arab geographers like Maśūdi (943-955 A. D.) Ibn Hauqal (975 A. D.), Idrīsī (1154 A. D.) and others have left to us very trustworthy accounts of seaports and emporiums of trade on the Indian side. The presence of Persian products in the Indian market is therefore just what might have been expected for this period.

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[*] *Vikramānkadevacharita,* IX. 20; edited by G. Buhler, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XIV, 1875.

[†] *Vikramānkadevacharita,* revised edition, Sarasvati Bhavan Sanskrit Texts Series, Benares.

NOTES ON SOME IMPORTANT SANSKRIT WORDS

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1 आदर्श भवन

Dhanapāla, the author of the prose romance Tilakamañjari was a court-poet of the famous king Bhoja of Dhārā and as such lived in the first half of the eleventh century. The Tilakamañjari follows closely, not only in style but also in its entire make-up of the story and the technique of plot, the Kādambari of Bāṇa. As such it is also a document of contemporary social history.

Bāṇa refers to some interesting conversations of the female attendants which Candrāpīda heard inside the palace of Kādambari (परिजन–मनोहरालाप.) They throw light on the engagements which kept the inmates busy in a variety of pastimes. Dhanapāla also treats the subject in his own way. He says there :—
मकरिके मार्जय सितेन रसवती चुल्लिचन्दनभस्मना समस्तमादर्शभवनम् (p. 373, N. S. edition)
'O Makarikā, will you please burnish the glass-house by rubbing the white sandal-wood ashes taken from the palace kitchen ?'

The important reference is to the आदर्श भवन. It shows that in the medieval Hindu palaces the custom of having glass-houses had already come into vogue. They correspond to the sīs-mahal rooms that we find in the Moghal palaces inside the forts at Agra and Delhi. Even Ranjitsingha's room in the fort at Lahore shows this. But what is now certain is that this architectural feature of interior palace decorations was certainly a huge Hindu feature existing in the pre-Moghal times. The Rajput kings of medieval India seem to have patronised and extended the use of glass for all purposes. Glass-bangles of various colours are found for the first time in the early medieval period. So also glass beads which are referred to in the Kuṭṭinīmatam of Dāmodara Bhaṭṭa. Small glass discs were sewn in female garments and the use of small आरसी ornament in the hand is referred to by Rajaśekhara in the Viddhaśālabhanjikā. The introduction of the glass-houses (आदर्श भवन) by studding the walls with small round pieces of glass of convex surface was certainly a feature which developed about the early medieval period.

2 आस्थान मंडप

We are very well familiar with the two features of the Moghal palaces in the fort at Delhi. They are the Diwān-i-Ām. and the Diwān-i-Khās, i. e. the halls of public and private audience of the king. In the former the king or the Emperor was accessible to the public and admission was more or less unrestricted. Here the king would receive petitions or complaints and also give public audiences to his people. In the private hall i e. Divan-i-Khās admission was very much restricted to only a chosen few and here the king would converse or meet with the most trusted friends and distinguished guests. The female inmates of the palace were also admitted to the Divan-i-Khās. It is interesting to note that both the Divan-i-Ām and the Divan-i-Khās are referred to as part of the palace architecture by Bāṇabhaṭṭa in the 7th century A. D.

The Sanskrit term for both the private and the public halls of audience is āsthāna-manḍapa. But the poets description brings out their distinctive features clearly. In discribing king *Sū*drak when the parrot was ushered in his presence and presented to him by the Cāndāla girl, the poet speaks of him as seated in ths *āsthāna-manḍapa*, the public hall of royal audience which was attended by thousands of kings (नरपतिसहस्त्रमध्य वर्तिनम्) At one end of it was erected the royal pavilion of which a graphic account is given :

(1) It was a silken awning (दुकूलवितान)

(2) It was of moderate dimensions (नातिमहत:)

(3) The awning was supported on four slightly built pillars referred to by the poet as मणिदण्डिकाचतुष्टय.

(4) Golden chains fastooned the delicate pillars.

(5) From the centre of the canopy was suspended a cluster of thick round pearls.

(6) Under it was placed a moderate-sized royal seat, appropriately called (पर्यंकिका) by the poet.

All the above features find pictorial illustrations in the royal canopies or pavilions figured at Ajant₁. By looking at them we are enabled to appreciate why the fourfold pillars of the canopy were designated मणिदण्डिका. As a matter of fact the pillars are very delicately shaped and moulded. When the parrot had been presented to the king and the midday hour had struck, the king rose and left the audience-hall (क्षितिपतिरास्थानमण्डपादुत्तस्थौ).

After finishing his midday routine meals the king repairs to the *āsthāna-manḍapa* but this time in a different atmosphere :

(1) A platform stood in the audience-hall (सनाथीकृतवेदिकं)

(2) On it was placed a comfortable couch (शयन) for the king to lie down,

(3) The legs of the couch were placed on small rests, called प्रतिपादुका. The word has survived in Hindi terminology even to our own times in the form पडवाया.

(4) Nearby was placed a footrest for the king.

(5) When the king rested on the couch his sword bearer began to shampoo his feet with her hands.

(6) And in this hall the king was attended by a few selected persons specially admitted on the occasion (तत्कालोचितदर्शनैः) comprising kings, ministers and friends (अवनिपतिभिः अमात्यैः मित्रैश्च.)

This is patently an account of the king's private audience-hall corresponding to the Divan-i-Khas of the much later Mughal palace architecture.

3 सुरुंगाभेद

In describing the education of Candrāpīḍa Bāṇabhaṭṭa gives a comprehensive list of the many arts and sciences which formed the subjects of study for the princes. This in fact represents the typical curricula of royal stories in his times. Besides धर्मशास्त्र, राजनीति, व्यायामविद्या, रथचर्या, हस्तिशिक्षा, गान्धर्व वेद, चित्रकर्म, रत्नपरीक्षा, दारुकर्म (wood carving) दंतव्यापार (ivory carving), he mentions the significant term सुरुङ्गोपभेद as an item of princely training.

The term was taken from the fort engineering and the details of its construction at once become clear by a reference to the existing Yadava fort at Daulatabad. The सुरुंगा was the tunnellike passage leading to that portion in the fort which contained the royal palace. After crossing the moat at the drawbridge the rampart or the fort wall was entered into through the gateway. This gave access to the outer portion of the fort. The real palace was still far removed by a most intricate and difficult passage, often carved out of live rock and almost impregnable. This was called सुरुंगा or the tunnel passage and the successful siege of the fort depended on the breaching of the tunnel. The secret of its construction was closely guarded and it was the duty of every prospective leader in war to acquaint himself with the detailed method of its blowing. The blowing of this tunnel led to the invader's entry into that portion of the fort where the king's palace was built and thus resulted in his ultimate conquest. The सुरुंगोपभेद was thus naturally an important subject of study in the education of princes.

4 खोल

The word (खोल) occurs in the Harṣacarita in the following context — चूडामणिखण्डखचितक्षौमखोलैश्च ..... राजभिः (p. 207. N. S. edition) i. e. some of the kings who attended on Harṣa wore linen *kholas* on their heads which were studded by crest jewels.

The word khola खोल is not known to the Amarkośa and does not occur frequently in literature. Sanskara explains it as a helmet (शिरस्त्र). Its regular Sanskrit derivation is uncertain. I should like to suggest its derivation from the Persian *kulah*, a form of printed helmet or cap, introduced for the first time in India by the Kuśānas who on that account were designated as *ligrakhandas*. It became quite common during Sassanian times and has been found on many statues discovered in this country, but betraying Sassanian influences in style and drapery. The Sanskritised form of Parsian kulah appears to have become khola.

BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES IN CENTRAL INDIA[*]

D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., Indore

Part I — Rise, Spread and Fall of Buddhism in Central India.

1. Buddhism in the pre-Maurya period.

(a) The province of Avanti became an important centre of Buddhism from the first as some of the best disciples of the Buddha like Abhayakumāra, Isidāsa, Isidatta, Dhammapāla, Soṇa Kuṭikaṇṇa and Mahakaccana were either born or resided in Avanti.

(b) The particular form of common speech in which the disciples of the Buddha had exercised their literary gifts and in which the Pali cannon was composed was almost entirely the form that was current in Avanti.

2. Buddhism in the Maurya period.

Aśoka after he became an adherent of Buddhism built Buddhist monuments at the following places in Central India :—

(a) At Besnagar — A superb *vihāra* for his queen, the daughter of the Chief of the place, whom he had married on his way to Ujjain to take up the appointment as a viceroy, and who after Aśoka became an adherent of Buddhism, became a devout follower of the sect.[†]

(b) At Sanchi — Topes to contain relics of Mahāmoggalāna and Sāriputta who were the friends of the Buddha.

The ancient monuments in the neighbourhood of Besnagar or Bhilsa are among the most remarkable and extensive to be found in India.[‡] At various villages within a radius of about twelve miles of the present town of Bhilsa there are groups of Buddhist Stūpas numbering some sixty in all, which are known collectively as the Bhilsa Topes, and of which the most celebrated are those of Sanchi. The inscriptions as well as the style of the architecture and sculpture of these monuments show that they belong to the three successive periods of Mauryas, Śungas and Āndhra supremacy.

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[*] Buddhist antiquities in the eastern half of C. I. Agency consisting of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand are not included in this paper.

[†] The Mahāvaṁśa (chap. 13) leads us to believe that even before the time of Aśoka Besnagar or ancient Chetiyagiri was a Buddhist place where Aśoka stayed for some days to marry the daughter of the chief. But as Aśoka is known to have become a Buddhist some years after he became an emperor this is impossible.

[‡] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I p. 523.

(c) At Ujjain — where Aśoka had worked as viceroy before he became an emperor and where a royal prince was continued to be appointed as viceroy by him one of whose duties was the propagation of the Buddhist faith—a number of Stupas were built by order of Aśoka. Some of these were discovered during the recent excavations carried on by the Gwalior Archaeological Department. I am inclined to suppose that the Satiyaputas mentioned in an edict of Aśoka were the people in the Sātapuḍā region and that the Mahisha-Maṇḍala to which a Buddhist mission was sent by Moggaliputta Tissa in the time of Aśoka was the Nimar-province extending on both the banks of the Narmada and between the Vindhyas and the Sātpudās of which Māhiṣmati or modern Maheśvar was the chief place.

3. Buddhism in the post-Maurya and pre-Gupta period.

At Kasrawad in the Holkar State, three miles to the south of the Narmada, have been unearthed very important remains of a Buddhist establishment, which from the inscribed pottery and the punch-marked and tribal coins found at the place, can be assigned to about the second century B. C. Uufortunately nothing is known of the political power at the time nor of the Buddhist priests who had lived there. A fragmentary inscription on a piece of an earthen pot found in the excavations speaks of a Vihara of Nigata. The mention of Takṣaśilā in one of the inscriptions shows that there was some connection between Kasrawad and Takṣaśilā in those days. Māhiṣmati or modern Maheśvar, which is quite close to Kasrawad on the other side of the river, seems also to have been an important place of Buddhist worship at the time, since mention is made in two inscriptions on the Sānchi Stupas of the time of persons coming from Mahiṣmati.

4. Buddhism in the Gupta period.

Buddhism, which had already begun to decline in Central India in the early centuries of the Christian era, was thrown almost completely in the background because of the special patronage given to the orthodox Brahmanism by the Imperial Guptas and their feudatories, who held sway over the province. But an inscription of the time of Govindgupta, assignable to the fifth century A. D. shows that there was a Buddhist monastary at Mandsor which is wellknown to have been an important place of Brahmanical culture in those days.

5. Buddhism in the post-Gupta period.

On the fall of the Gupta power, a number of small principalities were founded in Central India, which were almost independent of each other and which changed their allegiance from one sovereign power to another to the Culchuries of Gujrat and Anupa, to the Vākātakas and the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mahārāṣtra and Berar and to the Vardhans of Kanauj or to some other north Indian power. In those days, Buddhism secured unprecedented patronage from different places in the province, though the names of the patronising rulers are not known. The number of Buddhist rock-cut caves and brick-made Stupas found at various places in Central India, is large and representative. The Bāgh caves on the northern bank of Narmada, the excavation of which seems to have been carried on for many years and where a Buddhist monastary named Kalayana Vihara was situated, in which Bnddhist monks used to stay in numbers, as we see from the copperplate grant of king Subandhu of Māhiṣmati found in the very Bāgh Caves, seem to have been an important Buddhist centre in the fifth century A. D. In fact, Buddhism, which was flourishing in and round about Māhiṣmati from the second century B. C. as we know from the Kasrawad inscriptions and from the Sānchi Stupa inscriptions referring to Mahiṣmati, seems to have continued to do so till at least the fifth century A. D.

At Poladongar and Dhamnar in the Garoth district of the Holkar State and at various places like Ramgaon, Hategaon, Khijadia Bhopa and Kholvi, which are round about Poladongar and Dhamnar, but now in the territories of Gwalior, Jhalawar and Tonk states, a number of rock-cut Buddhist caves have been discovered which shows wonderful activity of the Buddhist followers in the region for at least three centuries, from the fifth to the seventh centuries. The presence of Buddhist Stupas at Gyaraspur, Rajpur and Bigam which are situated at different places in the Gwalior State outside the sphere of the above-mentioned caves but which are also assignable to the same period add support to the view that Buddhist activities were witnessed in the period throughout the vast province of Central India.

6. Disappearance of Buddhism from the province in the 10th century A. D.

When Buddhism altogether disappeared from the province and what its latest antiquities are cannot be stated with certainty, but it seems that except at Sānchi, it disappeared from the province in the eighth century A. D. Houen Tsang who visited Mālwa in the seventh century A. D. did not find Buddhism much flourishing in the province. Some of the Buddhist antiquities found at Sānchi are assignable to the 9th or even the 10th century A. D. which shows that Buddhism had managed to maintain its independent existence at the place upto a very late date.

It deserves to be noted in this connection that throughout this long period of more than 1300 years and in this vast province no free Buddhist images or sculptures have been found, except at Sanchi, which were made of stone or on any other material and set up in any of the Buddhist places. The Buddhist images we see in the different caves are only cut in the rock.*

Part II — Buddhist Antiquities

1. Group of Stupas at Sānchi and neighbourhood of Sānchi in the Bhopal State. 3rd Cen. B. C. to 1st Cen. A. D.
2. Monastaries at Besnagar or modern Bhilsa, in the Gwalior State. 3rd Cen. B. C.
3. Ruins of Stupas at Ujjain in the Gwalior State. 3rd Cen. B. C.
4. Stupas at Kasrawad in the Indore State. 2nd Cen. B. C.
5. Caves at Bagh in the Gwalior State; to the west of Mhow on the R. M. R. 5th Cen. A. D.
6. Monastary at Mandsor in the Gwalior State. 5th Cen. A. D.

   At present no vestige of the Vihāras and Stūpas mentioned by the Mandsor inscription of Govindgupta have survived at Mandsor.
7. Caves at Poladongar in the Garoth district of Indore State. 6th Cen. A. D.
8. Caves at Ramgaon in Tonk State. 6th Cen. A. D.
9. Caves in Hategaon in the Tonk State. 6th Cen. A. D.
10. A Stūpa at Rajpur, near Pichor in the Gwalior State. 7-8 Cen. A. D.

    There is only one Stūpa at Rajpur. It possesses no carving, figure, sculpture or inscription to give us an exact idea of its age.
11. Stupas at Gyaraspur in the Gwalior State. 7th-8th Cen. A. D.
12. Stupas at Bigam in the Gwalior State. 7th-8th Cen. A. D.
13. Caves and Rock-cut Stupas at Khajadia Bhop in Gwalior State near Runija Railway Station between Indore and Rutlam. 7th-8th Cen. A. D.
14. Caves at Kholvi, five miles from Dig in the Jhalawar State. 7th-8th Cen. A. D.
15. Caves at Dhamnar in the Garoth District of the Indore State. 8th Cen. A. D.

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* I have to thank Mr. M. B. Garde, the Director of Archaeology, Gwalior, (retired) for making useful suggestions in preparing this paper.

A NOTE ON KING CANDRĀDITYA OF THE ŚIṄGAVARAM-MELACHERI RECORD

Shri K. R. Venkata Rama Ayyar, Pndukkottai

The credit of the discovery of a short inscription in the rock-cut shrine at Melacheri, three miles northwest of Gingee goes to Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, who first published it in his *Pallava Antiquities.** Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar of the Epigraphical Department has recently published the correct text of the inscription,† which reads as follows —

1. Kāritamidannṛpatinā
2. Candrādityena sarva [nāthe] na [1].
3. Śrī Śikharipallaveśvaramiti
4. Śaivamdha [ma] Siṅhapure [11]

[कारितमिदन्नृपतिना चन्द्रादित्येन सर्व्वं [नाथे] न ।
श्री शिखरिपल्लवेश्वरमिति शैवन्धा [म] सिङ्हपुरे ॥]

(This shrine to Śiva named *Śrī Śikhari Pallaveśvaram* was built by king Candrāditya, the Supreme Ruler.) Siṅhapura is the modern Śiṅgavaram, a village close by of which Melacheri is now a hamlet.

The name of *Śikhari-Pallaveśvaram* is easily explained. It is a temple built by a Pallava king on the top of a low hill (*Śikhari*).‡ But who was this Candrāditya who built the temple ? The Government Epigraphist suggests from an examination of the palaeography of the record, " that the king who bore this title or name probably flourished in the time of Mahendra-Varman or Narasimha Varman I at the latest ", and concludes that " as, however, this title does not occur among the numerous *birudas* found for these in any rock-cut shrine, Candrāditya was a pallava prince of this time, about whom we have at present no information. "

The Pāṇḍyas of the first empire sometimes prided themselves on their Luni-solar (Candrāditya) descent. Cera kings ruling over the Koṅgu country also claimed Luni-Solar descent. There is a record* of the 9th century dated in the 11th regnal year of Kokkaṇḍan Vīranārāyaṇa, "the sovereign jewel of *Candrādityakula.*" Kokkaṇḍan assumed the surname *Vīranārāyaṇa* as a mark of vassalage to the Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa. Later he became a vassal of the Coḷa kings Āditya and Parāntaka I. The justification for these Pāṇḍya kings claiming Luni-solar descent was that their fathers belonged to the Lunar race, while their mothers, who were often Coḷa princesses, belonged to the Solar race.† The Ceras of the Koṅgu country, who were subdued by the Pāṇḍyas, entered into marital relations with their conquerors and with the Coḷas, and hence called themselves *Candrādityas.*

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* Vol. I. p. 65.

† *S. I. I.* Vol. XII No. 115 (*A. R. E.* No. 284 of 16.)

‡ *Sikhari* = a mountain, a hill--fort.

That Chandrāditya of the Melacheri inscription was neither a Pāṇḍya king nor a Koṅgu Chief is obvious from the fact that the country as far south as the Kāveri had been brought under Pallava suzereignty early in the 7th century in the time of Mahendravarman I.

Another Candrāditya known to contemporary epigraphy was a Western Cāḷukya prince, a son of Pulakeśin II. He is mentioned in two grants, in both of which his wife Vijayabhaṭṭārikā figures as the donor. The first is a Nerūr grant,‡ and is dated 23rd September A. D. 659 (S. 581) and the second is a Kochrem (Karnūl district) grant,$ the date of which is not clear. In both the grants Candrāditya is referred to as *Prithvīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja* etc., but, as Fleet observes,|| such titles had then come to denote only feudatory rank. Candrāditya is not to be dismissed however as a mere feudatory. During the period of confusion that followed the death of Pulakeśin II, Candrāditya and Ādityavarman continued to maintain Cāḷukya rule over parts of their father's empire, and Vikramāditya I, who restored the Cāḷukya imperial fortunes, had to contend against Ādityavarman, Candrāditya and the Pallava Narasimhavarman I.¶ Cāḷukya Candrāditya's sway could never have extended as far south as Gingee; nor would he have built a temple in the country of the Pallava, who was an enemy of his line and much less named it after his enemy.

On palaeographical grounds, as Venkatasubba Ayyar points out, the Melacheri inscription must belong to the time of Narasimhavarman I Pallava at the latest, and on architectural grounds also Prof. Dubreuil dates the cave

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* *A. R. E.* 147 of 10.

† Cf. *A. R. E.* 334 and 335 of 1929--30 and *A. R. E.* 1903--04 p. 275.

‡ *I. A.* VII. p. 163 and *E. I* VII App. p. 5.

$ *I A.* VIII p. 45 and *E. I* VII App. p. 6.

|| *Bombay Gazetteer* : Vol. I, Part II p. 365.

¶ *Avanīpatitraya* (Karnūl plates of Vikramāditya I).

temple to the middle of the 7th Century (about A. D. 650). Prof. Dubreuil thinks it probable that Candrāditya was one of the names of Narasimhavarman I or Parameśvaravarman I.*

In a forthcoming publication I have discussed the chronology of the Pallavas, and have assigned A. D. 630 to 668 to Narasimhavarman. These dates perhaps claiming greater accuracy do not deviate much from the conjectural dates that scholars have so far assigned. *Siṅhapura* was evidently named after Narasimha; and this lends force to Prof. Dubreuil's conclusion. An inscription in the Kailāsanātha temple† records that Mahendra, a son of Rājasimha and grandson of Lokāditya, built a temple of Śiva and called it *Mahendreśvaram* after his own name. Narasimhavarman II was called Rājasimha. His father was Parameśvaravarman I, and according to this inscription, therefore, one of his surnames must have been *Lokāditya.* There is nothing improbable in Narasimhavarman I, practically the predecessor of Parameśvaravarman, having had a similar surname namely *Candrāditya.* Many of Prof. Dubreuil's bold conclusions have been corroborated by later architectural and epigraphical discoveries, and this conclusion seems to be no exception. There is nothing strange or improbable in two Rulers, more or less contemporaries, having the same name or surnames. We hear of a Pāṇḍya Parāntaka and a Coḷa Parāntaka, of a Pāṇḍya surnamed Parāṅkuśa and a Pallava surnamed Parāṅkuśa; of a Pāṇḍya Rājasimha and a Pallava Rājasimha; of a Cāḷukya Ādityavarman and a Pallava Ādityavarman (grandson of Bhīmavarman) — such instances may easily be multiplied. Narasimhavarman I Pallava might well have borne the surname of Candrāditya, which was also the name of one of his later Cālukya contemporaries. The *Sarvanātha* or the Supreme Ruler over others in the middle of the 7th Century could have been no other than Narasimhavarman Māmalla, the proud conqueror of Vātāpi.

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* *Op. cit.* p. 66.

† *S. I. I.* Vol. I No. 27.

BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES FROM ĀDUṚṚU

Dr. M. Rama Rao, Guntur

I happened to visit Amalāpuram in the East Godāvary district in June last in connection with a series of lectures organised by the local Vijñānasamiti. At the end of my address on Āndhra art wherein I described the Buddhist caityas of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. Some friends told me that in the village of Āduṛṛu, situated about eight miles away, a well built of big bricks and a brick temple with four faces and a number of rooms on its surface, were unearthed recently. I desired that a few of the bricks found in the building may be fetched. When I examined these bricks I found that they measured 20"x10"x4" and resembled those found in the ancient Buddhist sites of Amarāvati, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Koṇḍāpūr etc. I went to the village the next day[*] and found to my surprise that the villagers have unknowingly excavated an ancient Buddhist establishment with two caityas and what appears to be a monastic site.

Āduṛṛu is a small unpretentious village situated on the southern bank of the Vainateya branch of the Godāvary in the Razole taluk of the East Godavary district. The two taluks of Amalāpuram and Razole, which constitute the central delta, are familiarly known as the Konasīma.[†] This region is very famous for its mango, cocanut and arecanut plantations and scholars of Vedic lore. The Vedic scholars of Perūr enjoy an all-India reputation. The area is of considerable commercial importance as the chief cocanut exporting centre on the east coast. The Godāvary plates of Pṛthvīmūla,[‡] assignable on paleographic and other grounds, to the fifth century A. D., afford the first glimpse into the history of this region. The Konasīma seems to have constituted at this early period an independent kingdom under mahārāja Prabhañjanavarman and probably had Vijaya-Kāṇḍali for its headquarters. Prabhañjanavarman's son Pṛthvīmūla was a Māheśvara, a scholar of the Śrutis and Smṛtis and a protector of Varṇāśramadharma. He gifted the village of Cūyipāka in the Tānupāka-viṣaya[§]

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[*] This was on the 19th of June 1946.

[†] Between Kotipalli in the East Godāvary district on the northern bank and Narsapūr in the West Godavary district on the southern bank there are three main branches of the Godāvary separating the Kondaīma itself into two parts.

[‡] J. R. A. S. 1906 p. 204.

[§] I identify Tānupāka with the modern village of Tātipāka in the Razole taluk.

to some brāhmin scholars. Thus the wave of brāhminical revival of the post-Sātavāhana period swept also over this out-of-the-way region. Later, this area was incorporated into the Eastern Cāḷukyan kingdom of Vengī. The Nandampūḍi grant of Rājarāja[*] states that the village was situated in the Reṇḍerula naḍimi-viṣaya and that it was gifted to Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa[†] who was a great scholar and poet and a composer in the Sanskrit, Prākṛt, Paiśāci and Āndhra languages and had the titles Kavībhavajrāṁkuśa and Nanninārāyaṇa. The two sets of Ryāli plates[‡] discovered in this region register gifts to a brāhmin family of scholars belonging to the Parāśara gotra. One of the donees was an agastya for literature, and a scholar of Vedas, Vedāṁgas and Mīmāṁsa. After the Vengī Cāḷukyan epoch the Konasīma consisting of the two divisions mentioned above-viz-the Tānupāka-viṣaya and the Reṇḍerulanaḍimi-viṣaya, seems to have come under the sway of a Haihaya family whose members are familiarly known as the Kona chiefs. The records of this family range between S. S. 995 and 1240.[$] These rulers exercised influence on either bank of the Godāvary over the Guddavādi-viṣaya and Pāgunāra-viṣaya. They acknowledged the suzereignty of the Cāḷukya-Colas. When the Kākatīya empire was extended to the east coast, the Konasīma was incorporated into it and included in the viceroyalty of the Indulūri family.[||] In the post-Kākatīya period it was for a short time ruled over by the Nāyakas of Korukoṇḍa[¶] but soon became part of the Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṇḍavīḍu. These Reḍḍi rulers made numerous grants in the Konasīma to scholars of repute. When a separate line of Reḍḍis was established at Rajahmundry, Konasīma was included in the new kingdom.[♆] After the fall of the Reḍḍis the Gajapatis overran the east coast including the Konasīma.[§] This, in brief, is the history of this region.

It is evident from the Godāvary plates that the Konasīma was the stronghold of brāhmanical Hinduism from the fifth century onwards. We do not know what were the conditions before that date. A number of Jaina antiquities including Tīrthankara idols were found at places like Tāṭipāka and Nedunūru in this region but of Buddhism not a single trace has so far been obtained. The mahācaitya of Ādurru is the first indication of its kind.*

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[*] E. I. IV. pp. 300--309.

[†] This Scholar is considered to have helped the famous poet Nannaya in translating the Mahābhārata into Telugu.

[‡] J. A. H. R. S. IX. pp--24--30 and 33--35.

[$] M. E. R. 1933 pt. II. para 11.

[||] M. Rama Rao — Kākatīya Saṁchika App. see under the Sivayogasāramu.

[¶] See the Āryavatam inscription in the Āndhrabhārati III. p. 156. verse 6.

[♆] Cf. Prolaya Vema's title "...कृष्णा–गौतमी–जलक्रीडा–विनोदः"
(c. p. 5 of M. E. R. 1919--20) See also the Vānapalli and Nadupūr grants of Anavema (E. I. III. pp. 59--66 and 286).

[§] See the Tottarampūdi plates of Kāṭaya Vema E. I. IV. p. 318.

The site on which the monument stands is very charming. On the right bank of the Vainateya river opposite Bodasakurru,† a popular fording place, is a small ghat where boats bound for Ādurru land. About one furlong from this place is a narrow drainage canal with a wooden bridge over it. About 175 feet to the south of the bridge is a small tank about 110 feet square with a row of ancient steps on one side. To the south-east of this tank and at a distance of about 35 feet is the foundation of a small caitya. About 32 feet to the south of this caitya is a mound now about 6 feet high and about 240 feet in circnmference. In this open mound and within a margin of about 3 feet in the interior stands the mahācaitya. Its height from the ground to the present summit is about 16 feet. Of this the base which is 6 feet high is hidden by the mound while the rest of the structure stands above the surface of the maund and is visible from a distance. From the outside the entire structure looks like a cylendrical pillar surrounded by two concentric circles, the intervening space between the pillar and the circumference of the circle being cut up into "V" shaped compartments by narrow walls radiating from the base of the pillar. It looks as though two giant wheels with spokes have been placed one over the other, the upper one being smaller in size, and a big cylinder has been placed on the axis of the inner wheel. If one stands on the top of the mahācitya and looks around huge gardens of cocoanut trees waving their branches majestically in the air and the large expanse of water of the Vainateya river feast the eyes.

The history of the excavation of this site by the local villagers is very interesting.‡ It seems that the mound was originally 40 feet high and was known as Dūbarāju guḍi. There was a huge banian tree on its summit surrounded by shrubbage. The villagers of Ādurru used to sacrifice goats and cocks on it. The mound stands in a ziroyati field owned by one of the villagers. Recently, some one told the villagers that the mound contains the ruins of a temple and suggested that it ought to be restored. A few thousands of rupees were raised and the excavation of the mound was begun. At a depth of about 3 feet from the top level of the mound, there came a white surface made of huge slabs cast with shell-lime and pebbles. As this surface was cleared alround it was found to be in the shape of an arc. When these slabs were removed they were found to have been laid as an arch-shaped lid over a huge cylinder built of bricks. The circular wall of the structure was about 5 feet thick. About 9 feet from the circumference of this wall in the interior, the top of a pillar was found at the centre, the intervening space being covered by bricks and earth. When this debris was cleared a circle of spokes-and-wheel pattern appeared at the base of the pillar, its circumference being made of a thick wall. Further digging revealed a second wheel-like structure and below it a cylindrical structure 6 feet high. Digging was stopped at this stage. Large quantities of bricks of varying shapes and sizes removed from this mound during the course of the excavation are thrown in a big heap to the west of the mound.

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* See the Nandampūdi grant of Pratāparudra Gajapati in J. A. H. C. I — 2 pp. 76--79.

† This village is about three miles from Amalāpuram, the headquarters of a taluk of that name.

‡ This account is based upon information obtained from the villagers of Ādurru who witnessed the excavation.

The main objects of interest at Āduṛru are the mahācaitya, another caitya, what appears to be a monastic site and sevaral spots in the village. I will now describe them in detail.

The mahācaitya — At the base of the structure is a low platform one foot high running alround. Above this platform is a huge cylinder made of a brick wall about 5 feet thick, 6 feet high, 206 feet in circumference and about 65 feet in diametre. This basic structure contains in the four cardinal directions four projections resembling platforms each 15 feet high and 5 feet broad. Each platform is cut into three sections at an interval of one foot each laid within one another. The surface of the structure is made up of twenty-four "V" shaped compartments formed by slanting walls radiating from another cylindrical brick structure standing at the centre. Each of the spoke-like walls is about 7 feet long, 2 feet broad and narrower towards the end. The second cylindrieal structure is about 5 feet high, 190 feet in circumference and about 60 feet in diametre. The surface of this structure is also divided into sixteen "V" shaped compartments. There is a third cylindrical brick structure standing at the centre of the second one and is 3 feet high, about 112 feet in circumference and about 35 feet in diametre. Its surface is also cut up into four compartments. The earth and bricks that must have originally surrounded the second and third tiers have been removed and consequently the interior of the mahācaitya is now open to view more or less like a cross-section.*

Thus, we have here all the main features of some of the well-known mahācaityas of Āndhradeśa viz. the use of large size bricks, the shape of a wheel on plan with hub, spokes and tyre, all complete and four āyaka pillar platforms. This leads to the inevitable conclusion that this Āduṛru mound contains a Buddhist mahācaitya.

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* These measurements were kindly supplied to me by Mr. Medicharla Bapanna, the owner of the site on which the monuments stand.

Another Caitya — To the north-east of the mahācaitya is to be seen on the ground level the foundation of another caitya. It has an outer brick wall about 4 feet thick with a circumference of about 102 feet and a diametre of about 32 feet. Its surface is divided into eight "V" shaped compartments made of spoke-like walls radiating from a pillar in the centre. It seems that there was a high structure above it but it has been totally destroyed by the villagers.

Monastic site — There is open space alround the mound bound by a public path on the east and dwelling houses on the south. I was told that wherever digging is done round the mound on all sides there appears a brick pavement with foundations of horizontal and vertical walls forming halls and small rooms. A pestle and grinding stone green in colour, earthern utensils and large pieces of pottery were obtained in this area. Evidently this area contains one or more monasteries attached to the mahācaitya.

Coins and icons — The villagers told me that they also obtained from the mound a few coins of lead with figures of elephants and other animals on them but that they became powdered on being touched. A number of broken idols are also said to have been found during the course of the excavation.

On examining the caityas in detail, the plan of construction, the bricks used and the pieces of pottery and old coins obtained from the site, I am inclined to ascribe the mahācaitya and its adjuncts to the beginning of the Christian era.

From what has been stated above, it is beyond doubt that this site in the Village of Ādurṛu once contained an expensive and flourishing Buddhist settlement with a mahācaitya, one or more other caityas and a number of monasteries. The entire area has to be carefully surveyed and excavated. I hope that the Archaeological department which has been acquainted by me of this discovery will soon do the needful in this matter.

A NEW KUṢĀṆA IMAGE OF INDRA IN THE MATHURA MUSEUM

K. D. Bajpai, Mathura

Recently a new image of Indra has been acquired for the Mathurā Museum. It is of red sandstone and measures 9"×5½". The god stands facing. His right hand, which was raised, is unfortunately broken. It appears to have been held in the *abhayamudrā* and probably held a *śakti* or a *vajra*, the emblem of Indra. The left mutilated hand holds a scarf which passes around his knees. The god is adorned with a crown (*mukuṭa*) on the head, ear-rings (*kuṇḍalas*), a necklace (*hāra*) and armlets (*keyura*). He wears a *dhoti* which is tied round the waist. There is an indication of the third eye lying horizontally in the middle of the forehead. The most remarkable feature is the elephant, the *vāhana* of the god, standing behind him. It settles the iconography of the deity and helps in identifying the standing figure undoubtedly with Indra.

Though the worship of gods of the Hindu pantheon is fairly old, their representation in art is seldom found before the Gupta period. It is especially in the Muthurā art that we find the early figures of deities like Balarāma, Kubera, Agni, Indra, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, which have been assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period. Early figures of Indra are extremely rare. There is only one mutilated image of this god in the Mathurā Museum which belongs to about first century A. D. The present new image, though somewhat later, is a unique and well-preserved specimen representing the king of gods.

Section : Philology and Indian Linguistics

Presidential Address

Dr. Sukumar Sen, Calcutta

INDO-IRANIAN SPIRANTS AND PROTO-INDO-ARYAN SPIRANTISATION

It is usually expected that the address of a Section President of the Oriental Conference would be prefaced by an account of the research work done in that particular subject since the last meeting of the Conference. For quite a good bit of time, we, in India, are passing through very difficult days, and it is no wonder that not very much work has been done, or rather has been published, for the last two or three years. I would also refrain from laying out before you elaborate schemes of collaborated research work in Indian Linguistics, in as much as I have no faith in mere sumptuous programmes and gorgeous blue prints. From my own experience as a student of Linguistics I may say that individual work in Linguistics, as in all other research studies, if prosecuted with sincerity, vigour and meticulousness, makes much more headway than collaborated labour which is necessarily slow, can ever do. I do not deny the necessity of collaborated work in our Science, but I believe that such work is preconditioned by the existence of a good band of trained Linguisticians, not merely Sanskritist, Prakritists or stragglers from other subjects dabbling in Philology. In India we have perhaps the most promising, fertile, and to a great extent, virgin field of Linguistic research. Unfortunately, however, the powers that control the University Studies and higher research in our country are not at all alive to the special importance of Linguistic studies and research work here. We, who flatter ourselves as being serious workers in this domain in India, are still too few, — our number can be counted on one's finger end, — and have to fight against heavy odds. We are suffered rather than encouraged. Apathy, ignorance and amateurism are the forces operating against us. But let us not lose faith in the future. The science inaugurated by Paṇini is sure to thrive in Free India.

In this my presidential address I propose to follow a different line of approach which has been pursued by scholars elsewhere with conspicuous success, because it appears to me to be the better and more profitable way. Instead of indulging in generalities and useless repetition of our difficulties and our ambitions, I think the treatment of a particular topic coonnected with a special line of research in which a sectional president is working would be more interesting to the general range of scholars. I have followed this plan and I hope it will not be looked upon as too much specialised and therefore not suitable as a sectional president's address.

I shall now put before you some facts and observations relating to the interrelation among Iranian and Indo-Aryan dialects. I shall try to show that Vedic and classical Sanskrit do not fully represent the Old Indo-Aryan dialects, that there were Old Indo-Aryan dialects which bare distinct Iranian characteristics not found in Vedic and classical Sanskrit, that the affinity between Iranian and Middle Indo-Aryan was much closer than we are apt to suppose and that only such hypothesis can satisfactorily explain some important Middle Indo-Aryan forms and phenomena.

There are a few dialect forms in O.I-A. that indicate closer Iranian affinity. The change to a kind of sh sound which can for convenience be described as palatalisation of final and non-final-s after *i* and *u* in Indo-Iranian was not universal. The Iranian dialects are characterized by such palatalisation. But Proto-Indo-Aryan show it only optionally. In this respect the language of the Ṛgveda is akin to Iranian; e. g., *nakiṣ ṭe* (<*nakis te*); *dūḍhī* (<*dužždhī*--) as against Cl. Skt. *durdhī* (<*duzdhī*-). Palalalised and non-palatalized forms both are sometimes preserved as doublets; e.g., *viṣṭara* and *vistara* (<*vi-stara*). The non-palatalised forms, however, generally indicate later formation or compounding. Thus, older *suṣṭhu*, *adhiṣṭhāna* as against later *sustha*, *susthira*; later *nistāra*, *vismaya* etc.

In Indo-Iranian final *-as* (*-aś*) became voiced *-az* (*-až*) before a voiced sound.[1] In O.I-A. this final *-az* (*-až*) became *-o* in Sandhi; e g., *-Sas ayam*> **saz ayam* > *so ayam* (Vedic), *so 'yam* (Skt.); *(x)ˇ*aś daśa* > -š*az daśa* > *ṣoḍaśa* Avestan as well as most of the M.I-A. speeches generalized this treatment of final *-az* even outside Sandhi. Thus; Av. *ko*, M.I-A. *ko* < *-kaz* < *-kas*. Internally however I-Ir. *az* (*-až*) became *-e* in O.I-A. And this treatment of *az* was generalized by other M.I-A. speeches for the final *-as* of O.I-A.; e.g.,

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[1] Old Persian does not show this, but that may not mean the absence of this phenomenon in this dialect. Like final -*S* final -*Z* also may have been weak enongh in this dialect to be omitted in arthography. In the first member of a compound the final - *Z* is preserved in O. P., e. g , *Vahyazdāta*-, a proper name.

M.I-A. *ke* < *-kaz* > *kas*. There is only one instance of such treatment of final *-az* in O.I-A., viz., Ṛgvedic *sūre dūhitā* < **sūraz dhuzhitā* < I-E. **sȗ̯dlœs dhugheter* (S) "the daughter of the sun."

I-Ir. final *-āz* (< *-ās* before a voiced sound) became *-ā* in O.I-A, but in Avestan and in some proto-I-A. dialects it became disyllabic *-āaz*, whence M.I-A. disyllabic *-āo* and Av. diphthong -a; *e.g.*, *gāthās* (nom. pl. of *gāthā-*) > **gathāas* > **gāthāaz* > Av. *gadaa*, M.I-A. *gāhāo*. Such prolongation of disyllabic treatment of *ā* is not an unfamiliar phenomenon in the language of the Ṛgveda and in Avestan.

Vocalisation of final *-is* (*-iṣ*) and *-us* (*uš̯*) before a voiced sound also is an I-Ir. phenomenon. It further developed into rhotacism in O.I-A. A solitary instance of "Zetacism voicing" as opp. to rhotacism in O. P. is *nij-āyam* < **niž-āyam* "I came out," O.I-A. *nir-āyam*. The sole, but doubtful, instance of internal zetacism in I-Ir. is Av. *yūždem* "you" (pl.) < **yūš-am* < I-E. *i̯ūs + om* (after the analogy of **eghom*). As O I-A. *yūyam* does not show the expected rhotaciam, the Av. and O.I-A. forms might have been independent creations. O.I-A. *yūyam* is undoubtedly made in analogy of I-Ir. *vayam*.

The sole remnant of I-Ir. intervocalic old palatal *-źh-* and new palatal *-žh-* in O.I-A. is *h*.[1] In one or two Sandhi forms, however, the old and new palatals appear as *-jh-*; viz., **ud-źhita-* > **ud-jhita-* > *uj-jhita-* (not by syncopation from O.I-A. * *ud-jahita-* as supposed by Wackernagel); *pad-žhati-* (*root ghen, han*) > **pad-jhati-* > *pajjhaṭikā* (with spontaneous cerebralisation and addition of the diminutive affix), the name of a metre that imitates the swing of stepping (cf. *paddhati*).

Being the only voiced spirant (aspirate) in O.I-A., *h* also represented the proto-I-A. spirantized *dh* (< *dh*). The spirantisation of intervocalic *-dh-* might have begun in I-Ir. period. The reduction of intervocalic *-dh-* to *-h-* through intermediate *-dh-* is attested in a number of old and historical forms; e.g., I-E. * *i̯ādhi* > I-Ir. **yādhi* **yādhi* > *yāhi*; I-E. **idhe* > I-Ir. **idhā* > Av. *ida*, O. P. *idā*, O.I-A. *iha*, but M.I-A. *idha*; I-Ir. **-madhai* (first person plural middle present ending) > Av. *-maide*, O.I-A. *-mahe*; I-E. **gṛdho-* > **gṛdha-* > *gṛha-*; IE. **sṃdhe* > I-Ir. *sadha* > O. P. *hadā*, Av. *hada*, O.I-A. *saha*, etc.

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[1] I-Ir. -ź(*h*)- and -ž(*h*) fell together in O.I-A. and in Av. whereas they remained more or less distinct in O. P. In O. P. I-Ir. -ź(*h*)- is generally *-d-*, dialectally *-z-* and -xš- before *-n-* (e. g., *-dana-* and *-zana-*, *adānā* and *xšnāsātiy*, *ayadaiy*, *adam*), but I-Ir. -ž(*h*)- is always *-j-* and never *-d-* (e. g., *jivā*, *ājamiyā*, *ajanam*).

Spirantization did not occur in initial Syllables. In O.I–A. *hita-* > *dhita-* < I-E. **dheto-* the change of initial *dh-* to *h-* is only apparent. The form *-hita-* must have been extracted from such compounds as *nihita-*, *prahita-*, *suhita-* (also *sudhita-*) etc. The alternance *th* : *dh* which appears sporadically in Av. O. P. and O.I–A., e.g., Av. *dadana-*, O. P. *danuvanige-*, O.I–A. *nāth- nādh-* may indicate the tendency of the spirantization of *dh*.

I shall now digress a little to examine the genuineness of *dehi* as the present (reduplicated) imperative active from the root *dā-*. There are two formidable objections against *dehi* being derived from I–Ir. **dadzdhi*, I–E. **deddhi*. (i) I–Ir. interconsonantal glidic *-s-* and *-z-* are preserved in Ir. but not in O.I–A. Thus : I-E. **bhṇdhto-* > I–Ir. **badhsta-* > O. P. *basta-*, O.I–A. *baddha-*; I-Ir. **madsta-* > Av. *masta-*, O.I-A. *matta-*; I–Ir. **adzdhā* > Av. *azdā*, O. P. *azdā*, O.I- A. *addhā*. I-Ir. **dadzdhi* normally becomes Av. *dazdi* and O.I–A. *daddhi* which occurs in the Ṛgveda. (ii) I-Ir. *-dh-* after *-z-* (ž) is not reduced to *-h-* in O.I–A. in as much as its spirantization was prevented by the preceding *-z-* (*-ž-*). Thus : I-E. **esdhi* > I-Ir. **azdhi* > Av. (*a*)*zdi*, O.I–A. *edhi*; I-Ir. **śāzdhi* > O.I-A. *śādhi*; I-E. **mṇsdhe-* > I-Ir. **mazdhā-* > Av. *mazdā-*, O. P. *mazdā-*, O.I–A. *medhā-*. The change of *-dh-* > *-h-* is therefore not expected in O.I–A. The form *dehi* can be explained only as imperative of the root *day-* : **dayadhi* > dehi. The Prākritism *aya* > *e* occurs in forms in Vedic as *śreṇī-* < *śrayaṇi-*, *tredhā* < **trayadhā*; also cf. *śreṣṭha-* > **śrayiṣṭha-*, *deṣṭha-* < **dayiṣṭha*.

The form *dhehi*, the imperative of *dhā*, is still more anomalous. The retention of the two aspirates is another point against its historicity. It is obviously modelled after *dehi*. I-E. **dedhdhi* and **dhedhdhi* would fall together and become **dadzdhi* in I-Ir. From this we get Av. *dazdi* for both the roots and in O.I-A. also there would be a common form *daddhi*. But in Vedic *daddhi* occurs as imperative of *dhā-* only.

The tendency of the reduction of intervocalic *-bh-* to *-h-* through intermediate spirantisation undoubtedly, was just noticeable in Vedic; e.g., *gṛbhṇāti* > *gṛhṇāti*, *dabhra-* > *dahra-*. The anomalous form *jabhāra* for *jahāra* illustrates the confusion between *-bh-* (spirantized ?) and *-h-*.

The change of intervocatic *-gh-* to *-h-*, which appears in quite a number of forms, can be easily explained as I-Ir. doublets showing ablaut variation of **o* : **e*. Thus : O.I-A. *drogha-*, O. P. *drauga-*, Av. *draoya-* < I-Ir. **draugha-* < I-E. **dhreugho-*, while O.I-A. *droha-*, O. P. *draujana-*, Av. *draoja-* < I-Ir. **draužha-* < I-E. **dhreughe-*; similarly O.I-A. *megha-* < I-E. **meigho-* and *meha-* < I-E. **meighe-*; O.I-A. *dāgha-* (as in *nidāgha-*) < I-E. **dheigho-* and *daha* < I-E. **dheighe-*; O.I-A. *gharmya-* < I-E. **gu̯hormo-* and *harmya-*

< I-E. *_gu̯hermo-_; O.I-A. _mogha_ < I-E. *_meugho-_ and _moha-_ < I-E. *_meughe-_; etc.

The I-Ir. voiced spirant conjuncts -_gź(h)_- and -_gž(h)_- lost the voice and became -_kṣ_- in O.I-A., but in some proto-I-A. dialects they continued as voiced conjuncts and became -(_j_)_jh_- in M.I-A. Thus : I-E. *_gohereti_ > I.Ir. *_gžarati_ (cf. gk. _phtheiro_) > Av. _yžar-_, O.I-A. _kṣarati_, proto-I-A. (dialectal) _žharati_ > M.I-A. _jharai_; I-E. *_ghsero_· *_ghsemo-_ > gk. _kseros_, I-Ir _gžhāma_, > O.I-A. _kṣāma-_, proto-I-A. (dialectal) *_žhāma_ > M.I-A. _jhāma_·.

The I-Ir. unvoiced spirant conjunct -_xš_- appeared as -_kṣ_- in O.I-A. while in dialectal proto-I-A. it became -(_š_)_šh_-, which in M.I-A. normally became -(_c_)_ch_-. Thus : I-E. *_su̯eks_ > I-Ir. _(x)šaš_ (cf. Av. _xvaš_) > O.I-A. _ṣaṣ-_, proto-I-A. (dialectal) *_šhaš_ > M.I-A. _cha-_; I-E. *_xdeitrom_ > I-Ir. *_xšaitarm_ < Av. _šoidrem_, O.I-A. _kṣetram_, proto-I-A. (dialectal) *_šhaitram_ > M.I-A. *_chetta-_, _chitta_ (as in Niya Prakrit _bhuma-chitta-_). Turner's snggestion that N.I-A. _āche_ < M.I-A. _acchai_ is not from I-E. +_es-_ (*_es-ske-ti_ > O.I-A. *_acchati_) as assumed by Chatterji, but from I-E. _xdei-_ (I-E. -*_xdeiti_ > I-Ir. *_xšaiti_ > O.I-A. (Vedic) _ā-kṣeti_ finds additional support here. I-Ir. *_ā-xšaiti_ would normally become *_āššhaiti_ in dialectal proto-I-Ir. from which the form expected in M I-A. is _accha(t)i_.

It can now be safely presumed that the M.I-A. development of -(_e_)_ch_- from O.I-A. -_kṣ_- presupposes regressive assimilation of a proto-I-A. -_xš_- and that the M.I-A. development of -(_k_)_kh_- from O.I-A. -_kṣ_- has resulted from progressive assimilation of I-A- dialectal -_xš_-. Often both the -(_c_)_ch_- and -(_k_)_k_h- are preserved as doublets; e. g., _chāra-_ : _khāra-_ (< _kṣāra-_); _kaccha-_ : _kakkha-_ (_kaṅkha-_) (< _kakṣa_); _chīṇa-_ : _khīṇa-_ (< _kṣīṇa-_). The -(_c_)_ch_- forms are certainly older; e. g.; _accha-_ < _ṛkṣa-_; _chea-_ < _kṣepa-_; _chuddha-_ < _kṣubdha-_; _chudda-_ < _kṣudra-_; etc.

A late I-Ir. or early proto-I-A- dialectal spirantization is indicated in M.I-A. but not recorded in O.I-A. It is the treatment of -_tr_- to -_tth_- via -_dr_-, which appears only in a few old and historical pronominal adverbs; viz., _itra_ (> Av. _idra_) *_etra_ > M.I-A. _ettha_; _yatra_ > _yattha_; _tatra_ > _tattha_. The normal development of -_tr_- in I-A. is -_tt_- by progressive assimilation; e g., _putra-_ > _putta-_; _mitra-_ > _mitta-_; etc.

The M.I-A. development of the O.I-A. conjuncts -_ṣk_-, -_st_- and -_sp_- (-_ṣp_-) into -(_k_)_kh_-, -(_t_)_th_- and -(_p_)_ph_- presupposes spirantisation of plosives in connection with the preceding sibilants. Thus : _skambha-_ > *_sxambha-_ > _khambha-_; _duṣkara-_ > *_duṣxara-_ > _dukkhara-_; _stūpa-_ > *_sdūpa-_ > _thūva-_; _prastara-_ > *_prasdara-_ > _patthara-_; _sparśa-_ > *sfarśa- > _phamṣa-_; _puṣpa-_ > *_puṣfa-_ > _puppha_ ; etc. The spirantisation of -_t_- before -_s_- is partly proto-I-A.; e.g., I-Ir. *_stā-_ > O.I-A. _sthā-_; I-Ir. _stūnā_ > O.I-A. _sthūṇā_; I-E. *_ost-_ > I-Ir. *_ast-_ > O.I-A. _asth-_.

The development of O-I-A. *-ṣkh-*, *-sth-* and *-sph-* into M.I-A. -(*k*)*kh-*, -(*t*)*th-* and -(*p*)*ph-* respectively may be explained either by intermediate spirantisation or by direct assimilation.

The above discussion leads to the following conclusions,—

(i) spirantisation of some intervocalic voiced plosives began in I-Ir. and not in Ir. period;

(ii) proto-Indo-Aryan voiced spirant was preserved more fully in some M.I-A. dialects than in O.I-A.;

(iii) there were M.I-A. dialects that preserved distinct Iranian characteristics; and

(iv) the distinction between I-Ir. voiced and unvoiced conjunct spirants was kept up in M.I-A. but not in O.I-A.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE CARYĀPADAS

Shri Jayakanta Mishra, Allahabad

Variously described as Old Bengali, Old Assamese, and Old Oriya specimens, the Caryā Padas have the greatest claims to be considered as Old Maithili specimens. The fact has been pointed out by Bhadanta Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana, Kāshiprasad Jayaswal, MM Dr. Umesha Mishra, Babu Narendranatha Das, Dr. Subhadra Jha and Shivanandan Thākur. I propose to put before the scholars all these evidences along with some of my own.

(I) The first ground on which the Padas are called Old Maithili specimens is that the majority of the Siddhas who wrote these Padas belonged to Bihar. It is accepted by all authorities such as Grundvelle, Cordier, MM Sastri and Bhadanta Rāhula that most of them flourished at the Vihars of Vikramaśila and Nālandā and Magadha. The completeness with which their names occur in the earliest Maithili Classic *Varṇa-Ratnākara*, only confirms that they were well-known in North Bihar.

(II) The language of the Dohā-kośas of these Siddhas is some form of Apabhraṁśa, but it betrays, nonetheless, affinities with the language of Kīrttilatā, Kīrttipatākā, Varṇa-Ratnākara and Viśuddha-Vidyāpati-Padāvali. For example, the dominant position of the dental sibilant, the use of *e* as instrumental singular suffix; the use of *candrabindu* as a postposition; the use of *ka* as genitive suffix; the use of *hi*, *e*, or even *e* for locative; the use of such pronouns as mayī (Kānha 31), *je*, *ehu*, *tasu*, *appaṇa* (Saraha IV, 6);. the imperative ending in *ha*, *hi* or *u*; simple third person sing. ending in *-i*; adverbs such as, *jahi*, *tahi*, *tehi-khaṇe*, *tā*; typical Maithili idioms and words such as, *ughāḍyi*, *suṇṇa*, *beḍha*, *paṛila-bhiti*, *gharahī baisi āgi Jārī*, *ḍahāvia kaṛue dhūme*, *upāṛia kese*, *ccharṛhu re*, *ki*, *paṛhijjat sovi guṇijjai*, *binu*, *avassa*, *gharavaṅ(ā)*, *caudaha*, *sirīphala*, *pāka*, *pokkhara*, *ghariṇī*.

(III) The morphology of the Caryāpadas apart, even in their phonology they have striking similarity with Maithilī. They have the stress on the penultimate syllable or on the last long vowels - not more backward than the third from the end. " In Bengali, however, the second type of stress are found in the language of the inscriptions only (Chatterji p. 280 ff.) while in Maithilī the two types of stress are met with in the language of the V(arṇa)-R(atnākara) as well as in the Padāvalī of Vidyāpati. At any rate there is little to prove on the basis of stress only, whether the Caryās are in Bengali or in Maithilī." (Subhadra Jha — *Formation of Maithilī Language* pp. 49-60).

The presence of nasalized sounds and the prevalence of dental sibilant may further be noted in support of Maithilī.

(IV) In morphology there are several important features :

(i) *Declension of Nouns :*

(a) The presence of all three Maithilī nominative forms—the short, the long, the redundant - is foreign to Bengalī.

(b) The instrumental in *e* is peculiarly Maithilī feature.

(c) The occasional genetive in *-ka* is found rarely in Bengali writings, but it is native to Maithilī. The other genetive form in *-era*, *-ara*, *-kera*, *ri*, *-eri* etc. was known in early Maithilī (See Shivanandan Thākur -*Vidyāpati ki Bhāṣā* p. 30) and survives even today in *-kera*. Indeed, *-ara*, *-era*, as genitive suffix is known for pronouns in many more languages than Bengalī and Maithilī.

(d) The use of *candrabindu* for case-endings is peculiarly Maithilī feature (See — Ibid, p. 9).

(e) " The presence of the locative in *ta* in the Caryās suggests first its connection with Bengali. But *ta* in extended form is met with in early literary Maithilī as well as in the Eastern Maithilī dialect; of course, even there it is no more commonly used. In Bengal too its literary form is *te*, while *-t* has its use restricted to some dialects. As a matter of fact it was a loc. affix in the whole of Northern, Central and Eastern Māgadhan area : it occurs in Assamese also. (Chatterji — p. 750)." (Subhadra Jha — *op. cit.*)

(f) The use of *te* in the instrumental (e. g. in the word *sukhadukha-te*) is similar to its use in Varṇa Ratnākara (p. 24-ka *lokate*).

(ii) *Declension of Pronouns :*

(a) Maithilī forms (as in *Kirttilatā*) of first person singular *hao* and *hāū*, (Shivanandan Ṭhākur -*op. cit.*, p. 212), are found in Caryās 10 and 20.

(b) Third person singular pronoun *te* in caryā 22 is found abundantly in *Varṇa-Ratnākara*. (*Ibid*)

(c) Peculiarly Maithilī personal pronoun for emphatic 'self' (= *swayaṃ*), *apaṇe* is in Caryās 3 and 22. (*Ibid*)

(d) The first person form *mo* (Caryā 5) is known to occur in Vidyāpati as *mo* (Nepal Ms. quoted by Nagendranath Gupta Pada 62). Forms like *moh̃e* are also known in Vidyāpati.

(e) Second person forms like *to, toe, tohora, torā, tohari* etc. are known to Maithili. (cf. Vidyāpati तोहरि वचन, कतए मलिनि जन माने)

(f) Third person form *se* is common to Maithilī and Caryās.

(g) Such interrogative pronouns as *koe* (Caryā 43), *kāhi̐* (Caryā 1), etc. are all found in Vidyāpati (Vidyābhūṣaṇa and Khagendranātha— Padas 150,. 719 etc.)

(h) Such forms as *e* (C. 6 *e bana cchāṛi*), *ehu* (C. 26) are familiar in Maithilī.

(iii) *Conjugation of Verbs etc. :*

(a) The substantive roots *Thāk* and *Acha* are both found in early Maithilī (Shivanandan Ṭhākur — *op. cit.* p. 131; cf. कत कत मान्तिलता नहि थाक or थिर मनकए थाक — *Viśuddha Vidyāpati Padāvali*).

(b) " Verbal forms in *-u* are used in the past tense in the Caryās, in Bengali and in Early Maithilī. Chatterji explains their presence in the Caryās as due to Western influence (p. 946) but such cases were quite common in early Maithilī. In V(arṇa) R(atnākara) it is a genuine early Maithilī form." (Subhadra Jha — *op. cit.* p. 49-60). *Vide* Caryā, for example, 11.

(c) "Third Person Singular forms in *-ti* are found in the Caryās and in Vidyāpati; but they do not occur in Bengali; while the Third Person in *thi* found in the Caryās is foreign to Bengali but indigenous in Maithilī " (Subhadra Jha — *ibid*)

(d) The use of *āva* (*bandhāvac* Caryā 22) in forming causatives is common with Maithilī. (Shivanandan Ṭhākur — *op. cit.* p. 125)

(e) The use of *ia* for forming passives (Caryā I *karia*; 3, 13, 19 *kia*; 10, 33 *chāṛia*) is also common with Vidyāpati (of course, with the variation that *a* in *ia*, undergoes a phonetic change — it becomes *e* — See Shivanandan Ṭhākur — *op. cit.* p. 119)

(f) The *ila* and *iba* forms in the past and present tenses respectively seem apparently to be non-Maithilī features. But they are both found abundantly in Early Maithilī as in *Varṇa Ratnākara* (p. 6, p. 14, p. 40 *kaili or kaila*) and in *Kīrttilatā* (e. g. *purila* p. 44 Dr. Babu Ram Ṣaksena's Ed.) and as Dr. Subhadra Jha observes " in the Chikā–Chikī dialect (of modern Maithilī) — the area wherein the Ancient University of Vikramaśilā had its site, the professors of which are mainly the composers of these songs. " Besides, these forms are found in other Magadhan speeches besides Bengali; they are not peculiar to Bengali only.

(g) " Further, such verbal forms as are derived from the past participial forms of the old intransitive verbs change with the gender of the nominative. This has been the case with Maithilī of the early as well as of the Modern period. This has never been the case in Bengali. " (Subhadra Jha — *op. cit.* Add :— " The verbal forms derived from the past participle form of old transitive verbs agree in gender with the accusative in Caryās in Several cases. This is also the case in Early Maithilī." (*Ibid*) The examples are : Caryā 37 *ṭuṭi geli kāṅkha.*)

(h) Imperative Second Person in *-ha* (Caryā 28 *bindhaha*; 41 *khelaha*; 45 *chebaha*) is pronouncedly current in Maithilī.

(i) Conjunctives in *-i* abound in Caryās; in Bengali ne or henāk follows it (Chatterji II p. 1006) (Subhadra Jha — *Ibid*)

(iv) *Gender :*

(a) Feminine nouns have feminine verbs and feminine adjectives in the Caryās as in Early Maithilī. Caryās 5 (*diṛhi tāṅgī*); 8 (*Sone bharitī Karuṇā*); 8 (*khuṇṭi upāṛī melili kācchi*); 10 (*tohori kuṛiā*) 18 (*Hāū sūteli*). Parallel forms in *Varṇa Ratnākara* p. 4 (*tīni rekha samanviti grīvā*), p. 5 (*se ho mandi hothi*), p. 11 (*nirmauli swarga–nāri baisali*) etc. (Shivanandan Ṭhākur p. 15)

(b) The word *āgi* (=fire) is feminine in Caryās (No.47) and in Early Maithilī (Ṭhākura—*op. cit.* Cf. *khari virahānala āgi*–Vidyāpati)

(V) Adverbial forms : Such forms as *kaisana*, *jaisana* are all profusely found in Varṇa Ratnākara and Vidyāpati. They are very much unfamiliar to Bengali.

(VI) Proverbs and Idioms betraying affinities with Maithilī :

(a) दिवसइ बहुड़ी काग डरे भाअ ।
राति भइले कामरु जाअ ॥

(cf. Modern Maithilī —
दिवसे बहुरिआ काग देखि डेराए।
राति बहुरिआ कामरु जाए॥
[Note — the earliest use of this proverb is found in the Sanskrit work of a Maithila, Govardhanācārya. Vide — Dr. Umesha Mishra's article on " गोवर्द्धनाचार्य और उनकी सप्तशती ", *Vaiśālī* for.........]

(b) पहिल विआन (in mod. Maithilī.)
(c) बलदाबिअएल गविआ बाँझे (cf. modern Mai. वड़द बिआएल गाए रहल बाँझ)
(d) वेङ सँ साप ब(बे)ढ़िल जाअ।
(e) हाक पाड़इ। (cf. mod. Mai. हाक पाड़व)
(f) छान्हक बान्ध। (= छान्ह बान्ह)
(g) आंगन घर।
(h) दुलि दुहि पिठा धरण न जाइ।
रुखेर तेन्तलि कुम्मीरे खाइ॥
(cf. न चेयमवगति ड्लि क्षीर प्राया in *Bhāmati* by Maithila Vācaspati)
(i) थिर करि चाल।
(j) देल पसारा (= पसारा or पसारि देल)।
(k) एड़ि ए उ (*lit.*, in mod. Maithilī, to strike by the heels) cf. Vidyāpati तुहु एड़ा ओलि रतने Nag. Pada 454
(l) जे जे आएला से से गेला।
(m) डमरु वाजइ वीर नादे।
(n) टूटि गेल कन्था।

(VII) Vocabulary : Though many words are common to all languages allied to Magadhi, yet there are certain typically Maithilī words in the Caryās, such as, आजि (= mod. Mai. आजि or आइ); साङ्कन (= same Early Maithili and mod. Maithili); चापी (cf. mod. colloqial Mai. चापि देव); भिड़ि; तेन्तलि (= mod. Mai. तेँतरि) विआती (? Varṇa-ratnākara form; Dr. Shahidullah connects it with Middle Maithilī वाइति; may be connected with mod. Mai. बिआउती); सूड़िनि; सासु; टेंगी (= mod. Mai. टेंगारी); बेढ़िल; हरिणा (= mod. Mai. हरिना); गराहक (= ग्राहक); बिआरी (= Early Maithili same form in Varṇa-ratnākara) थाट्टी; उपाड़ि; उवेसेँ ; चंगेड़ा (= mod. Mai. चंगेरा); खाटे; कोठा; पतिआइ; मोर; भात; आवेश; एतकाल; वाड़ी (= mod. Mai. sense garden); उमत; छाड़ि; चौदिस; दिढ़ (Vidyāpati e. g. *Pada 142* Vidyābhusan and Khagendranath Ed.); डाल (= डारि); पइठा (= Early Mai. Vidyāpati Pada 79 पइठल); भणइ (= भनइ, भनथि); काहि (= Vidyāpati Pada 719); आस; दुहि; उठि; खाइ;

सुह चुम्बि; समाअ (=समाय); एकेली (=Vidyāpati); जउतके (=Vidyāpati); डहि (=दग्धि Sanskrit); Etc.

(VIII) The local colour and imagery in the Caryā language are, as pointed out by MM Haraprasad Sāstrī, appropriate to the area familiar with boats and rivers. I may refer to the other name of Mithilā, Tīrabhukti; to the fact that Mithilā was in early years a thoroughly marshy land; to the fact that there were several pools and rivers so much so that men lived mostly in constant fear of floods — esp. in the area near the several beds of the Kośi and the Ganges; to the word *nadī* or *nadī-dīsa* in Modern Maithili. As for the imagery from cowherd's life, suffice it to point to the predominantly *ahīra* or *goāra* population of Mithilā and to its traditional fame for milk and curd.

(IX) It is true that Buddhistic thought did not directly enter Mithilā, but there was nothing in preventing these Siddhas who flourished in the south-eastern part of Mithilā from using the vernacular of the land to attempt to popularise their views. There might have been greater response in lower classes of this part of Mithilā than we know of today. At any rate they gave to it a tradition of Pada-writing which found flowering in vernacular of later date.

(X) Lastly, it must be borne in mind that Maithili characteristics of the Caryās cannot be explained away as mere corruptions of the text brought about by the Nepalese and Maithila scribes. Indeed, it seems that the fact that these Padas have found so far only Bengali editors, accounts for many 'restorations' and 'improvements' in the text being given Bengali garb. A non-Bengali Edition, preferably a Maithila Edition, will therefore bring to light the true character of the Language of the Caryāpadas.

To sum up, the Language of the Caryāpadas seems to represent a Proto-Maithili dialect of the Chikā-Chīki area, midway between Standard Maithilī and Standard Bengali. Certainly it represents the vernacular of the Age, when Maithilī, Bengalī, Assamese or Oṛiyā had not been able to develop fully distinctive features.

POLYGLOTTISM OF RAHIM

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Akbar's was the reign of culture and enlightenment and in his court flourished one of the most distinguished poets of his age. This was Khan-i-Khanan Abdur-Rahim. He claimed nobility by birth, being the son of Akbar's regent and guardian Behram Khan. This, added to his own accomplishments, secured for him some of the highest positions in the state, and he had opportunity to have ample taste of the richness of life in war and peace. The other extreme of life also did not remain outside his range of experience. He incurred the displeasure of the pleasure-loving successor of Akbar and had to pass some very hard days.

This wealth of experience has found full expression in the poetry of Rahim. His literary ability was of an outstanding order and he could compose well in Turkish, Persian, Arabic and, what is surprisingly delightful, also in Sanskrit. It is, however, his poetry in Hindi that has made him immortal. He is one of the most popular poets with Hindi readers. His 'dohas', at once distinguished by a depth of feeling, clarity of expression and simplicity of style all his own, and of which there are hundreds, would be found on the tongue of almost every Hindi-reading person. His other famous couplets are what are called 'Barbai' (बरबै), so well adopted for sentimental poetry. All these contain poetry of a high order and are well known.

What is, however, not equally well known is that composition of Rahim which, though of not an equally high order from the poetic point of view, is of a very particular interest to us from the linguistic point of view. There are certain verses attributed to Rahim which are composed in more than one language and therefore present a linguistic mosaic, at once interesting and useful. It is my purpose here to draw attention to a few of these in the hope that such compositions would in future be brought to light more and more and attention would be paid to their linguistic value. One of these verses is—

एकस्मिन्दिवसावसानसमये मैं था गया बाग में ।
काचित्तत्र कुरंगबालनयना गुल तोड़ती थी खड़ी ॥
तां दृष्ट्वा नवयौवनां शशिमुखीं मैं मोह में जा पड़ा ।
नो जीवामि त्वया विना श्रुणु प्रिये, तू यार कैसे मिले ॥

In this quardruple, the first foot of every line is in Sanskrit, at once simple and elegant. In the very first foot, the poet reproduces so well the hush of the evening by the repetition of the sound S S SS. In the second line the spirits are aroused by the repetition of the guttural sound and 'ranga' is brought in as it were, at the sight of the young damsel. The next two feet in Sanskrit are as simple and matter of fact as the natural feeling of attraction and its expression, without any reserve. The counterparts of these Sanskrit feet are in Hindi with a fair sprinkling of Urdu words, so that we can very well call it modern Hindustani, which the 'Khadi boli' in its simple and original form. बाग, गुल and यार are Urdu words, probably of Persian origin, मोह is Hindi taken directly from Sanskrit, while the rest of the expressions are of 'Khaḍi boli' which have become 'current coin' both in Hindi and Urdu. Though other poetry of Rahim is in Avadhi, he has here charmingly combined the classics with modernism.

The second verse which I have to introduce is a much richer linguistic mosaic, containing as it does samples of no less than ten different languages. It is as follows—

भर्ता प्राचीं गतो मे बहुरि न बगदे शूँ करूँ रे हवे हूँ ।
माझी कर्मांचि गोष्ठी अब्र कुण शुणशी गांठ घेलो न ईठे ॥
म्हारी पीरा सुनोरा खरच्च बहुत है ईहरा टाबरा रो ।
दिट्ठी दैंडी दिलोंदी इश्क अल फिदा ओडियो बच्च्च नाड़ू ॥

The first foot of this verse is pure and simple Sanskrit. The second बहुरि न बगदे is Hindi of the Avadhi type as both the first and the last words indicate. शूं करूं रे हवे हूं is Gujrati as unmistakably pointed out by the word शूं. माझी कर्मांचि गोष्ठी easily mark out the next foot as Marathi. Though the available reading of the next foot is अब्र पुण शुणसि, the correct reading appears to be अब्र कुण शुणशी (who would now listen) which is Marwadi. The next foot गांठ घेलो न ईंठे is also Marwadi of the Rajasthani type. In the next sentence म्हारी तीरा सुनोरा there again appeared the necessity of amending the text and I have suggested 'pira' (पीरा) in place of 'tira' (तीरा). This again is Rajasthani. खरच्च बहुत है is simple Khadi boli of the latest style. The next two sentences ईहरा टाबरा रो and दिट्ठी टैंडी दिलों दी are Punjabi. A Punjabi friend of mine suggests that the correct reading would be डिट्ठी तैंडी दिले दी or दिलां दी and he classifies the dialect as Pothohari which is found current in the Rawalpindi district.

The last sentence is in one of the Dravidian languages. A Telugu reader would amend it as वाड़ू वच्चिनाड़ू and translate it as 'He came'. A Tamil scholar suggests ओडिये in place of ओडियो and then the sentence would mean "he came running". But it appears that ओडियो is also correct as it is a word of the Malyalam language.

Such is the richness of dialectic record that we find in this famous and in many respects unique poet of the 16th century.

SOME SELECTED WORDS IN THE CENTRAL RĀḌHA DIALECT

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I as a Research Fellow of the Visva-Bhārati am now engaged in collecting the dialectal vocabularies of the Central Rādha (West Bengal). In this paper I place some of them as specimen. The source form is given is Sanskrit.

1. OLTALĀ cf. Old Bengali OHĀLI (Sarvānanda's *Tikāsarvasva*).
   It means the place where the rain-water falls from the thatched roof of a mud-hut.
2. KENDĀL < Skandha + -āla (affix) :
   "The bordered-back plinth of a mud-hut."
3. -ĀṆḌO < **aṅkuṭa* :
   "Carved-headed stick made up of bamboo or wood."
4. SALNI < *Śalākikā* :
   "The small stick which is generally used in the bullock-cart or in the yoke to make the bull yoked."
5. ROD < *randhra :*
   "The round or square hole at the extremeties of the axle of the bullock-cart."
6. KŪLI < *kūlyā :*
   "A narrow thoroughfare."
7. ROJĀ < *rajju* + -āka (affix) :
   "The cord made up of straw which is used in the making of a barn-door."
8. TĀLĀI (> TELĀI) < *tāla* + :
   "The seat prepared from the date or palm leaf."
9. DENṬIĀ (> DENṬE) < *dīpavartikā :*
   "a cow whose extreme top of the horns shines in the dark night."
10. JĀṬH (< O. B. JĀṬHI) < *yaṣṭi :*
    "a wooden pillar which is ceremonially struck in the centre of a newly excavated tank."
11. HĀMĀR < *harmyāgāra :*
    "a place or structure where newly gathered corn is kept."
12. BĀD < *bandha :*
    "an area of small plots of land limited by a low embankment."

13. CĀMĀṬI < *carmapatrikā* or *carmapaṭṭikā* :
"a piece of leather which is used to sharpen the edge of a razor or knife."

14. BĀT < *bārta* :
"the time when a plough land is ready for cultivation."

15. UL (< UR < O. B. ORA) < apara :
"The end, the last limit."

16. LĀBAṚ (NĀBAṚ) < O. B. NĀREBAṚA :
"a person who talks much but acts little, or who is accustomed to empty display."

17. HUMTO < ? + *vartman* or *vṛtta* :
"not along beaten track."

18. MĀI (KĀṬHA) (< M. B. MĀHI) < *madha + :
"central post."

19. RONĀ (< O. B. RUṆĀ) < *rugna* :
"to wither."

20. DĀNGŪRE < ? :
"an earthen vessel used to prepare *gūḍ*."

21. DHĀŪRE < *dhāva* + *vṛtta* :
"fickle."

22. SĀṆGḌĀ < ? :
"a rythmic process of irrigation by four persons."

23. ŚIṆGŪTI < *śṛngapaṭṭika* :
"a cord which is tied down by the horns of a cow."

24. SOT < samasta :
"all, entire."

25. GĀṆGNI < *gaṅgāpati* :
"the persons who carry a dead body to the cremation ground."

26. ŚIĀR < ? :
"a small branch of a tree with roots."

27. HĀMTO < ? :
"a ploughland which has not been properly cultivated."

28. MAIPĀL < *mahīpāl* :
"the name of species of fine paddy."

29. BĀOḌ < ? :
"storm with heavy rain."

30. ĀOJ < ? :
"to put the paddy plant in the proper place by a bamboo stick."

Section : Technical Sciences

Presidential Address

Girija Prasanna Majumdar, Calcutta.

GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF PLANT SCIENCES IN ANCIENT INDIA

I Introduction

Since Man the Hunter settled down to a pastoral life he became dependent on plants for subsistence, clothing material, materials for building and shelter, and other essential ingredients of his material comforts. The study of plants and plant life, which formed their immediate environment came to hold a prominent and formost place in their lives. This utilitarian motive gave the first impetus to the scientific study of plants which formed the basis of other allied Sciences, such as, Agriculture, Medicine, Arbori-Horticulture ; etc. In the life of the Science of Botany, as in the life of all other positive Sciences, there were earlier processes suggesting its possibilities.

We explore these possibilities in India, and our enquiry begins from the unwritten Period of Indian History, and extends to a period when the evidence of the development of such sciences is found in the early literature of India. For this purpose we divide our discourse into three sections, namely, (1) Pre-Vedic, (2) Vedic and (3) Post-Vedic Developments.

II. Pre-Vedic

The Pre-Vedic evidence is based on the Neolithic, Iron age, and the Harappa-Mohenjodaro finds, discovered through the efforts of the Archaeologists.

The first chapter of the history of Man's relation with plants opens in India in the Neolithic Period. During the beginning of this period he used fruits and lived on products of Agriculture In the Bellary Neolithic Settlement, discovered in the Bellary district extending up to Dharwar, evidence has been found of the existence of "a large and extensive civilization in this area." The people are said to offer stubborn resistance to the invading races from upper India. They used to live in forests and comprised numerous forest dwelling tribes. That they were an agricultural people, at least partially, is proved by the discovery of an abundant variety of milling stones, corn crushers, pounding stones, etc. Presence of straw in the cinder mounds clearly proves that they used to live in thatched houses of some sort. Wood was used along with stones. A piece of wood, beautifully polished and flattened on one side has been recovered from the Sitakund Range in Chittagong. Another piece of wood work, a beautiful wooden tooth-comb in a perfectly preserved state has been found in Guntakul Junction by Mr. Cardew. Prof. P. Mitra of the Calcutta University concludes from his extensive studies of the Neolithic finds that these people were agriculturists, and most probably wore clothes (p. 167).[*]

The Iron Age people[†] on the other hand, were more pastoral. From the finds in the burial sites we know they used *millets* and *rice*, wore clothes and knew the art of weaving. They also used daggers with wooden handles. Their pottery used to be polished, i. e. glazed with the help of the juice of a plant, as in Egypt. Later Neolithic and Iron Age Finds include "spindle whorls and traces of cloth". This indicates that the art of weaving was at a flourishing state at this period. The land of Punt in the Egyptian ethnological traditions has been identified by Scholars with the Malabar Coast of Deccan. From this land ebony and other rich woods, incense, balsam, precious metals etc. used to be imported into Egypt.[‡]

The next chapter of the unwritten history of the progress of Indian Civilization comes from the Harappa—Mohenjodaro excavation Finds.[§] This is regarded as the pre-Vedic Civilization which existed between 3500 B. C. and 2500 B. C. The evidence shows that the Indus People had become more civilised, built cities and towns, had brisk trade and derived their wealth from agriculture, trade and commerce.

In the Preface (p. viii) to his "Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civlization," Sir John Marshall writes, "One thing that stands out clear and unmistakable both at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, is that the Civilization revealed at these two places is not an incipient Civilization, but one already age-old and stereotyped on Indian soil with many millenia of human endeavour behind it."

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[*] P. Mitra : Prehistoric Culture and Races of India. Jour. Dept. Letters, C. U. 1920, Vol. I, p. 143.

[†] Arch. Sur. Rep. India, 1902-03, 1908 09; and Mr. Rea's Catalogue.

[‡] Bissing : Prehistorische Topfen aus Indien and Aegypten, 1911; chap. VIII; Brugch's History of Egypt under the Pharoahs. See also Budge. — History of Egypt, Book of the Dead, pp. 145-16. When unguents form Punt are mentioned, and on p. 192 spices, Mitra thinks these unguents were made from *candana*. (From Mitra)

[§] Sir J. Marshall : Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization. Lond. 1931.

The Indus people lived as we have just seen, in great cities with commodious houses, well laid out roads, well built public baths, covered drains, etc. They were a wealthy and rich people, and Sir John thinks that all these became possible because the country was capable of producing food on a large scale, and the great river afforded facilities for irrigation, transport and trade. For transport besides boats they used wheeled vehicles drawn by oxen.

Agricultural implements, grain crushers in plenty have been found. Agricultural products, such as, *wheat*, *barley*, have been found in the ruins. There is undoubted evidence that *millets*, *dates*, *melon*, and *cotton* were cultivated besides wheat and barley. That vegetables and other fruits formed part of their dietary might be inferred even without positive evidence.

Finds of numerous spindle whorls with remnants of cotton and fabrics, and in one case a scrap of cotton material dyed purple, show that cotton was extensively cultivated for textile purposes. Indian cotton was known to the Babylonians as *sindhu* and to the Greeks as *sindon.** Heredotus (iii. 106) mentions cotton as peculiar to India.

Tree worship (Pl. cxi i. 387) was practised, and the *Pippal* is figured as an object of veneration on a large number of seals (Pl. xii, 16, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26). Other sacred trees are also represented but they cannot be identified. Plant designs (Pl. lxxx, 4, 7, 13) "half realistic, half conventional" (Pl. lxxxviii, 6, 12) occur on most of the painted pottery. *Palm* (Pl. xcii, 9) is one of the common trees for such models, millet (Pl. xcii, 5, 6) is another very naturalistic in style.

Representation of plant forms occur on 12 seals (nos. 22, 126, 167, 303, 340, 352, 353, 355, 357, 382, 387, 527). Amongst these *Acacia arabica*, *Prosopis spicigers* are clearly recognised. The trefoil pattern on the robe of statuary has been identified as the leaf of *Aegle marmelos* (Pl. xcviii).*

From all these we can infer that the Indus Valley People were acquainted with a large number of plants and plant products, cultivated crops, and certainly knew about their general life history and had some sort of a nomenclature and descriptive terms for the identification of these plants and their successful propagation. For the plants and plant products formed amongst others the main commodities of their trade and commerce, daily food and materials for their transport on land and in water. Thus the foundation of the Science of Botany was already laid.

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* Sir J. Marshall : Mohenjodaro and the Indus Valley Civilization, Lond, 1931.

III Vedic Period

The Vedic Indians were definitely a pastoral people settled down to a peaceful life. They lived in villages, towns and cities, in fixed dwellings and houses. Their food consisted of various preparations of cereals, pulses, vegetables, fruits and dairy products. They were mainly an agricultural people and developed agriculture to an extent which yielded them in plenty so that hospitality came to be regarded as a cardinal virtue (R. V. X, 117). One of their favourite drinks was Soma (beverage made of Soma plant) the preparation of which is elaborately described in the Ṛgveda (IX. 60), another was *dhānya-rasa*. The Vedas describe the Vedic Indian perfectly well dressed and caring for dress, so much so, that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (26/9) holds that " all civilised persons would wear clothing of some sort " (S. B. E. XLIV, p. 69). Even along with the art of weaving developed the subsidiary art of washing (*mala*, *malaga*, *vasahpalpuli*). They used some sort of footwear (*upānaha*) and also garlands (*sraja*) as one of the means of personal decorations. Their houses were furnished with simple furniture. They employed conveyances to go from place to place, both for ordinary journey and for land transport of merchandise, as they were also a business people, and in war. The Ṛgveda mentions three kinds of chariots, and for transport by water ships (*nāu*) and boats (*plava*).

The Vedic Texts afford enough evidences of both import and export trade which was carried on in waggons drawn by bullocks (R. V. VIII, 146, 30) etc. We find such terms as *kraya*, *vikraya*, *paṇa*, *vasna*, *śulka*, *śresthī*, *samudra*, etc. As a cosequence professional artisans and craftsmen sprang up, such as, carpenters, ploughmen, *rathakāras* and the rest. The standard of weights were *kṛṣṇala* and *māṣa*, and the media of exchange were fashioned after *māṣaka* and *kārṣāpaṇa*, all plant products.

Their pastime consisted in playing dice, performing on the flute (*viṇā*) and other musical instruments, and hunting, and their weapons, both for offensive and defensive purposes, consisted of swords, spears, javellin bows and arrows, etc.

Agriculture (R. V. IV, 12) became the staple industry, sole source of food and universal occupation of the people, which they considered holy and dignified; they had recourse to artificial water supply when necessary, used to distribute land by measurement, utilised manures to improve the fertility of the soil, practised rotation of crops, invoked gods for successful agriculture, for abundance of rain and grain, for protection of cattle, etc. As a matter of fact the picture of the art of cultivation as we get in the hymns of the Vedic literature does not differ materially from the same art practised by the peasants of India today.

The Consecration of gardens for public use was a Vedic ceremony (R. V. III, 8, 11). Maintenance of these gardens required some knowledge of plants and plant life and planning of the garden.

They practised Medicine. In one of the hymns of Ṛgveda (X. 97) one hundred and seven applications of plants are mentioned to make people free from diseases. With the *bheṣajas* developed a class of people, called *Bhiṣaj* (X, 97) who practised in the bheṣajas as remedies against maladies, physical and mental. Most of the bheṣajas were derived from *Oṣadhis* (herbaceous plants). In the Atharvaveda (VIII, 7) different herbs and plants are named, classified and praised only for medicinal purposes.

The picture of Vedic life as made out above is neither comprehensive nor exhaustive. In this short account our main object has been to show that the Vedic Indians had good many reasons to acquire a working knowledge of plants and plant life. We have given sufficient indications to show that agriculture, medicine, arbori–horticulture, sylviculture, as individual arts and practices, developed to a great extent during the Vedic period.

All these required a knowledge of plants and plant life. At this early stage Descriptive Botany, or the External Morphology as it is called, and some knowledge of nursing and maintenance of growth of plant (rudimentary knowledge of plant Physiology), and the naming and classification of plants became necessary for the proper identification of plants and their successful cultivation and propagation, particularly so when the number of plants became unusually large. An account of the extent of this knowledge is given below.

1 Morphology : External

The terms *dhānā*, *dhānya* and *sasya* are all used for grains; *dhānā* for grains of corn, *dhānya* for grains in general, and *sasya* for corn generally. Dhānā is always used in plural (R. V. I, 16, 2, etc.). Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (VI, 3, 22) enumerates ten cultivated grains *(grāmyāni)*, namely, *Vrīhi–yavāh*, *tila–māṣāh*, *aṇu–priyaṅgavah*, *godhumāh*, *masūrāh*, *khalva*, and *khalakulah* (i. e. paddy, barley, sesamum, beans, millet, panic seeds, wheet, lentil, *Phaseolus radiatus* and vetches). Seeds of particular plant formed a compound word with the plant, e. g. *Śami–dhānya* (seeds of *Śamī*). *Sasya* used in the Atharvaveda corresponds to Avestan *hahya*. Sometimes the word *dhānya* is used as an affix to a word to denote a particular event, such as, *dhānyakṛt*, meaning preparation of corn, (R. V. X. 94, 13), *dhānyāda*, i. e. corn eating (horse, Ait. Br. VIII, 22; Sat. Br. XIII, 5, 4, 2); a grain of the North Country (?) was named *masūsya* in Taitt. Sam. (III, 8, 14, 6).

Taṇḍula, as rice grain occurs for the first time in A. V. (X, 9. 26) Paddy is described as *karṇa* (husked) and *akarṇa* (unhusked) in Taitt. Sam. (I, 8, 93); *tusa* for husk is mentioned in the A. V. (IX, 16, 16, sq.); *amba* and *namba* are used in the Śat. Brāh., and Taitt. Brāh. (V, 3, 32, and I, 8, 10, 1, sq. respectively) for a kind of grain; (they may also mean a wall plant).

In connection with grains other terms are also used to denote particular parts, such as, *palāva* for chaff (A. V. XII, 3, 19), *parsa* for sheaf used in plural (R. V. X, 48, 7) and *pulpa* and *pūlya* for shrivelled grain (A. V. X, 2, 63).

Trees are called *vṛkṣa*, *vana* (R. V. I, 64, 20, 22; A. V. I, 14, 1, sq.), and *druma* (Śaṭ. Br. V, 11; Nirukta IV, 19, etc.); shrubs, *viśākhā* with spreading branches (A. V. VIII, 7, 4); herb, *sasa* (R. V. I, 51, 3; X, 79, 3). *Aṃśumālī* denotes a spreading or deliquescent plant (A. V. VIII, 7, 4), *stambinī*, a bushy plant (ibid) *vratatī*, a climber (R. V. VII, 40, 6), *pratānavatī*, a creeper (A. V. VIII, 7, 4) and *alasālā*, those spreading on the ground (A. V. VI, 16, 4).

A plant with a single sheath or spathe is called *ekasuṅga* (A. V. VII, 7, 4), *prastṛnatī*, expanding (*ibid*), *plāśuka* denotes a fast growing plant as an epithet of *vrīhi* (Śat. Br. V, 3, 3, 2), *prasū*, young shoot of herb or grass (R. V. I, 95, 10, etc.), *tula*, panicled shoot (Taitt. Sam. VII, 3, 19, 1; Vaj. Sam. XXII, 28) and *tokman*, shoots in general, but particularly the shoot of *Vrīhi Priyaṅgu* and *Yava*. *Śaṣpa* is a spreading grass (Vaj. Sam. XIX, 3, 8; Śat. Br. XII, 7, 28). The flowering plants are called *prasūvarī* and *prasurabhī* (R. V. X, 97, 3, 15).

The trunk of a tree is called *kāṇḍa* (Taitt. Sam. VII, 3, 19, 1) plants having trunks, *kāṇḍinaḥ* (A. V. VIII, 7, 4) *Śatakāṇḍa*, with hundred branches, stalks or joints, used in describing Darbha grass (A. V. XIX, 32, 1). *Śākhā* is a branch, (R. V. I, 8, 8,), *skandha*, corona of a tree (R. V. I, 32, 5; A. V. X, 7, 38), *stūpa*, crest or crown over trunk (R. V. I, 24, 7), *valśa*, twig of a plant (Taitt Sam. VII, 3, 19, 1), *śatavalśa*, *sahasravalśa* (R. V. III, 8, 11) for plants with many twigs, and *śikhandin*, crested ones, used in the description of Aśvattha and Nyagrodha trees (A. V. IV, 37, 4).

A hairy stem is described as *lomasa-vasana* as in the description on the plant Arundhati (A. V. V, 7, 5), when golden in colour, *hiraṇya-varṇa*, (*ibid*), when twany, *hari* (R. V. IX, 3, 9, 7, 6, etc.), when ruddy, *aruṇa* (R. V. VII, 98, 1), and when brown, *babhru* (R. V. IX, 33, 2, sq.). Plants with thorns is described as *kaṇṭakī*.

The leaf is called *parṇa* (R. V. I, 32, 5), many leaved plants, *sahasraparṇa* (A. V. XIX, 32, 1), and a plant with spotted leaf, *citraparṇī* (A. V. II, 25, 3). A leafless plant is called *karīra* (Taitt. Sam, II, 4, 9, 2, etc).

The root is called *mūla* (Taitt. Sam, VII, 3, 19, 1), fibrous roots of Darbha and other grasses, *bhūrimūla* (A. V. VI, 43, 2), *vayā*, hanging roots (R. V. II, 25, 4), *Śāluka* are the edible roots of Lotus (A. V. IV, 34, 5) and *bisa*, the Lotus fibres (A. V. IV, 35, 5).

The flower is called *puṣpa* (A. V. VIII, 7, 12), a blossoming plant, *puṣpavatī* and *prasūvarī* (R. V. X, 97, 3, 15), and *prasurabhi*, i. e. having flower (ibid),; *stamba* is a bunch or cluster of flowers (A. V. VII, 6, 14) and *simbal* is the flower of Śālmalī tree (R. V. III, 53, 22).

The fruit is called *phala* (Taitt. Sam. VII, 3, 19, 1), fruitful and fruit-bearing plants are called *phalinah*, *phalavatī* (R. V. X, 97, 3, 15; Saḍ. Br. V. 2). The fruit of a tree is called *vṛkṣya* (Sat. Br. I, 1, 1, 10). *Pippala* and *pippali* (pl) are used for berries (R. V. I, 164, 20) and *urvārū* for the fruit of Cucumber (Panc. Brah. IX, 2, 19). The seeds are called *bīja*, e. g. *Dhānya-bīja* (R. V. V, 53, 13).

A few special terms to denote a particular plant or plant parts are also mentioned. Thus *tṛṇa* for grass in general, also mentioned as a thatching material (R. V. I, 161, 1), *palāla*, straw found with *aṇu-palāla* (A. V. VIII, 6, 2), as straw of barley (A. V. II, 8, 3); *piñjula*, bundle of grass, especially of Darbha (Kāth. Saṁ. XXIII, 1), *piñjila*, same in Taitt. Sam. (VI, 1, 1, 7) *Sumbala* occurs in Śat. Brāh (XII, 5, 2, 3) and may mean straw. *Niryāsa* denotes exudation of trees in Taitt, Sam. (II, 1, 5, 4).

The parts of complete plant are mentioned in the Atharvaveda (VIII,7) : "Rich in sweets the *roots*, rich in sweets the *tip* of them, rich in sweets was the middle of the plants (*stem*). rich in sweets the *leaf*, rich in sweets the *flowers* of them. (12). Rich in flowers, rich in *shoots*, also those *lacking fruits*, like joint mothers ......" 27.

A more systematic account of the parts of a plant is given in the Taittirya Samhitā (VIII, 3, 15, 1) and the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā (XXII, 28) where it is said; The plant comprises *mūla* (root), the *tula* (shoot), the *kāṇḍa* (stem), the *valśa* (twigs), *puṣpa* (flower) and *phala* (fruit), while trees have in addition *skandha* (corona), *śākhā* (branches) and *parṇa* (leaves) (see also Taitt. Sam. VII, 3, 20; and R. V. I, 32, 5; A. V. X, 7, 38).

Plant Association : Only one or two instances of plant Association are mentioned in the Vedic Literature. Thus *Naḍvalā* or the bed of Reeds, is used in the description of a locality in the Vāj. Sam. (XXX, 16) and in the Taitt. Brāh. (III, 4, 12, 1). Similarly we find that when a place is overgrown with *Śipālā*, the locality is described as *Śipālya* (Saḍ. Brah. III, 1. Cp. also A. V. VI, 12, 3).

2. Morphology : Internal

The detailed study of internal structures of plants became possible only after the invention of the microscope as late as the 16th. Century A. D.

In the Ṛgveda the wood is called *dāru* (R. V. VI, 3, 4); Taitt. Samhitā (II, 5, 3, 5, etc.) distinguished outer and inner bark of a tree, *valka* and *valkala* (III, 7, 4, 2) repectively. Bark of a particular tree was referred to as valka of that tree, e. g. *Parṇa-valka*, i. e. bark of *Butea frondosa*. In a later Saṃhitā (Kāṭh. XIX ? 10, etc.) we find two words, namely, *kṛmuk* and *kramuk*, used for wood.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (III, 9), by an analogy, describes the inner structure of a stem thus :

"The body of the plant is exactly like the body of man, its leaves to the pores in the skin, ... the skin of man corresponds to the dry exterior bark of the plants. " (234, 28, 1).

"The flesh of the human body answers to the *śakara* (soft tissue next to skin) of plants, his nerves standing for the *kināta* (fibrous tissue in śakara, as in Jute) of plants, both being equally strong. Just as the bones of man lie behind his flesh, so also wood, *dāru*, lies behind the śakaṛa, (and occupying the centre of plants) the *majja* (marrow, pith) is alike in both ". (236, 30, 3).

Thus the internal structure of a stem is evidently divided into an outer skin (epidermis and dry bark), and inner wood, between which stands a soft tissue, the bast (outer and inner) with strong fibres, the bast fibres. The wood encloses a soft pith.

3. Classification of Plants

We find definite attempts at classification of plants. The Ṛgveda divides plants roughly into three Classes, namely, *Vṛkṣas* (trees, R. V. I, 64, 20, 22), *Oṣadhis* (herbs useful to man, X, 97) and *Virudhs* (minor herbs, I, 67, 9). Plants are further subdivided into *Viśākhā* (shrubs), *Sasa* (herbs), *Vratatī* (climbers), *Pratānavatī* (creeper) and *Alasālā* (spreading on the ground). Two terms, *Nilagalasālā* and *Śilañjālā*, are used in connection with Cornfield weeds (A. V. VI, 16), but the meaning is not clear. All Grasses are separately classified as *Tṛṇa*. Flowering plants are *Puṣpavatī*, and *Prasūvarī*, and the fruit bearing, *Phalavatī*. Leafless plants are placed under the group *Karīra*.

The Atharvaveda divides *Saṣa* (herbs) into *Prastṛnatī* (expanding *Ekaśuṅga* (one sheathed or spathed), *Amśumāli* (having many stalks or branches) and *Kāṇḍini* (jointed). Herbs are also described in the Atharvaveda

(VIII, 7) in the following way : "The spreading, the bushy, the one spathed, the extending herbs, do I address those (plants) rich in shoots, jointed, that have spreading branches. " 4.

4. Physiology of Plants

Plant Physiology in a very rudimentary form can also be traced to the Vedic Literature. A significant passage in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (IV, 6, 1) tells us that "the essence of water is embodied in plants, such as, grasses, creepers aud the rest, flowers represent the essence of plants and the essence of flowers are fruits, such as paddy, wheat and the rest."

The Vedic Botanist understood the value of cowdung manure, *Kariṣa* and *sakṛt*, in the nourishment of plants (R. V. I, 161, 10; A. V. III, 3, 4; XIX, 31, 3; XII, 4, 9; Taitt. Sam. VII, 1, 19, 3). He also practised 'rotation' by following and by sowing different crops alternately in the same field (Taitt. Sam. V, 1, 7, 3), to improve the fertility of the soil. Roxburgh believes that for the latter practice the Western World is indebted to India.

Prof. B. Chatterji of the Benares Hindu University, traces the knowledge of photosynthesis, i. e. synthesis of food in presence of sunlight, to a couple of verses in the Ṛgveda (VIII, 43, 9; II, 1, 14). He thinks that the Vedic people had some knowledge of the manufacture of food, the action of light on the process and storage of energy in the body of plants. He says, "the two points, (1) the assimilation of potential energy from the Sun and (2) the special suitability of red, orange and yellow rays for the more effective assimilation of plants, i. e. the storage of energy in the potential form are definitely suggested in the following hymns :—

अप्स्वग्ने सधिष्टव सौषधीरनु रुध्यसे गर्भे संजायसे पुनः । (VIII, 43, 9)
त्वे अग्ने विश्वे अमृतासो अद्रुह आसा देवा हविरदन्त्याहुतम् ।
त्वया मर्त्यासः स्वदन्त आसुतिं त्वं गर्भो वीरुधां जज्ञिषे शुचिः ॥ (II, 1, 14)
दिनान्ते निहितं तेजः सवित्रेव हुताशनः ॥ (कालिदास-रघुवंश । IV, 1)
अग्नावोषधिषु च तेजो निधाय रविरस्तं यातीति आगमः । (मल्लिनाथ टीका ।)

The first of these is clearly indicated in the above by the terms, "*garbhe sañjāyase*", "*tvam garbham Virudham*", and in the whole of the last texts which further show that the Sun is the source of energy in the fuel, and that it is the setting Sun, i. e. having the less refractive rays, whence the *tejah* or energy is transformed and kept in the potential form which is manifested as fire or heat ". (p. 202).*

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* "Thy station, Agni, is in the waters, thou clingest to the plants, and becoming their embryo, art born again (i. e. energy stored in seed). All the benignant immortal gods eat the offered oblations through thee as their mouth. Mortals taste the flavour (of all viands) through thee, thou art born pure, the embryo of plants." Wilson.

When the above is read with the version of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad noted in the beginning, very little occasion for doubt is left in the mind about the correctness of the interpretation of Prof. Chatterji.

IV. Post Vedic Development

" Vṛkṣāyurveda phalam manoharam Śāstratah siddham "

We have indicated in the foregoing the genesis of Botany in the pre-Vedic Finds, and its development as could be pictured in the Vedic Literature. We have sufficient evidence in extant treatises to show that the Sciences of Medicine (Caraka and Suśruta Samhitās), Agriculture (Kṛṣi, Parāśara and Kṛṣi Samgraha), Arbori-Horticulture (Upavana-Vinoda, in Śārṅgadhara Paddhatī), were greatly developed in the post-Vedic India. The Science of Botany on which all these Sciences are based must have also undergone a corresponding process of development. But where is this Science gone ? From the Arthaśāstra and similar other treatises we learn that every good Government used to provide the citizens under it public parks, pleasure gardens, hunting forests, etc for enjoyment, recreation and sports, all placed under the supervision of Experts or Adhyakṣas. The consecration of gardens, a Vedic ceremony, and dedication of gardens to gods and to ascetic fraternities were a prevalent practice during the Buddhist period. Maintenance of these public gardens and parks, etc. required a scientific knowledge of plants, and they were placed under *Ārāmādhipatis* assisted by a band of trained assistants.

We may, therefore, accept that Botany developed and existed as a separate Science in Hindu India. This Science was called *Vṛkṣāyurveda*, or as the major portion of the medicinal drugs came from plants, it was in the alternative, known as the *Bheṣaja-Vidyā*. Both these terms occur in ancient Sanskrit Texts : The Agni Purāṇa, Bṛhat Samhitā, etc. In the Arthaśāstra we get the term, *Gulmavṛkṣāyurveda*, and in a much later text, the Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu, the *Bheṣaja-Vidyā*.

Vṛkṣāyurveda literally means " Knowledge of Tree Life, or the Science of Plant Life ", and the Gulmavṛkṣāyurvedajña, or the Applied Botanist, according to the Arthaśāstra,* Agni Purāṇa, Bṛhatsamhitā and other Sacred Texts, was to learn the art of the collection and selection of seed, selection of soil for sowing, the successful germination of seeds, various means of propagation, such as, grafting, cutting, layering etc., planting, nursing, manuring, rotation of crops, cultivation under favourable metearological conditions, treatment of plants in health and diseases, classfication and identification of plants, location of plants for improving the aesthetic and hygienic surroundings of the homestead, and so on.

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* सीताध्यक्ष कृषितंत्रगुल्मवृक्षायुर्वेदज्ञस्तद्ज्ञसखो वा सर्वधान्य-पुष्पफलशाककन्दमूलपालिक्य-क्षौमकार्पासबीजानि यथाकालं गृह्णीयात् । Supdt. Agri. XXIV, p. 138, Eng, ed. Shyama Sastri.

The scope of Bheṣajavidyā has been well defined in the Dhanvantari Nighaṇṭu. The author says, "Sometimes several healing vegetables (*bheṣajas*) bear one name; sometimes one vegetable bears various names according to its class, external features, colour, potency, function (*rasa*), effects, properties and the rest." The physician does well to master Bheṣajavidyā by acquainting himself with the various names of plants in Sanskrit and Prākrit, consulting all classes of men, by personal observation, by careful handling as well as by careful consideration of the specific characters and sex."

In this quotation* we find the use of a technical term, Bheṣaja Vidyā, signifying a distinct study of plants and plant life with special reference to medicinal properties and uses. Earlier still in the Charaka Saṃhitā (Sūtra I, 52–52), in an expressed opinion, it is only the man well acquainted with the names and external features of plants, and able to use them properly according to their properties, is to be called an expert physician.

As an illustration we may cite the test to which Bhikṣu Ātreya the celebrated teacher of medicine at the University of Taxila, put his equally celebrated pupil Jīvaka, afterwards the physician of king Bimbisāra. He was in the course of examination asked to collect, describe, identify and mention the properties of plants that were to be found within four *yojanas* of the University Town, and this Jīvaka did to the entire satisfaction of his Teacher. Unfortunately for us, neither the Vṛkṣāyurveda, nor the Bheṣaja Vidyā, is extant now.

We may conclude by asking once again — was there anything in India approaching the Science of Botany? Were there any earlier processes which enabled the people of this great country of ours, to gain in the knowledge of plants and plant life, and the art of application of this knowledge for the improvement of the general conditions of life?

Our answer is an emphatic Yes. Our ancesters not only lived in the midst of plants, but studied them sincerely, thoroughly and scientifically; and built, we are sure, a number of sciences as a result of their speculations and study, some of which are lost, but some still live in fragmentary condition. Of these sciences, the sciences in which plants had their parts to play, are to be noted Botany, Medicine and Agriculture. And we have shown in the foregoing just the beginning, I should say a brilliant beginning, of the Science of Botany.

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* एकं तु नाम प्रथितं बहूनाम् एकस्य नामानि तथा बहूनि ।
द्रवस्य जात्याकृतिवर्णवीर्य-रस-प्रभावादि-गुणैर्भवन्ति ॥
बहून्यतः प्राकृतसंस्कृतानि नामानि विज्ञाय बहूंश्च पृष्ट्वा ।
दृष्ट्वा च संस्पृश्य च जाति-लिंगैः विद्याभिषग् भेषजमादरेण ॥

Finally, it may be asked, what is the use of our study of the early attempts at knowledge of plants which we have so far outgrown. If by use is meant tangible material benefit, I should say, there is absolutely no use. But beyond and above material use, there is another and a higher use, namely, the sense of pride and satisfaction coupled with an inspiration to similar efforts that comes from a study of the ageold culture of a people.

A study of ancient Indian contributions to various Sciences, is further useful for a true and continuous history of the Sciences of the World. The ordinary histories of such Sciences written by the Europeans trace the beginnings to Greek, or at best to Arab speculations totally ignoring the fact that the Arabs and the Greeks were themselves indebted to the Ancient Indians.

V. Distribution of Plants in the Vedic Texts

In this Section plants mentioned in the Vedic Literature are distributed as they occur in the various Texts.

I. *Samhitas* (1500 B. C. - 1000 B. C.)

1. Atharvaveda — Ābayu, Ajaśṛṅgī, Āla, Alābu, Alāpu, Alasālā, Amūlā, Āṇḍīka, Apāmārga, Aparājitā, Araḷu, Arātakī, Araṭu, Arka, Arundhatī, Aśvaṭṭha, Aukṣagandhī, Avakā, Baja, Balbaja, Bhaṅga, Bilva, Candā, Canaka, Citraparṇī, Darbha, Kharadarbha, Mṛdudarbha, Daṣavṛkṣa, Durvā, Haridrā, Isīkā, Jaṅgida, Khadira, Khalva, Kiyāmbu, Kumuda, Kuṣṭha, Kyāmbu, Lakṣmaṇa, Madāvatī, Madhuga, Madhugha, Madhūka, Māṣaparnī, Nalada, Naladī, Narācī, Nīlāgasālā, Nīlāgalasālā, Nilākalasālā, Niṣpāva, Nyagrodha, Nyastirkā, Pākadūrvā, Parṇa, Pāṭā, Pāṭhā, Pīlā, Pīlu, Pippalī, Plakṣa, Pramaṇḍa, Pṛśniparṇī, Puṇḍarīka, Puṣkara, Putirajju, Pūtudru, Putrada, Putrajani, Putrakandā, Sadampuṣpa, Saha, Sahadevī, Sahamāna, Śālūka, Śamī, Śaṇa, Śaṅkhapuṣpika, Śaphaka, Śāra, Śatavāra, Śilācī, Śilāñjālā, Śipāla, Śimśapā, Śrakva, Śyāmaka, Tālaśa, Tārṣṭagha, Tājadbhaṅga, Taudi, Tila, Tīrya, Trāyamāṇā, Udumbara, Ulapa, Urvārū, Urvārūka, Vānaparṇī, Varaṇa, Vikaṅkata, Vihalha, Viṣānakā, Vrīhi, Yaṣṭimadhu, Yava.

2. Kapiṣṭhaka — Aśvattha.

3. Kāthaka — Ādāra, Āmba, Aśvavāra, Badara, Balbaja, Garmut, Jambīla, Karīra, Kharjūra, Kṛṣṇala, Nāmba, Nīvāra, Parṇa, Pītudāru, Priyaṅgu, Pūtīka, Śamī, Śara, Sugandhitejana, Syāmāka, Udumbara, Vikaṅkata, Vrīhi, Yava.

4. Maitreyānī — Alābu, Alāpu, Aśvavāra, Avakā, Badara, Balbaja, Vilva, Garmut, Gavedhukā, Godhūma, Jambīla, Karkandhu, Kārṣmārya, Khadira, Kuśa, Kuṣṭha, Nīvāra, Parṇa, Plakṣa, Puṣkara, Priyaṅgu, Pūtudru, Śhyāmāka, Tila, Tilvaka, Uḷapa, Urvārū, Vrīhi, Yava.

5. Ṛgveda — Araḷu, Aśvattha, Aśvavatī, Bhaṅga, Darbha, Dūrvā, Kākambīra, Karkandhu, Kāśa, Khadira, Kimśuka, Kiyāmbu, Madhuga, Naḍa, Nyagrodha, Pākadūrvā, Parṇa, Pāṭa, Pāṭhā, Pippalī, Prakṣa, Pramaṇḍa, Puṇḍarīka, Puṣkara, Śāda, Sahadevā, Śaireya, Śālmalī, Śara, Śimsapā, Śīpāla, Soma, Somavatī, Spandana, Svādhitī, Syandana, Ulapa, Udojasā, Urjayantī, Urvārū, Urvārūka, Vibhītaka, Viṣānakā, Yava.

6. Sāmaveda — Prakṣa.

7. Taittirīya — Āmba, Avakā, Balbaja, Bilva, Darbha, Dūrvā, Garmut, Gavedhukā, Kārṣmārya, Khadira, Kharjūra, Masūsya, Nāmba, Nyagrodha, Parṇa, Plakṣa, Prakṣa, Priyaṅgu, Puṇḍarīka, Puṣkara, Pūtīka, Pūtudru, Śālmalī, Śamī, Sugandhitejana, Śyāmakā, Tila, Udumbara, Urvārū, Urvārūka, Vikaṅkata, Vrīhi, Yava.

8. Vājasaneyi — Aṇu, Avakā, Badara, Dūrvā, Gavedhukā, Godhūma, Jambīla, Khalva, Karkandhu, Masūra, Nīvāra, Nyagrodha, Pītudāru, Priyaṅgu, Puṣkara, Śāda, Śālmalī, Śyāmāka, Tila, Upavāka, Urvārū, Urvārūka, Vrīhi, Yava.

II. *Nirukta* — Isīkā, Kulmāṣa, Naḍa, Pramaṇḍa, Puṣkara, Śara.

III. *Brahmanas* (1000 B. C. – 800 B. C.)

1. Aitareya — Bilva, Dūrvā, Khadira, Nyagrodha, Palāśa, Pītudāru, Plakṣa, Priyaṅgu, Puṣkara, Sahadeva, Śrekaparṇa, Sugandhitejana, Udumbara, Vrīhi.

2. Jaiminīya Up. — Amalā, Badara, Bimba, Isīkā, Karkandhu, Ulapa, Vrīhi.

3. Kauśitakī — Palāśa, Śyāmāka, Yava.

4. Pañcavimśati — Parṇa, Pītudāru, Praprotha, Puṇḍarīka, Pūtika, Śālmalī, Sugandhitejana, Udumbara, Urvārūka, Varaṇa.

5. Saḍvimśa — Sarṣapa, Śipāla, Tilvaka.

6. Sāmavidhāna — Saha, Sahadevī.

7. Śatapatha — Ādāra, Adhyaṇḍa, Apāmārga, Arka, Aśmagandhā, Aśvattha, Avakā, Badara, Balbaja, Bilva, Dūrvā, Gavedhūkā, Godhūma, Haridru, Isīkā, Karkandhu, Karīra, Kārṣmārya, Khadira, Kuśa, Nāmba, Nīvāra, Nyagrodha, Palāśa, Parṇa, Pippala, Pītudāru, Plakṣa, Pṛṣniparṇī, Puṇḍarīka, Puṣkara, Pūtīka, Rajjudāla, Sahadeva, Śālmalī, Śamī, Śaṇa, Śara, Sphūrjaka, Sugandhitejana, Śyāmāka, Tila, Tilvaka, Udumbara, Upavāka, Urvārū, Urvārūka, Uṣaṇa, Varaṇa, Vikaṅkata, Vrīhi.

8. Taittirīya — Badara, Gavedhūkā, Godhūma, Kṛṣṇala, Kuśa, Masūsya, Nīvāra, Parṇa, Plakṣa, Priyaṅgu, Puṇḍarīka, Puṣkara, Śamī, Śrekaparṇa, Vrīhi, Yava.

IV. *Āraṇyaka*

1. Aitareya — Mañjiṣṭhā, Nalada, Naladi, Prakṣa, Puṇḍarīka.
2. Sāṅkhāyana — Bilva, Bhaṅga, Eraṇḍa, Isīkā, Khadira, Mañjiṣṭhā, Nalada, Naladi, Tila.
3. Taittiriya — Arundhati, Kasa, Kiyambu, Pakadurva.

V. *Upaniṣad* (800 B. C. – 600 B. C.)

1. Bṛhadāraṇyaka — Aṇu, Godhūma, Khalakula, Khalva, Masūra, Māṣa, Pippala, Priyaṅgu, Puṇḍarīka, Puṣkara, Śara, Tila, Vrīhi, Yava.
2. Chāndogya — Amalā, Āmalaka, Aśvattha, Isīkā, Kulmāṣa, Nyagrodha, Palāśa, Puṇḍarīka, Sarṣapa, Śyāmāka, Tila, Vrīhi, Yava.
3. Kaṭha — Isīkā.
4. Kauśītaka — Aśvattha.
5. Muṇḍaka — Pippala.
6. Śvetaśvatara — Pippala.

VI. *Sūtras* (400 B. C.)

1. Āpastamba Srauta — Rohitaka, Śaphaka.
2. Āśvalāyana Gṛhya — Avakā.
3. Kātyāyana Srauta — Ādāra, Pṛṣniparṇī.
4. Kauśitaka — Āla, Pāṭā, Pramaṇḍāni, Putirajju, Śilāñjālā, Syandana Tajadbhanga.
5. Sāṅkhāyana Srauta — Sarṣapa.

VI. Locale of the Vedic Flora

Hooker[*] has divided India proper floristically into six major Provinces, each characterised by ten dominant Families of Flowering Plants. Of these six we are here concerned with only three, namely, The Western Himalayan, The Indus Plain and The Upper Gangetic Plain.

The Western Himalayan Province extends from Kumaun to Chitral. The Indus Plain includes the Punjab, Sind, Raiputana west of the Aravali Ranges and the Jamuna river, Cutch and Gujarat, and the Upper Gangetic dry valley from the Aravalli Hills and the Jamuna to the Kosi river.

Three or four species of the Vedic Flora, namely, *Pinus* sp., *Cedrus* sp. *Nymphaea alba* and *Saussurea* sp., point to the outskirts of the Western Himalayan Province bordering on the province of the Indus Plain. The species of *Acacia*, *Anogeissus*, *Balsamodendron mukul* (rare), *Prosopis spicigers*, and

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[*] Hooker : A sketch of the Flora of British India, Lond. 1904.

Phoenix sylvestris are common to the border of both the Upper Gangetic and the Indus Plain provinces of Hooker. The following trees, shrubs and herbs constitute the typical and conspicuous plants of the Flora of the Indus Plain : *Bombax malabaricum*, *Odina wodier*, *Aegle marmelos*, *Balsamodendron mukul*, *Acacia catechu*, Spp. of *Dalbergia*, *Mimosa* and *Anogeissus*, *Cordia myxa*, *Phoenix sylvestris*, Spp. of *Euphorbia*, *Capparideae*, *Zizyphus*, *Calotrepis*, *Ephedra*, *Periploca*, *Cascuta*, and the herbaceous species of *Cucurbitaceae*, *Cruciferae*, *Amarantaceae*, and *Chenopodiaceae*. The *Gramineae* or the Grass Family contributes the largest number of species including the characteristic odorous species of *Andropogon* to the Vedic Flora, and the *Leguminoseae* occupies the second place in this respect. To the above list may be added the four *Ficus* species, namely, *F. religiosa*, *F. bengalensis*, *F. infectoria*, and *F. glomerata*, and the *Butea frondosa*. All these plants and many more occur in the Vedic Literature.

From a study of the Vedic Flora we can tentatively fix its Locale to the Indus Plain proper, and we see indications that during the Araṇyaka and Upaniṣadic periods the Vedic Indians had migrated both southwards and eastwards.

यो देवो अग्नौ यो अप्सु यो विश्वं भुवनमाविवेश ।
य ओषधिषु यो वनस्पतिषु तस्मै देवाय नमोनमः ॥

Appendix A

Some of the occupations, professions and items in Vedic India in which plants and plant products were used :

1. *Agriculture* :— became the universal occupation of the Vedic people.
2. *Cattle and horse* :— their shed and fodder.
3. *House* and *Furniture* :— *Āgāra*, *akṣu* (wicker basket), *upavarhana* (pillow), *upamit* (pillar), *upastaraṇa* (coverlet), *talpa* (bed), *tṛṇa* (grass for thatching), *dur* (door), *paryaṅka* (seat), *durya* (door post), *prosṭha* (bench), *vahya* (couch), *śayana* (couch), *sikya* (sling), *pīṭha* (stool).
4. *Utensils* :— *Amatra* (some vessel), *āhāva* (bucket), *āsecana* (vessel for liquid), *ukhā* (cooking pot), *udañcana* (bucket), *juhu* (laddle), *dru* (wooden vessel), *dhavihā* (fan), *parivapana* (winnowing fan), *pavana* (winnowing basket or sieve), *pīśila* (wood dish), *bhithi* (mat of split reed), *mūta*, *mūtuka* (basket), *saṅku* (peg), *sūrpa* (wicker work basket), *sūnā* (crate).
5. *Food* and *Drink* :— *Apūpa* (cakes), *odana* (mess), *karambha* (gruel), *kilāla* (sweet drink), *dhānyarasa* (rice drink, A. V. II, 26, 5), *kṣīraudana* (rice porridge), *pakti* (cake), *parivāpa* (fried grain), *piṇḍa* (flour balls), *pitu* (food), *śaktu* (groat), *mudgaudana* (rice cooked

with beans), *tilaudana* (rice cooked with sesamum), *yavāgu* (barley gruel), *soma* (drink). The fire for cooking and other purposes was obtained from *araṇi*, i. e. fire wood.

6. *Dress* and *clothing* :— Cotton is suggested only once, sandal (*upānaha*), turban and garment which was embroidered, *Sraja* (garland).

7. *Conveyances*:— *Ratha*, *syandana*, bridal chariot; the parts of a ratha are *akṣu* (axle), pin, pole, seat, wheel, yoke, etc; *nāu* (ships), *plava* (boats), the parts are : *aritra* (oars), *dyumna* (raft), *maṇḍa* (rudder), etc.

8. *Trade* and *Commerce* :— We find mention of such terms as *kraya*, *vikraya*, *gaṇa*, *paṇa*, *paṇi*, *vaṇij*, *vasna*, *śulka*, *śreṣṭhī*, *samudra*. Agricultural produce perhaps formed the bulk of merchandise. In the currency *kṛṣṇala* and *māṣa* used as standard weights.

9. *Medicine* :— With *bheṣajas* (medicinal herbs) sprang up a class of people called *Bhiṣaj*, who practised in the bheṣajas as remedies against maladies, physical and mental. Most of the bheṣajas were derived from *oṣadhis*. In the Ṛgveda 107 applications of plants are mentioned (X,97) to make people free from diseases. In the hymns of the Atharvaveda (VIII, 7) different herbs and plants are named, classified and praised only for their medicinal properties.

10. *Coffin* :— used to be made from *dā*ru by hollowing it (A. V. XVIII, 2, 25 Bṛhaddevatā, V, 83).

11. *Pastime* :— The vedic Indians spent their leisure hours by playing with dice, hunting, and also by cultivating music, vocal and instrumental. Dice was made of *Vibhītaka* fruits (R. V. VII, 86, 6; X. 34, 1; A. V. Paipp. XX, 4, 6).

    The musical instruments comprised *Ādambara* (drum), *karkari* (lute), *kāṇḍa vīṇā* (lute), *dundubhi* (drum), *nāḍi* (reed flute), *vanaspati* (drum), *vīṇā* (lute).

12. *Weapons*, *Offensive* and *Defensive*:— *Dhanu* (bow), *nisanghaṭhi* (quiver), *paraśu* (arrow), *bāṇa* (arrow), *asī* (sword), *āyudha* (weapon), *dhvajā* (banner), *ratha* (chariot), *śara* (reed for arrow shaft).

13. *Occupations* :— *Ādambaraghāta* (drum beater), *kantakakīkārī* (worker in thorns), *jyākara* (bow maker), *takṣan* (carpenter), *kināśa* (ploughman), *kṛṣivala* (plougher), *tvaṣṭṛ* (carpenter), *dārvāhāra* (gatherer of wood), *nāvāya* (boatmen), *bidalakārī* (basket maker), *rajayitri* (dyer), *vanapa* (forest guardian), *vapa* (sower), *vayatri* (weaver), *vanija* (merchant), *vaya* (weaver), *vīṇāgāthin* (lute player), *dhānyakṛt* (winnower), *sambin* (ferryman), and *dhanuṣkāra* (bow maker).

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCE OF AGRICULTURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

Girija Prasanna Majumdar, Calcutta

We have recorded elsewhere* the evidence that the Neolithic Indian was primarily an agriculturist and used to live in thatched houses and most probably wore clothes of some sort.

The Iron Age people of India were more advanced; rice, millet, cotton fabrics and other agricultural produce have been found in their burial sites. They were a civilized people, and had maritime intercourse with Egypt, and their trade consisted of spices, unguents, ebony and other rich woods amongst others.

But the excavations at Harappa and Mohenjodaro have brought out undoubted evidence of brisk agriculture, and that barley, wheat, millet, melon, dates, cotton, fruits and other vegetables were cultivated, and the wealth of these Indus Valley people was derived mainly from agriculture and trade.

When we come to the Vedic period we find that agriculture has become the universal occupation of the Vedic Indians. They developed agriculture to an extent which yielded them plenty, so that hospitality came to be regarded as a cardinal virtue (R. V. X, 117).

> " He who possessed of food, hardens his heart against the feeble man craving for nourishment, against the sufferer coming to him for help, and pursues (his own enjoyment even) before him, that man finds no cosoler.
>
> " The inhospitable man acquires food in vain. I speak the truth, it verily is his death. He cherishes not Aryaman, nor a friend : he who eats alone is nothing but a sinner."

Agriculture needs the cultivator, the soil to be cultivated, and the implements with which to cultivate. Evidence of all these we find in the Vedic texts. Importance of agriculture is stressed in the Ṛgveda (X, 34, 13; 117, 7). The Ṛṣis regarded agriculture as a holy and dignified occupation (R. V. IV, 57).

> " May the herbs (of the field) be sweet for us, may the heavens, the waters, the firmament be kind to us, may the Lord of the field be gracious to us, let us undeterred (by foes) have recourse to him.
>
> " May the oxen (draw happily), the men (labour) happily, the plough furrow happily, may the traces bind happily, wield the goat happily.

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* Majumdar : Presidential Address, Section of Technical Sciences, Proc. 13th All India Oriental Confr., 1946

> "May the ploughshares break up our land happily, may the ploughmen go happily with the oxen, may Parjanya (water) the earth with sweet showers happily; grant Suna and Sira prosperity to us."

From another hymn (R. V. X. 101) it appears that they had recourse to artificial water supply when necessary, and used horses, and the fundamental principles of agriculture were known to them.

> "Harness the ploughs, fit on the yokes, now that the womb of the earth is ready sow the seeds therein, and through our praise may there be abundant food, may (the grain) fall ripe towards the sickle."

For successful cultivation soil was repeatedly ploughed (R. V. I, 23, 15), principles of irrigation were understood (X, 99, 4), rotation by fallowing was practised (VIII. 91, 5-6), and to improve the fertility of the soil cow dung manure (*sakṛt*, I, 161, 10) was applied. The cattle was well looked after and grazed on good pastures (VI, 28, 7 — "grazing upon good pasture and drinking pure water at accessible ponds"). Barley was the staple crop grown (I, 117, 21; II, 14, 11; etc.). The grains were collected, threshed on the threshing floor (X, 48, 7), winnowed with a sieve (X, 71, 2), and finally stored in a granary (II, 14, 11). The lands used to be distributed among cultivators by measurement ("measure the land with a rod" — R. V. vol. 1 p. 56. Wilson. Eng. ed.). Ripe grains in the field were protected against birds ("the husbandman calls out when keeping the birds off the ripe grain". R. V. X, 68, 1) and the distribution of the six seasons in the year for practical purposes was known (I, 23, 15, — "Verily he has brought to me, successively the six (seasons) etc.").

In the Atharvaveda the whole process of agriculture appears sanctified with a hallow of Divinity. Hymns are recited for successful agriculture (III, 17, p. 114). "Scatter the seeds in prepared womb". "harness the plough". etc. We find the same mode of ploughing the land, preparing the womb of earth, broadcasting the seeds, cutting the corn with the same sickle when they are ripe. The hymn 24 is addressed to the god of Plenty so that he might favour the worshippers with abundance of grain. Hymn 15 (Bk. IV. p. 172) conveys a beautiful tribute to rain, — "let the mighty liberal ones cause to behold together; let the juices of the waters attach themselves to the herbs; let gushes of rain gladden the earth, let herbs of all forms be born here and there ......, let the herbs become full of delight with the coming of rainy season." Hymn 50 (Bk. VI. p. 317) enumerates the animal enemies of corn,[*] and invokes the Divine aid for their destruction; and two more hymns (Bk. Vi, 59, p. 325; Bk. IV, 21, p. 187) are devoted to the protection and praise of the cattle.

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[*] The Kauśika Sūtra of the A. V. enumerates the following enemies; Ed. Bloomfield, Jour. Amer. Oriental Soc, Vol. XIV, 1890.

Khaṇḍika. 50, (7) — Sarpavṛścikadvidaṁśakamaśakabhramarabhūmikīṭakṛmayah /
Etesāṃ bhayam na bhavati. p. 354
" 51, (17-22) — Mūṣakapataṅgaśalabhahariṇarūrūśalyādīni sasyavināśakāni;
mūṣakaśalabhapataṅgaṭiṭṭibhakiṭakakoṭikāhariṇarūrūśalyaka-
gosedhāgokṛmyādi svastayanam p. 356

"Rich in progeny, shining in good pasture, drinking clear water at a good watering place, etc. (A. V. IV. 21. 7).

Manuring as a general practice has been mentioned (XIX, 31, 3); cow dung (*sakṛ*t) was recommended (Rich in manure, rich in fruits, etc., XII, 4, 9), but later cow dung was found to give better result when dried before application (*karīṣa*, III, 14, 3-4; XIX, 31, 3). This shows that they understood the value of natural manure of animals in the field (Cp. Zimmer, Altindischen Leben, p. 236). The application of *karīṣa* was also recommended in the *Ś*atapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 1, 17). and Taittirīya Samhitā (VII, 1, 19, 3, etc.)

We have already seen that to improve the fertility of the soil by rotation fallowing was practised during the Ṛgvedic period (R. V. VIII, 91, 5–6), but the Taittiriya Samhitā (V, 1, 7, 37) recommended "rotation of crops" by sowing different crops alternately on the same field. i. e. rice in summer and pulses in winter (dvih samvatsarasya sasyam pacyate). The Yuktikalpataru, a much later work, gave the following reason why the rotation should be practised :

तथा वर्षेषु वर्षेषु कर्षणात् भूगुणक्षयः ।
एकस्यां गुणहीनायां कृषिमन्यत्र कारयेत् ॥ (41–42)

Rotation of crops was thus known and "to India", Dr. Roxburgh believes "the Western World to be indebted for this system". Rice, barley and sesamum were the grains cultivated, (VI. 140. 2).

In the *Ś*atapatha Brāhmaṇa a detailed description of the agricultural operations, such as, *kṛṣantah*, *vapantah*, *lunantah*, and *mṛnantah* (ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing) are given, manuring for the improvement of the yield was resorted to, irrigation *(khanitra)* done where necessary. Ripe grain was cut with *dātra*, *śriṇī* (sickle), bound in bundles *(parsa)*, threshed on granary floor *(khala)*, sieved *(titau)*, or winnowed *(sūrpa)*, the winnowers were called *dhānyakṛt;* the grains were measured in a vessel *(urdara)*, and stored in a granary *(dhanadhāni)*. The ploughland was called *urvarā* or *kṣetra*. manure *(sakṛt, karīṣa)* was used, irrigation *(khanitra)* practised. The plough *(lāṅgala, sira)* was drawn by oxen. teams of six, eight or even twelve being employed.*

The cereals cultivated were *yava*, *vrīhi*, *upavāka*, *aṇu*, *godhūma*, *nīvāra*, *priyaṅgu*, *śyāmāka* and pulses were *mudga*, *māṣa* and *masūra*. For oil and food they cultivated tila, vegetables and fruits, such as, *urvārū*, *urvārūka*. Fruit trees were plentiful and fruits were plucked ripe (R. V. III. 45. 4), either *pakva-śākhā*. (R. V. I. 1. 8. 8) or *vṛkṣa-pakva* (R. V. IV. 20. 5; A. V. XX. 127. 4).

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* See Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 182. Translation of Vedic Texts are from Wilson's Edition.

The Vājasaneyi Samhitā (18. 12) mentions *vrīhi*, *yava*, *māṣa*, *tila*, *mudga*, *kalāya*, *priyaṅgu*, *godhūma*, *masūra* etc., and the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad mentions ten village seeds (*grāmyāni*), namely, *Vrīhi*, *yava*, *tila*, *māṣa*, *aṇu*, *priyaṅgu*, *godhūma*, *masūra*, *khalva* and *khalakula* (vetch).

Seasons of agriculture were also mentioned (R. V. I. 23. 15). Taitt. Sam. recommends that *yava* is reaped in summer being sown in winter, *vrīhi* in autumn being sown in the beginning of rains; *mudga*, *māṣa* and *tila* are planted in time in summer rains, ripe in winter and the cool season.

> "(He gave to the spring the sap), to the hot season the barley, to the rains plants, to autumn rice, beans, and sesamun to winter and the cool season " (VII. 2. 10. 2).

Two harvests (*sasya*) a year were gathered (Taitr. Sam. V. 1. 73), winter crops in the month of March, April. Excessive rain or drought might damage the crops. The Atharvaveda (VI. 50. 142; VII. 11) prescribes spell to prevent the evils which are also enumerated : moles, birds, various kinds of reptiles (*upakvasa*, *tabhya*, *tārda*, etc.) injure the young shoots.* Definite mention of "blight" and "mildew" as diseases of corn and sugarcane, we get in the Vinaya Texts during the Buddhist period (C. X 1. 6).

It is not my purpose here to go into details of later development of the Agricultural Science in Hindu India, but I cannot help mentioning the existence of a very valuable treatise called Kṛṣi–Parāśara or Kṛṣi–Samgraha of uncertain date.† This treatise is devoted principally to the cultivation of paddy and secondarily, to other things concerning successful agriculture. It throws a flood of light upon the perfection attained by the art of agriculture in ancient India.

It deals with such topics as meteorological observations leading to the prediction of scarcity, drought and abundance of rain, superintendence of the field and its produce; tending of the herd needed for cultivation, preparation and application of manure, the construction of agricultural implements, collection of seeds, sowing, harvesting, etc., etc. This treatise is all comprehensive being full of a large number of pregnant aphorisms relating to the minutest particulars of agricultural processes regarding rules for the removal of weeds from paddy fields, rules for the transplantation of paddy seedlings, for proper drainage, irrigation of rice fields, etc.‡

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* Ibid, p. 183.

† Bhattotpala, the Commentator of Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṁhitā in explaining the prescriptions in the Section on Vṛkṣāyurveda, has elucidated the points by certain quotations from three earlier authors, namely, Kāśyapa, Parāśara, and Sārasvata. The authorship of the treatise is ascribed to the second author.

‡ Kṛṣi-Parāśara is being edited by the author.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCIENCE OF ARBORI HORTICULTURE IN ANCIENT INDIA

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The Science of plant life, or Vṛkṣāyurveda, was a distinctly comprehensive Science, a branch of which dealing with the construction and maintenance of gardens is only referred to here. The Science of Arbori-Horticulture existed in India since the Ṛgvedic times. It played an important part in later days in Public Administration. Public parks and pleasure gardens were provided by the Government (Arthaśāstra, Śukranīti, and Kāmandakīnīti) for health, recreation and enjoyment of the public.

All decent houses (Vātsāyana Kāmasūtra) and palaces of kings had pleasure gardens attached to them. These were well laid out, kept in perfect order and placed in charge of well trained Experts, or *Ārāmādhipatis*. In ancient dramas and epics and amatory poems flowers and flower gardens played important parts, and a special class of artists, *mālākāras*, *mālinīs*, came into being enjoying protection of the State (Śukra. II, 83).

The construction of a garden and its dedication to public use is mentioned as early as in the Vedic period (R. V. III. 8. 11). Sāṅkhāyana in his Gṛhya Sūtra described this Vedic ceremony under " The consecration of a garden " (V. 3. 2. et. sqq.). Though Śukranīti is of a much later date we find that apart from pleasure gardens adjoining a dwelling house the parks and pleasure gardens used to be regarded as important features of Social life in Ancient India. " They were important enough to have given rise to special classes of skilled artisans who were given patronage and protection by the State (Śukra. II. 83). The artisans used to construct parks, artificial forests and pleasure gardens."* The parks were meant for health, recreation, enjoyment, etc., and constituted a spending department of the Government, pure and simple. The gardens and parks were in charge of Superintendents (II, 200). He was to know the causes of the growth (II, 317-19), and development of flowers and fruits, the method of planting and curing trees by the administration of proper soil and water at the suitable time, and the various uses of the plants as medicinal drugs. He was assisted by gardeners whose business it was to collect flowers and fruits after having duly nourished the plants with care (II, 345-46). The knowledge of grafting was one of the qualifications of the gardener and it came to be regarded as one of the 64 *kalās*, or arts (IV, iii, 144).

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* Śukranīti, S. B. H. XVI, edited by Sarkar.

A typical garden attached to a dwelling house is described in the Vātsāyana Kāmasūtra. It says : attached to every house there should be a *Vṛkṣavāṭikā*, or *puṣpavāṭikā*, a garden with wide grounds where flowering plants and fruit trees can grow, as well as vegetables. A well, or tank, large or small, should be excavated in the middle (*madhye kūpam vāpīm dīrghikām vā khaṇayet*). The garden should be in charge of the mistress of the house. She is to duly procure seeds of common kitchen vegetables and medicinal herbs, such as *mūlaka*, *trapusa*, *āluka*, *pālaṅkī*, *damanaka*, *āmrātaka*, *ervāruka*, *vārtāka*, *kuṣmāṇḍa*, *alāvu*, *śūraṇa*, *śukanāsā*, *svayamgupta*, *tilaparṇika*, *agnimantha*, *laśuna*, *palāṇḍu* and such others ...... (*palāṇḍu prabhṛtinām sarvauṣadhināñca bījagrahaṇam kāle vāpaśca*). The direction is also given as to how greens and vegetables are to be reared in specially prepared beds, sugarcane in clumps, stunted shrubs of mustard *jīraka*, *ajamoda*, *śatapuṣpa* and similar herbs in patches, and the dark *Tamāla* tress in groves (*paripūteṣu ca haritaśākavaprānikṣustambajjīraka–sarṣapājamoda–śaṭapuṣpatamāla-gulmānśca kārayet*). The flowering plants recommended comprise *Kubjaka*, *Āmalaka*, *Mallikā*, *Jātī*, *Kuranṭaka*, *Navamallikā*, *Tagara*, *Nandyāvarta*, *Japā*, etc.; the shrubs, include *Bālaka*, *Uśīra*, and other grasses which yield fragrant leaves and roots. The garden is also to be provided with bowers and vine groves (*vṛkṣavātikām mṛdvīkāmaṇḍapam*) with raised platforms here and there for rest and recreation (*kubjakāmalakamallikājātīkuranṭakanavamālikātagaranandyāvartajapāgulmānanyāmśca bahupuṣpāt balakośīrakapātālikāmśca vṛkṣavāṭikāyāṅśca sthaṇḍilāni manojñāni kārayet*). A swing too is to be fitted on a spot well guarded from the sun by a leafy canopy (*svāstīrṇāpreñkhādoḷā vṛkṣavāṭikāyām sampracchāyā*). The text speaks indeed of an abandunce of various flowers to be artfully arranged, here and there.*

The garden within the homestead of Vasantasenā was a paragon of beauty. The flower beds were all artistically laid out and various trees planted, some heavy foliaged with swings hung from their branches. The golden *Yuthikā*, the *Śephālikā*, *Mallikā*, *Mālatī*, the *Navamallikā*, the *Kuruvaka*, and *Mādhavī* were the sweet and fragrant flowering plants with their flowers that had lent charm to the garden. The tanks were charmingly adorned with red and white Lotuses and Lilies. The *Aśoka* trees with their red flowers in bunches stood up here and there like posted soldiers.†

In the Buddhist literature we find description of the pleasure gardens of kings Bimbisāra and Aśoka, as special places of diversion. Such gardens were full of shady and flowery arbors. The Veṇuvana and āmba-vana in the vicinity of Rajagṛha, the Mahāvana near Vesāli, the Nigrodhārāma near Kapilavastu, and the Jetavana in the outskirts of Śrāvasti, were all Royal gardens, but later opened to all chance visitors. Queen Mallikā's garden at Śrāvasti was beautifully enclosed on all sides by rows of *Tinduka*, or *Timbaru* trees. It was a flower and fruit garden, as well as a park, provided with sheds. Subsequently these gardens were converted into permanent retreats for the wanderers of different Orders.

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* Social Life in Ancient India, Chakladar, G. I. Soc. Series. Text. Madan Pal Ed. Calcutta.

† Mṛcchakaṭika, Ch. IV, 28-30, ed. Haridas Siddhantavāgiśa.

The Aśokavanikā* which was Rāvana's pleasance, was the best, a graphic description of it is found in the Rāmāyaṇa (Sund. Chps. XIV, XV). It was surrounded by a wall. Within the enclosure was a sylvan grove with the *Sāla*, *Aśoka*, *Bhavya*, *Campaka*, *Uddālaka*, *Nāga*, and the Mango trees, all in blossoms in season. The grove was surrounded by artificial mounds and contained herds of deer and many sweet singing birds. The place was surrounded by many kinds of trees, and the earth appeared beautiful strewn with heaps of fragrant and charming flowers fallen from the trees. Nearby were tanks, large and of various other sizes with transparent and sweet water, fitted with bathing ghats having beautifully made steps set with jewels and crystal posts. The bank was artistically lined with columns of trees while the watery portion looked exceptionally beautiful with full blown Lotuses and Lilies. The tank served as a special retreat for geese, swans, cakravākas, and a host of other aquatic birds. The trees on the banks were entwined with hundreds of creepers having flowering *Santāna* and *Karavīra* as diversions. Not far from these series of tanks was a hill with beautiful and wonderful peak. All elevations of this picturesque hill were decked with trees and hilly abodes (*śilāgṛha*). A long and beautiful stream of clear and sweet water issuing from this hill flowed through this garden. Its banks were artistically lined with trees with many hanging branches and creepers that touched the water. Besides the hill was a lotus pond gay with many birds. There was also to be seen a big tank full of cool water. Its steps were all jewels being set with stones, and around were many palatial buildings all made as though by the hands of Viśvakarmā himself. Everywhere were to be seen rows of artificial mounds and flowery groves. The fruit and flower trees had golden and silver pavements, and terraces at their bases. A large *Śimsapā* tree with spreading branches and adorned with big foliage and entwined with creepers and fitted with a golden terrace at the base added much charm to the scenary (Sund. Ch. XIV, 1-52).

At another place this garden is compared with the Nandanavana, the Celestial garden, containing various animals and birds, palaces and mansions, adorned with ponds abounding in beautiful Lotuses and Water Lilies, provided with many comfortable seats, sylvan retreats, bowers and arbors with beautiful flowers of all seasons and fruit trees. The *Karṇikāras*, the *Kiṁśukas*, the *Punnāgas*, *Śaptaparṇas*, *Campakas* and the *Aśoka* trees were in flowers, and so on (Sund. ch. XV).

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* Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa.

अशोकवनिका पुण्या सर्वसंस्कारसंस्कृता । (63)
रक्षिणश्चात्र विहिता नूनं रक्षन्ति पादपान् । (64)

Our object is to show that the art of Arbori-Horticulture attained to a great perfection in Ancient India. We have no treatises extant on this subject, but we have a small chapter, the Upavana Vinoda, as a part of Vṛkṣāyurveda, in Śārṅgadhara's encyclopaedic work, the Śārṅgadhara Paddhati, of the 13th century A. D. This chapter treats of Arbori-Horticulture, and discusses the following topics : (1) Glory of trees, (2) Good and Evil Omens relating to residence near trees, (3) Selection of soil, (4) Cassification of plants, (5) Sowing of seeds, (6) The process of planting, (7) Watering of plants (after planting), (8) Rules for the protection of plants, (9) Construction of garden house, (10) Examination of the soil where wells (for watering) are to be dug, (11) Rules for the nourishment of plants, (12) *Kuṇapa* water (recipe for a nutrient solution), (13) Treatment of plants in diseases and health, (14) Botanical marvels, and (15) Ascertainments of the prices of things based on certain signs developed in plants.*

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* Upavana-Vinoda, edited and translated by Majumdar.

Section : Dravidian Languages and Culture

Presidential Address

S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Madras University.

Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me thank you at the outset for the honour you have done me in electing me as the president of the Dravidian Section which has been formed for the first time at this, the 13th Session of the Oriental Conference. It is an honour which I value greatly; but the duty it imposes opon me is indeed onerous. I hope, however, you will extend your kind co-operation enabling me to carry out my task successfully.

A separate section for the Dravidian languages has long been a necessity. Year by year there has been a growing strength of researchers in this field. The research work also has been growing in importance, urgency and complexity. So little has been done and so vast is the subject that the work here needs more time to be devoted to it than what the general language section can afford. The workers will not at all be benefited if their papers are merely taken as read. These considerations must have weighed with the Executive Committee in making their decision and they must be congratulated on this wise step.

That we have allowed the study of our mother-tongues to fall into neglect is no secret. In our educational system, they have long been relegated to an insignificant position. Their legitimate place has been usurped by the English language, just as in our national life, we, the rightful owners of the country, have been made to occupy an unenviable position by our foreign masters. Even now, after we have reached the threshold of National Freedom, the question of the medium of instruction is being debated hotly and there are not wanting scholars who champion the cause of the foreign medium. This shows the depth of degradation to which we have fallen. Unless our mother-tongues are made the media in all stages of our education without exception, our languages will not grow, will not meet all our needs, and will not be helpful in the acquisition of knowledge. They will famish and die of starvation. Another aspect also must be borne in mind. In the formative period of our life, we shall be wasting a few precious years in learning a foreign medium. Such a medium will be a handicap to the average man and his knowledge acquired through it will necessarily lack vitality, will be a matter of memory and not of complete assimilation. I am not unmindful of the great advantages we have derived by our contact with western culture and by our study of the English language; and I have no doubt that our present national regeneration is in no small measure the result of our western education. To say this is one thing; but it is quite another to say that we should for ever, out of gratitude, remain slaves physically and mentally. Slavery is an unnatural condition and the sooner it is wiped out, the better for the whole world.

In the field of scholarship and research also, our languages have suffered a similar neglect. Here the Sanskrit language has taken the place of honour and this pre-eminent position is in a large measure justified. For ages the Sanskrit language has been cultivated throughout the length and breadth of our motherland. All our national treasures lie stored up in this sacred linguistic recess. Almost every department of knowledge known to mankind is represented in this ancient language. Almost every section of the people in our land has, by its distinctive contribution, enriched this language and literature. It has profoundly influenced the growth and development of almost all the living languages in India. It has enjoyed the position of a lingua franca in this sub-continent of ours. In the realm of human thought, it places Indians on a level not at all inferior to any nationality of ancient or mediaeval times. It forms an excellant background to our future progress. We, as Indians, feel proud of this ancient, glorious heritage of ours. But there are *other* considerations which we must take into account. Our just pride in our past has always made us turn back to it at every step, without sufficient thought either of the present or the future, and considering our future progress, research in this field must be characterised as being least serviceable. The dazzling glory of this language has blinded us to its true relation to the languages of the people and led us to attribute divinity to it. It has also induced in some of us the belief that the summit of human knowledge has been reached. This cannot be said to be quite healthy. Eminent scholars, both Indian and foreign—scholars of all nationalities—have been, for over a century and a half, unremitting in their exclusive devotion to research in this particular field. That this exclusive application is a sad mistake even in the limited field of philology will be apparent from the following observations of Prof. Jespersen in his ' Language, Its Nature, Development and Origin ' :—

> ' Another feature of the linguistic science of these (early) days is the almost exclusive occupation of the student with dead languages, ... later developments (were) left to specialists who were more or less considered to be outside the sphere of Comparative Linguistics and even of the science of language in general, though it would have been a much more correct view to include them in both, and though much more could really be learnt of the life of language from these studies than from comparisons made in the spirit of Bopp.' (pp. 67-68.)

The same authority considers that a study of the vernaculars is an excellent corrective, supplementing and correcting as it does the results of philological investigation into the classical languages. Another important aspect also must be clearly understood. The Sanskrit language reached its limits of perfection and came to a dead stop long ago. There can be no progress for it. Its noble purpose, except the cultural aspect of it which is for all time, has been more than fulfilled. It exists as a vast field for research, and, rich in its varied treasures of antiquity, it offers unlimited scope for scholarly work in this direction. But its normal life has spent itself. It lives now through our vernaculars and it serves as a vitalising, nourishing agent for the living organisms of vernacular languages. The greatest merit of our vernaculars is that they throb with robust vitality, that they are living and while there is life, there is room for progress. Research in these living languages is productive. We can increase their usefulness and we can prefect them as media of thought by observing their laws of growth. We can prefect them more and more, and in this process, the Sanskrit language is bound to be of great service.

Let me once more repeat that the untold riches of the Sanskrit language must for ever engage the attention of research scholars all over the world. And this must never be neglected. At the same time, let me remind you that Indology does not exhaust itself by research work in this particular field alone. For the reasons stated above, our vernaculars deserve equal attention, if not more. Neglect of their study is criminal to the last degree and it is suicidal in the long run. It is surprising that we have not realised this. Each one of us can apply himself satisfactorily only to a limited field of research; but it is absolutely necessary that we should understand the general lie of the land, and the relative importance of the several fields of activity. We must also find fresh fields of research which will help to supplement and correct the results obtained in the older and well-established fields. Moreover our vernacular language and literatures are also rich and of great antiquity. This is especially true of Tamil whose extant literature goes back to the beginning of the Christian Era. From the philological aspect, this language is, in the words of Dr. Caldwell, 'probably the earliest cultivated of all the Dravidian idioms, the most copious, and contains the largest portion and the richest variety of indubitably ancient forms.' We, the Tamils, possess one of the noblest literatures of the world. In poetic content, in facts of antiquarian interest and in cultural value, our languages are in no way inferior to Sanskrit and we legitimately pride ourselves on this. Falling in line with these observations, a Dravidian section has now been opened; and that it should have been done when the Indian Government has entered on a new phase of life augurs well for its future. It is also a pleasure to remind ourselves that the first Dravidian Section has been originated in a province which has first stood for the rights of the Indian languages in official and other public proceedings.

A few years back, a distinguished personage paid a visit to the University of Madras. He was taken round by the then Vice-Chancellor to the several departments of research. When he came to the language section, his curiosity was roused and he asked what sort of research this particular section was engaged in. I could very well see that at the back of his mind he was feeling that there was no scope for research here and that the departments were kept more or less as shows or ornaments, though useless from the view-point of national economy. It was sometime before I could convince him of the real necessity. The distinguished personage is representative of a type—alas, all too common in our country. I am mentioning this just to show that there is a large amount of distrust with regard to research in languages, even among educated circles. It is our lot to carry on our work in an atmosphere of general distrust. The step-motherly treatment accorded to our language studies is merely symptomatic of this general attitude. The sooner we dispel this distrust, the better for research in languages.

The reason why this distrust prevails is that the average man thinks that he, as much as any specialist, is qualified to carry on investigation in this particular field and reach conclusions. No specialist is needed, and if any person claims to be a specialist, he must certainly be putting forward a claim to which he has no right : so he believes. And nothing is done to prevent this erroneous belief. So far as the science subjects are concerned, he dares not entertain any such belief. The absurdity would be too obvious. That language studies also stand on the same footing must be made clear to such self-complacent men. A consideration of the scope and nature of the several subjects comprised in these studies will convince any one that this is a branch of research requiring special knowledge, equipment and training. I shall give below a survey of language-research, marking out the most important of the fields. It will be simply a recapitulation of topics familiar to you who are all specialists.

Language studies fall under two groups, viz., language proper and literature. The former may be divided into (a) General linguistics and (b) Dravidian linguistics, which is our immediate concern. General linguistics deals with the (i) origin of languages, (ii) language classification and families, (iii) linguistic atlas, (iv) psychology of language and (v) semasiology, i. e., the science of word-meaning. Dravidian linguistics deals with the affiliation of this particular family, with its cultivated and uncultivated languages, with comparative Dravidian grammar and philology and also with the re-construction of the hypothetical proto-Dravidian. Taking any one of our languages we have to study its standard form, its dialects, its colloquial forms, its speech-levels, its travel abroad and the foreign and other influences on it. Under the heading of the standard form, we have to study grammar, etymology comprising morphology and semantics, syntax, vocabulary, phonology both experimental and historical, orthoepy, history of the alphabet and script including orthography and palaeography. Grammar is a study of the behaviour of words and the usage of common speech. Historical, descriptive and comparative Grammars have to be grouped under this and when we distinguish old, middle and modern language, this branch becomes a highly complicated study. The vocabulary also has to be viewed and studied from several standpoints, native-words, loan-words, word mix-ups, slangs, officialese, journalese, obsolete words, etc. We have to study names also, such as surnames, place-names, etc., and we have to think of several dictionaries, dictionary on historical lines, etymological dictionary, dictionary of scientific and technical terms, of slang, of difficult words, of synonyms and antonyms, of phrases and idioms, of rhymes and of numbered groups. Thesaurus also must be included in this category.

Besides these, there are some ancillary studies to be pursued. Under this head, we must mention linguistic palaeontology based on the study of words in the proto-Dravidian and on the study of mythology, legend and folk-lore from a comparative standpoint. Racial problems also have to be studied here.

Turning now to literature. We may study the literature of a language, say Tamil, or we may make a comparative study of the literatures of two or more languages, say Dravidian literature or Indian literature. In the study of a single literature, we have four important branches, viz., editorial work, literary criticism, literary history and treatment of historical and other materials, besides two helpful pursuits, viz., cataloguing and bibliography. Literary criticism naturally divides itself into two branches, viz., general and special. The former deals with the canons of criticism, with art and literature, with imagination, form and function, with style, rhetoric and metre, with the milieu of literature comprising literature and life, literature and society etc., and with attitudes in literature such as humanism, idealism, romanticism, realism, naturalism. The latter, i. e., special literary criticism, may deal with the individual poet, individual work, specific genre or period, or specific topic such as music, musical instruments, etc. In literary history, chronology has to be settled for several works and authors; and it will be a branch by itself. Literary biographies, including a dictionary of National Biography will come in for consideration here. Then general literary histories have to be prepared. The latter comprise genre and periods, old, middle and modern. Under genre, we have to include drama, fiction, poetry and several other types of literature. In this connection a dictionary of literature will be of great help. There are considerable historical materials in our languages, especially so in Tamil, chiefly in the form of inscriptions and copperplate grants and these must engage our attention as a separate branch. Mythology, legend and folk-lore, comprising motif-index and comparative studies, yield us substantial historical and pre-historical materials and these, along with proverbs and popular sayings, form another important branch. The history of specific subjects and topics, such as medicine, astrology, amusements, riddles, etc., makes a third branch of study. Social History, culture and civilization along with witchcraft magic and spirits and with beliefs and practices, totemism etc., form yet another branch, the fourth of this group.

Only the most important of the several fields of research in languages are sketched above; but the accompanying two tabular statements of the appendix give a fuller indication of its scope.

It must be obvious to any one who glances through these tables that research in languages is a rich and wide field which must be undertaken by persons especially equipped and trained for the task Also, research in this field is inexhaustible. The more we work in these several branches, the more we find the necessity of intense application on a wider scale. Our subject seems to grow with the growth of our knowledge. As Sage Valluvar puts it, 'the more we know, the more we realise our ignorance.'

Let me now briefly indicate what we have achieved and what works need our immediate attention. I can speak with knowledge only about Tamil and in the following remarks I naturally devote myself to that language in particular. But I believe what I say here applies to the other Dravidian languages as well, *mutatis mutandis*.

The general studies in language involve a knowledge of psychology and the general studies in literature, a knowledge of aesthetics and fine arts. Research in literature is comparatively less complicated; but even here we have not made any appreciable advance. In reality, our research is in its infant stage and this is particularly so, in regard to Tamil. But there is one exception and that is editorial work. A number of brilliant scholars laboured in this field. I may mention the names of Thandavaraya Mudaliar, Vedagiri Mudaliar, Saravanaperumal Iyer, Visakapperumal Iyer, Arumukha Navalar, Rao Bahadur Damodaram Pillai and last but not least Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer. These scholars are responsible for the valuable editions of Tolkappiyam, the Sangam classics and other important works. The Tamils have every reason to be proud of these scholars. But there is still work to be done. Definitive editions of these works with all the critical apparatus of modern scholarship, discussing readings, etc., are still a desideratum. Moreover, a great number of works are available only in manuscripts and these must be printed before the perishable material on which they are written is completely destroyed. I believe the same is the case with the other languages. A band of scholars who are experts in the line must take up this kind of editorial work.

I shall pass over literary criticism in silence, for no respectable work at all seems to have been done in this field, so far. I desire to make one observation only. We seem to live in the middle ages, and Sanskritic writers like Dandin still hold the field. No fresh outlook seems possible to us and we are allowing ourselves to be tied down by shackles forged in an age and under conditions far different from ours. Under the crude notion that we are improving upon Dandin, we have made endless but meaningless divisions and subdivisions and in the process we have lost the art of literary appreciation. Literary criticism as developed in the West must save us and guide us, if we are not to lose one of the greatest pleasures vouchsafed to mankind. We must not forget, at the same time, that Daṇḍin and other rhetoricians have a legitimate place in the history of literary criticism and of literary technique.

The next task I shall mention is the undertaking of a good literary history, e. g. history of Tamil literature. Of the books that exist in Tamil, mention must be made, despite defects, of Mr. K. S. Sreenivasa Pillai's 'Tamil Varalaru' in Tamil and Mr. M. Sreenivasa Iyengar's 'Tamil Studies' in English. All the rest are, barring a few exceptions, either scrappy or carelessly written or are replete with exploded theories. In Kannada Rao Bahadur Narasimhachariar, in Telugu Veeresalingam Pantulu, in Malayalam Ulloor Parameswara Iyer and others have written valuable literary histories. A good deal of preliminary work has to be done before the task is begun in earnest. First, all the contributions in journals and all the books bearing upon the subject must be collected and studied. Secondly, a catalogue raisonne of all published works (including incunabula) and of unpublished works must be prepared. I must say here a word about the collecting, preserving and cataloguing of cadjan and paper manuscripts in Tamil and allied languages. The Madras Government has done a grievous wrong in not creating a separate agency for each of our languages. Time was when the work was entrusted to a professor of Sanskrit whose knowledge of the Dravidian languages was very limited and whose time was fully taken up with his professorial duties in his college. That he had been able to do something in his capacity as a curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library speaks to his broad-minded spirit and his sense of duty. But now a committee is put in charge and its curator is altogether innocent of any knowledge of Dravidian languages. If this state of affairs continues for sometime more, all the manuscripts in the country will be destroyed and our priceless heritage will be lost to us for ever. The peripatetic section of the Oriental Manuscript Library staff must be, some of them, Tamil students capable of dealing with Mss and a scholar of eminence who is an expert in reading and editing manuscripts must be put in charge of the Tamil section. So also with the other languages. The honorary curatorship was hardly satisfactory and the present arrangement is worse. I hope the new national government in the province will go into this matter and make suitable alterations. Let me resume. Thirdly, a complete bibliography according to subjects must be made ready. Cataloguiug and bibliography may be done on the models of 'The Year's Work in English Studies' edited for the English Association by F. S. Boas and 'Annual Bibliography of English language and literature' edited for the Modern Humanities Research Association by Angus Macdonald. But our catalogue and bibliography must include, not only language and literature, but all subjects. Needless to say that these must be brought up-to-date and continued year after year in future. Fourthly, chronological problems must be tackled afresh. Here in Tamil a wrong tilt has been given originally by men of undoubted learning and talents; and it has to be righted now. If it be merely a question of evaluating literary evidence, the matter would be simple. It is more than that. With a section of Tamilians—not necessarily scholars—the dates of works like Tirukkural and Silappadikaram are matters of faith, on which they are willing to stake more than their honour. Nothing this side of the first or second century A. D. would satisfy them and if any scholar dares to suggest a later date, he is held to be a traitor. A poisoned atmosphere is thus created. Research is stifled and truth struggles for its very life. But the duty of a scholar is clear and he has to fortify himself with the noble words :

> ' They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three.'

Speaking of historical material, I record with pleasure the invaluable services rendered by the Epigraphical department and by Messrs P. Sundaram Pillai, V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M. Raghava Iyengar, K. G. Sankaran and S. Desikavinayakam Pillai in respect of Tamil, by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya and others in respect of Telugu and by Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachariar and others in respect of Kannada. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri's ' Cholas ' must be specially mentioned. But there still remains a great deal of work to be done. The Epigraphical department is chary of lending estampages to scholars. Hundreds of inscriptions copied have yet to see the light of day. Hundreds of inscriptions are yet to be copied. All the inscriptions must be carefully edited and annotated by scholars wellversed in South Indian languages. Besides inscriptions, we have historical poems and diaries. These also have to be critically edited. It is a pity that Anandarangam Pillai's diary in Tamil is still a sealed book to us. A unique piece of literature throwing light on the commercial activity and the eventful political life of South India during the 18th century, and affording considerable material for a study of Tamil colloquialism during the period, the diary demands our immediate attention. I hope the Government of Madras will take the earliest opportunity to make arrangements for its publication. Or at least the record office, in whose custody this work remains, may be directed to give facilities to scholars to copy and publish it.

In research under literature, I shall touch upon only one more subject and that is the comparative study of literature. This concerns all the Dravidian languages in a special manner. In an essay on ' The Teaching of English Literature ', Prof. Dowden declared that he

> ' would have the student start with a *General Sketch of European literature*, somewhat resembling Mr. Freeman's *General Sketch of European History* in its aim and scope and manner of treatment ....

> When Boccaccio,' he went on, 'is spoken of in connection with Chaucer, when Tasso or Ariosto is spoken of in connection with Spenser, or Boileau in connection with Dryden or Pope, or Carlyle in connection with Goethe, he ought at least to be able to place Boccaccio and Tasso and Ariosto and Boileau and Goethe aright in the general movement of European literature, and in some measure to conceive aright the relation of each to the literary movement in our own country.'

Judged by the above standard, the scholars of the three languages, Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam will pass the test so far as Sanskrit literature is concerned. But I am doubtful whether the same can be said of the Tamil scholar of the present day. So far as Dravidian literatures other than his own are concerned, every one of these scholars, without exception, is labouring under the same serious disability. Fancy a Dravidian scholar not knowing anything at all of Vālmiki, of Vyāsa and of Kālidāsa; nor of Valluvar and Kamban; nor anything of Tikkana and Nannaya; nor of Pampa, Ranna and Ponna; nor of Ezhuttacchan ! Such a state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. Comparative study of Dravidian literature and of Indian literature will certainly widen and enrich our scholarship. It will break down the thick wall of prejudice behind which our scholars are immuring themselves. Research will gather a new significance and new nobility. Let us try to understand and appreciate one another's literature and thus honour one another.

Before proceeding further, I should like to mention an important item of work and that is Translation. This has not sufficiently attracted the attention of our scholars. No doubt there are some works in Tamil, in this field, the most notable of them being the English translation of some Tamil classics by G. U. Pope and of Tirukkural by V. V. S. Iyer. A good many lyrics from the Tamil classics have been done into English by Messrs. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai, K. G. Sesha Iyer and P. N. Appuswami. I am, of course, ignoring translations which had better never been made. A proper translation bureau must be established. Tamil works must be translated into Hindi and English; likewise works in foreign languages must be done into Tamil. Thus an inter-traffic in ideas must be established. In other Dravidian languages also, translation work must be taken up in earnest. This is an urgent work and no time should be lost in establishing the bureau mentioned above.

I shall now take up the more complicated research in languages. In general, I may say that we have not made any headway, except in a few branches of study. Let me pass in review the more important of the several branches. First, etymological studies. Here the very atmosphere is uncongenial, so far as Tamil is concerned. An illustration will carry conviction. A fundamental assumption is made by our 'scholars' that any word containing a trilled medial '*ḷ*' is a genuine native word. That this assumption is only partially true can be easily proved. The Sanskrit *pīḍā* is the Tamil word *Pīḷai;* the Sanskrit *śīrṣaka* is the Tamil word *Sigaḷikai;* the Sanskrit *phala* is the Tamil *Paḷam.* If anybody follows up these phonetic equivalences and deduces that the Sanskrit *glaha* is the Tamil *Kaḷagam*, at once he is a marked man and pronounced a pro-Sanskritist. Let me note that this is a late word occurring in a late sangam work, Kalittogai, that its first use is in the sense of a place where dice is played, that Pāṇini enjoined the application of the Sanskrit word especially to dice playing and that this great grammarian flourished about eight centuries earlier than the first recorded use of this word in Tamil. In the face of these indisputable facts and chronology, the majority of Tamil scholars hold that the word *Kaḷagam* is a genuine native and, worse, do not brook any suggestion to the contrary. Such an atmosphere is hardly conducive to research work. I believe this condition does not obtain in other languages of the Dravidian group. Despite this unfavourable condition, etymological studies are made in Tamil language and that is a good sign. I may mention here that the late Mr. R. Swaminatha Iyer has produced a work of great value. We may occasionally go wrong and to err is human; for instance, following the curious working of the popular fancy, a scholar of eminence gives a bizarre derivation. The Tamil word, mayil, meaning peacock is obviously connected with the Sanskrit मयूर which is a Ṛgvedic word. Yet it is taken as a compound of Tamil '*Mā*' meaning beauty (of colour) and '*Iḷa*' meaning shelter the word indicating 'the shelter which the (beautiful) feathers afforded the bird when necessary.' Poetical fancy is no derivation. The etymology is made under the impression that '*Mā*' is a Tamil word. Unfortunately for the speculator, it is the Sanskrit मा denoting Lakshmi who is always associated with beauty. So this makes the word a hybrid, and a very uncouth hybrid at that. If we derive the Ṛgvedic मयूर from the Tamil mayil, as a western scholar does, we shall be casting chronology to the winds and floundering in method. It is regrettable that this learned scholar with his vast linguistic equipment should occasionally permit himself such extravagances. Another linguistician of great repute has derived 'hanumant' from *Ānamaṅdi* in Tamil, meaning male monkey. Apart from other objections, the proposed Tamil original is a contradiction in terms; for *Maṅdi*, in early Tamil, means female monkey and *Ānamaṅdi* would be ludicrous both in nature and in language. I may make this observation, in passing. The very few foreign scholars who have been attracted to Dravidic studies cannot be expected to have any intimate knowledge of the Dravidian languages. Even with this serious limitation, their contributions deserve honourable mention. The names of Bishop Caldwell, Dr. Gundert, Brown and of Kittel must be reassuring. Some of their conclusions are no doubt marred by serious defects; but their method, their wide knowledge and their close grip of details deserve praise. We may well follow them in their method and make correct etymological studies.

Closely connected with these etymological studies is the study of place-names, surnames, etc. We have in Tamil what are called Sthalapuranas in plenty and their authors are dealing actually with place-names. Only instead of patient research in the history of a place, they have drawn freely upon their imagination and woven a thick veil round the true origin of place-names ! We have been long content with these fibs and only quite recently, a book has appeared, which tries to rend the veil of mystery. It follows the puranic method and contains flagrant errors. For instance, *Veli* in Tirunelveli has nothing to do with land-measure as the author says, but simply means fence or enclosure. Even the Purāṇa of the place interprets it correctly. In *Tilapaicīni*, *Cīni* is construed as plantain tree, following Sivasthalamanjari No Tamil word, according to Tolkappiyam and Nannul, can begin with *Cī* and so *Cīni* must be a variant of *Nīli*. But neither word bear this sense anywhere in Tamil literatnre. This significance must be of a very recent date. We are led to suspect that it is an anachronism. The Tamil Lexicon gives the provenance of the word *Paiccelam* as 'local', which is belied by its very form. The matter should have received careful consideration. *Muttupetai* is interpreted as an ancient port noted for pearl-fishery. There is indeed no authority for this view. The name is capable of a different interpretation. Muttu or Muthia is a common personal name among Tamilians and very probably, the *Petai* is called after this name. More light should have been obtained before venturing a definite explanation like pearl-fishery. *Vellai* has no doubt the meaning of 'Baladeva' in Tamil, besides other meanings. But to see worship of Baladeva in all place-names where this word occurs is absurd. Want of proper investigation, want of study and reflection and want of method are serious defects which mere graces of style can never atone for. Errors are likely to be perpetuated by dilettantism. It is better we acquaint ourselves with the methods of work which Western investigators have pursued in this line of research. A study of the works issued by the Place-Name Society in England would be of immense service. When sufficient advance is made, the investigation may be systematised and a dictionary of Place Names may be undertaken.

I should not be going into these details but for the immensity of the stake. An etymological dictionary on historical lines can never be accomplished while the conditions indicated above prevail. Father Jñānaprakāsar's dictionary—only two fascicules have appeared—is a sad comment on the existing state of philological research in Tamil.

The Tamil Lexicon, published under the authority of the University of Madras, is not in any sense an etymological dictionary. But it is a monumental work. The sources already utilised in previous dictionaries have been carefully examined afresh. New sources have been studied and utilised. In the treatment of words, considerable improvement has been made. The arrangement of meanings, the definitions both in English and Tamil, etymology and cognates, illustrative quotations—in all these respects, the lexicon is a great advance and I may say it is the one solid achievement in Tamil within recent years. There are, no doubt, shortcomings which have to be remedied in future editions. A concise dictionary is an urgent need and the Madras University is making arrangements for its early preparation and publication. A dictionary of scientific and technical terms is also an urgent necessity and for the past six years, it has been engaging the serious attention of the Government of Madras. Of the other kinds of dictionaries noted in the table, nothing has been done. All of them are of great general utility and they are best done by a syndicate of scholars. I must not omit to mention here the Suryaraya Nighantu in Telugu and also the lexicographical work in Kannada which the Mysore Government is projecting. The Travancore University also is planning a Malayalam lexicon.

The affiliation* of the Primitive Dravidian is a major problem beset with doubts and difficulties. Most of our scholars think that Caldwell's Scythian theory is the last word on the subject. No doubt the learned bishop was the founder of the comparative study of the Dravidian languages. Besides, he was the first to study systematically the interrelationship of the languages comprised in the Dravidian group, though others before him felt vaguely that these languages were all connected. He was a pioneer of outstanding abilities and his name will ever be remembered with gratitude and reverence by all scholars of Dravidian languages. This does not mean that there is no room for further enquiry. Caldwell was himself quite modest in his claims. Speaking of the Scythian affiliation, he admitted the possibility of being misled by accidental assonances and claimed rather to have pointed the way to future research than to have demonstrated the relationship with any finality. A similar conclusion was reached by Max Muller who used the term 'Turanian' in the sense in which Caldwell used 'Scythian.'

But the theory was rejected by P. Hunfalvy who explained his reasons most lucidly and ably in a paper on the study of the Turanian languages. Dr. Sten Konow remarks in his Linguistic Survey of India (vol. iv, p. 282 : 1906) that 'with regard to the Dravidian languages the attempt to connect them with other linguistic families outside India is now generally recognised as a failure and we must still consider them as an isolated family.' In 1925, Caldwell's theory was again taken up by F. O. Schrader who confined himself to a comparison of the Dravidian languages on the one hand and the Uralian languages, i. e., Finno-Ugrian etc., on the other. E. Lewy followed with a destructive criticism which had considerable effect. Shortly afterwards, Hevesy, a Hungarian scholar, tried to prove that the Munda or Kolarian languages were related to Finno-Ugrian. If this be established, it would indicate that the Dravidian and the Kolarian languages were ultimately connected. But the general opinion seems to be that this connection is not established. In the words of Prof. S. K. Chatterjee, 'the original Dravidian speakers, according to most recent views, belong to the west. Their original home was in the Eastern Mediterranean region. The ancient Lycians of Asia Minor who were colonists from Crete called themselves Trmmli.' Thus it may be assumed that the Dravidians were connected with the pre-Hellenic Cretans. This ethnic relationship suggests the possibility of a linguistic connection also.

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* Summarised from Dr. Burrow's 'Dravidic Studies.'

Considering the nature of this kind of enquiry, it is best left in the hands of experts whose ethnological and philological equipment specially fit them for the task. The Dravidian scholar is naturally interested in the more immediate problem viz., the relative positions of the main South Indian languages in reference to the original or primitive Dravidian. In the infancy of philological studies, it was fondly imagined that out of the womb of Tamil, the other Dravidian languages sprang and that Tamil must be considered the primitive Dravidian. But this position is philologically unsound. A primitive Dravidian language, as distinguished from Tamil and far older than that, has to be posited. That being accepted, the South Indian scholars are now waging war for the right of primogeniture of their own respective languages. My learned friend Mr. K. Ramakrishnayya of the Madras University inclines to the view that Telugu is the earliest language to separate from the primitive Dravidian and hence is of far greater antiquity than Tamil. I have heard Malayalam scholars making a similar claim with regard to *their* language also. But the seniority and antiquity of Tamil are well vouched for and Dr. Caldwell's view is hardly disputable. Still it is best to remember that our sister-languages have entered a claim which demands enquiry and consideration. The question must be approached dispassionately from a scholarly point of view.

A problem of greater importance has arisen out of the recent discoveries of Mohenjo Daro (Sindh) and Harappa (Punjab). It has been suggested with great plausibility that the Indus valley civilisation revealed by the above discoveries is Dravidian in origin. Admittedly it is Pre-Vedic and Pre-Aryan. Of the peoples that had anything to do with the Indus valley in Pre-Aryan times, we know only of three and they are the Negritoes in the palaeolithic stage of culture, the Austro-Asiatics in the neolithic stage and the Dravidians who were city-builders and organisers in peaceful life. The Indus valley civilisation is 'of a remarkably high type with well-planned cities of brick-built houses in more than one story and with underground drainage, with writing as a widely practised art, with pottery decorated and painted in various styles, with peculiar systems of burial obtaining among the people and with all the paraphernalia of civilised life including dolls for children.' Such a civilisation could hardly be attribute either to the Negritoes or to the Austro-Asiatics. Moreover, this civilisation shows noteworthy affinities with the Mediterranean and West-Asian culture. 'The Dravidians, apart from the Mohenjo Daro context, have been suggested as being a Mediterranean people.' All these would make it appear that the great city-cultures of the Punjab and Sindh were built by the Dravidians before the advent of the Aryans into India. 'Whether this assumption is correct or not will be settled finally only when one can read the Mohenjo Daro script and when the language is proved to be the source or an early form of the present-day Dravidian languages. It will not do to read Old Tamil straight away into the inscriptions on this assumption, as Father Heras is doing. Such an attempt has no value in serious epigraphy and linguistics. It lacks all sound philological method.'

I have closely followed the views of Prof. S. K. Chatterjee in his book 'Indo-Aryan and Hindi'. I think his position is, in the main, correct. If at any time the Dravidian origin of the Indus valley civilisation becomes a proven fact, the consequent changes in our outlook and the new problems we shall have to face will be revolutionary in character. We, as Dravidian scholars, have a part to perform in reaching a definite solution and that brings me to the next topic I propose to deal with here.

Efforts are being made, now and then, to reconstruct what is known as proto-Dravidian or primitive Dravidian. Even with regard to the Indo-European languages where comparative philology has attained a high degree of exactitude, the result of such attempts are far from satisfactory. Prof. Pedersen has made this clear in his work on linguistic method. With regard to our Dravidian languages, comparative philology is still in the making. Even an exhaustive study of comparative vocabulary has not been made. The cognates have just been collected and studied by that erudite scholar, Mr. Ramakrishnayya, and his work on this subject is a notable contribution. But his list is not by any means exhaustive. Phonetic laws must be scientifically deduced from a study of these cognates and comparative philology in Dravidian languages. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachariar in his history of the Kannada language and Dr. C. Narayana Rao in his history of the Telugu language have done valuable work in this connection. Messrs. V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri and L. V. Ramaswami Iyer have similarly done here much useful work in respect of Tamil and Malayalam. This study can and must be done only by our scholars trained in philological method. But it must necessarily be a work of co-operation among scholars in the several languages belonging to the Dravidian family. There are facilities for this kind of work, only in the Madras University and I hope the authorities there will make suitable arrangements for such co-operation. I know something is being done by the scholars of this university and I hope they will push on the work more vigorously and systematically and in the soundest of philological methods. Reconstruction of primitive Dravidian must be based upon the results of such an investigation. Only then shall we be able to help in the solution of the Mohenjo

Daro problem. The Dravidian civilisation will be more of a certainty and its antiquity will be pushed back at least two or three millenniums.

One more field of research where co-operation among Drividian scholars may be helpful, I have reserved to the last and that is Grammar, both historical and comparative. As regards the former, very little has been done. 'Confronted with the facts of modern speech, the philologist attempts to penetrate behind these, in order to arrive at an explanation of them. He discovers, in the course of his investigations, that the most characteristic feature of language is fluidity, in consequence of which it is perpetually changing' —that, for example, Tamil of to-day differs greatly from that of Sangam poets or even of Valluvar. 'He is thus enabled to throw light on the history of the language, and ultimately to trace its development, through various ramifications, from its origin down to the present day. This particular task is the province of *historical grammar.*' It is not enough if the grammars written in different periods are alone studied. Our classical grammars are greatly influenced by Sanskrit Grammars. There is no guarantee that all the linguistic phenomena in our languages have been observed and explained. Nor is there any guarantee that the structure of the languages has been properly studied. We must first study the literatures of the several periods in their historical setting, observe their linguistic laws and write systematic or descriptive grammars. Of course, our grammatic classics will be our guides and help us in the preparation of the work. Our ancients did not conceive of language as being always in a state of flux and so they tried to check the development of language by imposing artificial laws. We must 'avoid the besetting sins of such grammarians, pedantry and dogmatism.' Then these systematic grammars must be studied in their chronological order and, on the basis of such a study, a historical grammar must be written. Prof. Jespersen's words are relevant here : 'it is the pride of the linguistic science of the last hundred years or so, that it has superseded older methods by historical grammar, in which phenomena are not only *described* but *explained,* and it cannot be denied that the new point of view, by showing the inter-connection of grammatical phenomena previously isolated, has obtained many new and important results.' If a proper historical grammar of Tamil were written, it would show the utter imposslibility of the hypothetical Tamil sentence, "*Sandikappu vai emantu irukkar*" said to be found in Ancient Egypt about B. C. 1500.

Another branch of the same study is Comparative Grammar which supplements the evidence that is accessible to us in historical sources, by connecting languages whose common 'ancestor' is lost to tradition. Bishop Caldwell's Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages is the classic in this field. The foundations of Dravidian philology have been solidly and firmly laid by this distinguished investigator. He believed rightly that it was not possible to understand thoroughly any one language of this group without a knowledge of the others and he regarded that comparative grammar was not only a thing useful in its own way but a real necessity. It is a pity that no one followed his footsteps and carried on the work so well begun by him. But it is time now that some competent scholar took up this work. Since 1875 when the second edition of the Comparative Grammar was brought out by the author, substantial progress has been made in linguistic science, especially in method. In Tamil, Tolkappiyam, Sangam Classics and several other important works have been edited and made available to scholars working in various fields. Epigraphy and history have made considerable progress. Several scholars have devoted themselves to research and our knowledge has increased greatly. In other Dravidian languages also, we note similar progress. Any comparative grammar will have to take note of these advances. In the light of such fresh knowledge, Bishop Caldwell's book calls for a drastic revision. In fact a fresh grammar on comparative lines has long been overdue.

The Tamil area has two universities, the Madras and the Annamalai Universities. The Telugu, the Kannada and the Malayalam areas have each a University. I am referring to the Andhra, the Mysore and the Travancore Universities. It would be very desirable and profitable if these Universities concert measures for co-ordinated work for the advancement of research in Dravidian languages.

My task is finished. It has been my endeavour to indicate the scope of research in Dravidian languages and literatures, the vastness of this particular branch of study, and to pass in review the most important fields, glancing at what has been done and what may be taken up immediately for study and research. There may be shortcomings, omissions and commissions for which I crave your indulgence. You have given me a patient hearing for which I thank you most sincerely. I wish Dravidian scholars had attended this conference in greater numbers if only for the purpose of contacting the savants who are working in several fields of oriental research.

Gentlemen, just now I spoke of Dravidian scholars. That term should not be taken to mean that there are pure Dravidians at the present day as contra-distinguished from pure Aryans. Both are merely convenient terms to denote a conceptual fact of ancient times. Racial purity is an impossibility. Let us not confuse the past with the present, the dead with the living. We are all students of Dravidian-languages, of Dravidian culture and civilisation, just as we have our brethren present here who are students of Aryan languages, of Aryan culture and civilisation. The two great streams have commingled long ago and what we have at the present day is a composite culture and civilisation. So also linguistic purity is a chimera. Many diverse elements have gone into the making of our languages. Such a historical view will give us that scientific detachment which is so necessary to the pursuit of truth. Let us all work and co-operate with one another in a strictly scientific spirit. Let truth be our sole objective. Let us add to the sum total of human knowledge by constant devotion to our appointed work. Let us be true servants of our noble mother-tongues. Let us be worthy sons of mother India, May our tribe increase !

SOME OBSOLETE KANNAḌA WORDS AND THEIR FORMS AND SHADES OF MEANING ANCIENT AND MODERN*

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Somadeva, the famous author of *Yaśas-tilaka-campu*, belonged to the middle of the 10th century. In the colophon of that work he says that his place was Gaṅgādhārā, the capital of Vadyaga, the son of Cālukya Arikesari (of Vengi-maṇḍala) the mahā-maṇḍal-ādhipati of glorious Kṛṣṇarājadeva of Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. Further he calls himself the emperor of logicians, a preeminent disputant and a great poet. He was a disciple of the great disputant and ascetic Nemideva and brother of another learned disputant the worshipful Mahendra-bhaṭṭāraka. Yaśas-tilaka-campu, Nīti-Vākyāmṛtam, Trivarga-Mahendra-Mātali-sanjalpam, Ṣaṇṇavati-prakaraṇam and Yukti-cintāmaṇi are the five works ascribed to him. Of these the last three have not been traced so far, while the first two have come down to us in printed form.

Recently a Kannaḍa commentary on the Nīti-vakyāmṛta by Sandhi-vigrahi Nemicandra (probably of the first part of the 11th century) has been traced and the Director of Bhāratīya Jnāna-pītha, Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa K. Bhujabali Śāstri of Moodabidire has undertaken to publish it. Its press copy was prepared by Prof. K. G. Kundangar of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, with the help of two palm leaf manuscripts and a printed copy of the Māṇikacanda Digambara Jain Granthamālā, Bombay, 1921 (Vikrama Samvat 1979). The first two were sent by the Director and the last was lent by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, my colleague and friend. While preparing the press copy a number of obsolete Kannaḍa words, a number of words derived from Sanskṛt, and some words which had some bearing on Marāṭhi language were noticed. An attempt, therefore, has been made here to place them before scholars for their consideration and opinion. To avoid length and boredom in the treatment of all such words only forty-six of them have been selected for the purpose of this paper. These have been grouped under four heads. The group A contains Sanskṛt words which are designated in Kannaḍa grammar 'Tatsamas', (B) contains deformed Sanskṛt words called

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* Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows :—

Catu. Ni. = Caturasya-Nighantu. Cen. B. P. = Cenna-Basava-Puranam. K. M. B. S. P. = Karnataka-maha-Bharatam, Salya-Parva. Niti-v. = Niti-Vakyamrtam of Somadeva. P. Bha. = Pampa-Bharatam. P. Ram. = Pampa-Ramayanam S. M. D. D. K. P. = Sabda-mani-darpanam, Dhatu-Kosa, Page.

'Tadbhavas', (C) contains Kannaḍa words, and (D) contains Kannaḍa words probably adopted into Marāthi language or viceversa. Attempt has also been made to give the original meaning of words, their shades, their present usage and their Dravidian and Marāthi equivalents. Care has been taken to arrange them alphabetically.

(A)

Ārambha (7-3) — Agriculture, husbandry.

Beginning, commencement, introduction, act, haste, speed, effort, scene, killing. But Jain authors have commonly used the word in the sense of agriculture in their scriptures. आरंभहिंसा is the common compound met with in those works. तस्य खलु संसारसुखं यस्य कृषिर्धेनवः ...|| कृषिः — *ārambhamum* | धेनवः — pasugaḷum | ...

Kaṣṭa (5-65) — Wicked person.

Evil, Difficulty, misery, pain, sin, wickedness. Kannaḍa authors have freely used the word in the sense of wicked person. Ninnanu tarubidavare kaṣṭaru (K. M. B. S. P. 1-31.) वरमज्ञानं नाशिष्टजनसेवया विद्या || अशिष्टजनसेवया *kaṣṭara* pordugeyind-āda (Nīti-v. 5-65).

Ṭiriṭillitam (26-65) Great enthusiasm.

Agitation, activity, quickness, smartness. ... अल्पबलस्य बलवता सह विग्रहाय टिरिटिल्लितम् || (Nīti v. 26-65). The word may be compared with 'ṭirfir' in Marāṭhi which means to rave. A similar word 'ṭurṭur' is current in Kannaḍa which means 'noise'. The following are the instances : टिरफिर् काय चालवला आहेस ? Eṣṭu ṭurṭur haccidāne ?

(B)

Aggāyile (23-48) — A harlot, a prostitute.

It is derived from the Sanskṛt word अर्घवती. स पशोरपि पशुः यः स्वधनेन परेषामर्घवतीं करोति वेश्याम् || स्वधनेन tanna dhanadim | परेषाम् peṛarge | अर्घवतीम् aggāyileyam | करोति māḷkum. (23-48). The word is obsolete in Kannaḍa now.

Kīlāra (18-23) — Multitude of cows.

The word comes from the Sanskṛt compound क्षीरागार and means literally a store of milk, and then a cow. It has changed its sense now, and connotes a particular bovine kind. The word 'Khilāri' is commonly used in Kannaḍa and Marāthi for this purpose. सुमहच्च गोमंडलं हिरण्याय शुल्कं च कोशवृद्धिहेतुः || *Kīlāramum* nyāyadim suṅkamgoṇḍu naḍayisuvudum bhaṇḍāram piridāgal-kāraṇam-embuḍu tātparyam (18-23).

Tavaga (29–122) — A raised platform. It is derived from the Sanskṛt word तमंग. पुरुषप्रमाणोत्सेध .. अग्रतो महामंडपावकाशं च तमंगमध्यास्य सर्वदास्थानं दधात् ॥ तमंगम् tavagamam | … (29–122). In modern Kannaḍa it is not current. It is noticed in Jagannātha–vijaya of Rudrabhaṭṭa (end of 12th century). Siṁha–sphural–langhanam–eseye *tavangakke* dhīnkiṭṭu … (6–66). Now it is to be noticed in place names located on the tops of hills, as *Tavaga* in Belgaum district.

Poṭe (26–42) — An amazon, a hermaphrodite. प्रावरणं कंबलः … परिग्रहो वोढास्त्री .. ॥ (26–42) परिग्रहः dāsi–dās–ādi–parigraham | वोढास्त्री *poṭeveṇ* …

The word appears in Tamiḷ in the same sense and in Telugu it is changed to *poṭi*. Can it be that it was taken into Sanskṛt from Dravidian languages ?

Bāḍa (7–3) — Vege–table. The Sanskṛt word वाट an enclosure, a garden, a road — is corrupted into *bāḍa*. तस्य खलु संसारसुखं यस्य कृषिर्धेनवः शाकवाटः सद्मन्युदपानं च ॥ … कृषिः ārambhamum | धेनवः pasugaḷum | शाकवाटः *bāḍina* toṭamum | … (7–3). With this sense it is obsolete in Kannaḍa. However a taddhita–dhātu formed of this word *bāḍisu* is in vogue and means chew as a condiment.

Sambaḷa (26–67) — Provision for a journey. It may have been derived from शंबल a Sanskṛt word. बहुपाथेयं मनोनुकूलः परिजनः | (26–67) बहुपाथेयम् piridappa *sambaḷamum* … (26–67). The word now means pay.

Heriga (13–1) — A spy. It is derived from हेरिक a spy. स्वपरमंडलकार्याकार्यावलोकने चाराश्चक्षूंषि क्षितिपतीनाम् ॥ अवलोकने noḷpalli | चाराः *herigar* ……… (13–1). In Marāṭhi the word हेर appears in this sense. The Kannaḍa equivalent for it is behinavan.

(C)

Asiyeṛukāṛa (24–109) — A spy. श्रूयते हि स्त्रीवेषधारी कुंतलनरेंद्रप्रयुक्तः गूढपुरुषः .. ॥ कुंतलनरेंद्रप्रयुक्तः Kuntala–deśad–arasan- aṭṭida | गूढपुरुषः *asiyeṛukāṛam* (24–109). The word cannot be traced in Tamiḷ. Can it be asi + eṛu + kāṛa one who causes slight wounds ?

Aḷkume (24–14) — Indigestion. गोसर्गे व्यायामो रसायनमन्यत्र क्षीणोऽजीर्णवृद्धवातकिरूक्षभोजिभ्यः ॥ क्षीणः śakti–gundidanum | अजीर्णः *aḷkumey–āṭanum* … (24–14) Aḷku जीर्णे (S. m. D. D. K. P. 219). The word is obsolete now.

Illame (5–85) — Absense. दुःखमप्रीतिः ॥ अप्रीतिः santasada *illame* दुःखम् duhkham–embudu (5–85). The word is rare in old Kannaḍa and obsolete now.

Uṇḍige (19–7) — Seal. नामुद्रहस्तोऽशोधितो वा दुर्गमध्ये कश्चित्प्रविशेन्निर्गच्छेद्वा ॥ अमुद्रहस्तः *uṇḍigey*–illadam … The word occurs in Nañjanagūḍu inscription No. 175

of 1168. It occurs in the same form in Malayāḷam. Telugu has *uṇḍiñcu* to place. In modern Kannaḍa the word remains in a compound *lāḷuṇḍige* 'a particular kind of lock.'

Eḍeyāṭa (24-14) — Exercise. गोसर्गे व्यायागो रसायनम् ... ॥ व्यायामः *eḍeyāṭam*.... The word is found in middle Kannaḍa but is obsolete now. In its place the word *āṭa* is freely used to convey the sense of exercise.

Eḷidike (28-67) — Derision, carelessness, indifference. अवज्ञयापि भूमावारोपित-स्तरुर्भवति वद्धमूलः ॥ अवज्ञयापि *eḷidikeyindamum* । भूमौ nelanoḷ । आरोपितः naṭṭa.... It seems the word is derived from eḍisu, eḷisu to censure, to reprove. It is obsolete now.

Ottotti (26-61) — Trouble. सकिं प्रभुर्यो न सहते परिजनसंबाधम् ॥ यः avan-orvam । परिजनसंबाधम् parigrahad-*ottottiyam*.... The word is a reduplication form of the root *ottu* to press and may mean pressing again and again. Tamiḷ and Telugu equivalents for it are *oṟṟu* to foment. The word is not current now.

Oḷagu (10-7) — Secret. पुण्यावाप्तिः शास्त्ररहस्यपरिज्ञानं सत्पुरुषाभिगम्यत्वं च विनयफलम् ॥ शास्त्ररहस्यपरिज्ञानम् śāstrad-*oḷagan*-aṟivudum... Tuḷu has an akin word *uḷagu*.

Kaḍiku (5-43) — A piece. मोहसंदेहविपर्यासव्युदासेन ज्ञानं विज्ञानम् ॥ मोह ajnānnamum । संदेह koṟaḍo puruṣano emba, cippina *kaḍiku* beḷḷiyemba | ... The word is akin to *kaḍikai* in Tamil, *kaḍi* in Malayāḷam and kaḍe in Tuḷu. It is obsolete.

Taḍasu (21-10) — To stop, to put a stop to, to hinder. Intappavam *taḍasal-āgad*-embud-uttara-vākyam : वेगव्यायामस्वाप- ... कालानोपरुंध्यात् ॥ *Taḍai* is the Tamil equivalent for it. It is not noticed in Kannaḍa literature. In modern Kannaḍa it remains in the name of a village, in Dharwar District on the border of the forest at the foot of the Western ghats, *Taḍasa*.

Taṇṇasiga (10-34) — Idle man, an indifferent man. परकार्येषु को नाम न शीतलः ॥ को नाम āvom । न शीतलः *taṇṇasiganalladom*. *Taṇṇasa* coldness, frigidity (catu. ni.). *Tannasiga* is a taddhita word derived from it.

Tīṭa (5-76) — Touch. स्पर्शरसगंधरूपशब्दा विपयाः ॥ स्पर्श tīṭamum । रस saviyum | ... Its parallel in Tamiḷ is *tiṇḍu* to touch, to infect by touching. The word has lost this sense, the present one being *itching*.

Toṭi (26-65) — Quarrel, battle, war. अप्लवस्य समुद्रा ... बलवता सह विग्रहाय टिरि-टिल्लितम् ॥ ... विग्रहाय *toḷi*-geyvudu ... Ballidara *toḷi* bed-embudu ... Kannaḍa and Telugu toḍar to fight are its relatives. Āḍa *toḷiyam* tolagisidam (P. Ram. 1-75). *Toḷiy*-āta (Cen. B. P. 10-9).

Naḍapāḍuha (24-10) — Exercise (especially walking). (Please see above Taḍasu.) व्यायाम *naḍapāḍuham.* The Kannaḍa root *naḍapu* means to walk. Its Telugu equivalent is *naḍupu* and Tamiḷ *naḍappi.* "Mugilamele naḍe-pāḍuv-ākegaḷ (P. Bhā. 7-84). Aledāṭa or aleyāṭa is the present word in that sense.

Nenavi (5-74) — Memory remembrance. यतः स्मृतिः प्रत्यवमर्षणमूहापोहनं... भवति तन्मनः ॥ यतः avudondarattaṇim । स्मृतिः nenaviyum । ..... It is akin to *ninaippu*, *ninaivu* in Tamiḷ, *ninavu* in Malayāḷam and *Nelavu* in Telugu. Pampa uses *nenasu* in that sense "kanasinoḷ kaṇḍu *nenas*-endu bagedu" (P. Bhā. 4-110 v a.). In middle Kannaḍa it is nenahu and in modern nenapu. In colloqual language it is neppu.

Paḍepu (3-42) — Gain, profit, advantage. यो देहमात्रारामः सम्यग्विद्यानौलाभेन तृष्णासरित्तरणाय योगाय यतते स यतिः ॥ ...सम्यग्विद्या samyag-jñānam-emba । नौ bahitrada । लाभेन *paḍepim....* It is derived from the Kannaḍa root *paḍe* to obtain. In Tamiḷ it has an equivalent in *paḍaippu.*

Pasavu (7-6) — Famine. तत्र सदैव दुर्भिक्षं यत्र राजा विसाधयति ॥ तत्र alli । सदैव ellā kālamum । दुर्भिक्षम् pasavu | ... The word occurs in the form of *hasagāla* in Belūr inscription No. 137 of 1182, "Hasa-gāladoḷam salisuva."

Bayke (16-9) — Deposit. प्रत्युपकर्तुरुपकारः सवृद्धिकोऽर्थन्यास इव ॥ सवृद्धिकः baḍḍi-verasida । अर्थस्य arthada । न्यास इव *baykey*-ante. The word appears in Sikārapur inscription No. 111 of 1096 "Maḍagida *bayke.*" The word is derived from the root '*bay*' to deposit. The word *baytiḍu* another derivative of the same root is common in old literature. It is changed into *bacciḍu* in modern Kannaḍa. Its Tamiḷ equivalent is '*vai*' Malayalam '*ve,*' and Telugu '*ve,*'

Mandevāḷa (17-35) — Intimacy. सहपांसुक्रीडितोऽमात्योऽतिपरिचयात्स्वयमेव राजायते ॥ अमात्यः pergaḍey-ādoḍe । अतिपरिचयात् mandevāḷadim | ... Telugu equivalent is mandemela.

Muṛavu (29-121) A particle. धूमाग्निरजो विषाणध्वनिव्याजेन...परबलान्यागच्छंति निवेदयेयुः ॥ धूम pogeyum । अग्नि kiccum । रजः muṛavum | ... The word cannot be traced in literature. It remains in spoken language in the sense of chaff, husk etc. (emmege muṛaviḍu).

Mosani (26-40) — Harlot, prostitute. महान्धनव्ययस्तदिच्छानुवर्तनं दैन्यं चार्घवतीषु ॥ Mosani-geyvaroḷ piridapp-artha-vyayam-allade tannicche salvud-all-embudu tātparyam. The word seems to be very peculiar in as much as it cannot be traced in Kannaḍa literature of any time. Nor it is current in colloqual language. Can it be that it has come from *mosa* which in that case may mean a deceitful woman ?

Sivaḷige-guttu (10-3) Cholera. अमानुषोऽग्निरवर्षमतिवर्षं मरको दुर्भिक्षं क्षोभश्चेत्यापदः ॥... अतिवर्षम् bhuri maḷeyum । मरकः *sivaḷige. guttamum* दुर्भिक्षम् pasavum । ... The word cannot be traced either in literature or in inscriptions. It may have been current in that locality in which our author lived. Neither can it be traced in colloqual language. However *Maraka* appears in spoken language as *Maragi*, *Muragi*, *Maragavve*.

The other important words are : puṭṭuge, Baḷinīr, biccatike, māṛuge, miḍiha, sūnegāṛa and sūruḷ.

(D)

Kaivāra (9-6) — Selfishness, partiality, partisanship. सर्वपक्षपातेषु स्वदेशपक्षपातो बलीयान् ॥ स्वदेशपक्षपातः tanna nāḍa *kaivāram* । बलीयान् ballittu. *Kaivāra* also means praise. Kaivāri occurs in Marathi in the sense of 'supporter.'

Potta (27-16) — Purse. नीवीन्यासेषु विवादः .. ॥ नीवीन्यासेषु *pottada* baykegaḷoḷ । विवादः vyājyam | ... In Tamiḷ *potti* means 'garment' and in Telugu a 'coat.' In Maraṭhi it means a 'bag.'

Baḷkuḍi (9-49) — Agitated, confused. मंत्रकाले विगृह्यवादः...न कर्तव्यः ॥ विगृह्यवादः *baḷkudi* mātum | ... The word appears to have been formed of two words baḷku + uḍi meaning 'be tremulous and break.' It is not noticed in literature or in spoken language. But Marāṭhi contains the word bakheḍa 'a quarrel.'

Modal (20-3) — The initial sum, capital. कोशं वर्धयन्नुत्पन्नमर्थमुपयुंजीत ॥ *Modal-giḍalīyade* vartisuvud-embudu tātparyam. It is used in the form of '*muddala*' in Marāṭhi.

Randavaṇiga (13-23) — A cook. विचित्रभक्षप्रणेतारालिकः ॥ आरालिकः ārālikan-embom *randavaṇigam.* The taddhita termination vaṇiga gives it an appearance of a Dravidian word. It has not been possible to trace it in Dravidian languages. But in Marāṭhi there is the root 'randhaṇe' to cook.

Other important words are : Ubbarisu, ollaṇige.

It will be worth-while to give currency to some of the words in C group which the language needs.

SACRED PLACENAMES OF TAMILNAD

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Sacred Places

The Tamil country has been from the remotest ages subject to the dominant influence of religion. This is reflected in the familiar Tamil proverb which enjoins people not to dwell in a place which is devoid of a temple dedicated to God. Several villages and towns have come into existence around celebrated temples and it is significant that the principal streets in almost every village or town are the car streets along which the temple deity is taken in ceremonious procession during festivals.

In ancient times trees and groves were cherished as the dwelling places of Divinity. Lord Siva was seated under a Banyan tree when He taught the objectives of life to his devout disciples. The Son-God, Muruga, loves to dwell in Kadamba groves and the popular deity known as Pillaiyar (Gaṇesa) is seated under the pipal tree. Some of the illustrious saints and seers of the Tamil land have attained self-realisation at the foot of trees. Manikkavacagar, the saintly author of the Tiruvacakam felt the presence of Lord Śiva under the Kurundu tree and Nammāḷvar, the greatest of the Vaiṣṇava saints attained spiritual glory under a Tamarind tree.

K A (KAVAL).

The names of some of the ancient fanes of the Tamil land seem to show that the fragrant bowers and shady groves served as places of worship in the olden days. The Tevaram speaks of the Jasmine fane, (*Kokudi-k-koyil*), the Oleandar fane, (*Karaviram*), the Banyan fane, (*Alakkoyil*), the floral fane (*Pūngoyil*) and so forth.

The classical name for the sacred groves was *Ka* or *Kavu* a suffix now corrupted into Kaval. Tiruvanaikkaval, on the bank of the Kaveri near Śrirangam was originally an elephant grove. Tirukodi kaval is a grove in the vicinity of Tiruvidaimarudur, (Tanjore District). The luxuriant grove near Sirkali (Shiyali) where Saint Sambandar sang the glory of the Lord is Kolakka, Tirunellikkaval, the sacred grove of *Nelli* is another ancient shrine honoured in his hymns. Kurakkukkā, the monkey-grove, is the abode of Siva, five miles northwest of Vaidiswaran koyil (Tanjore District). Even in the desert the heroic goddess Korravai was propitiated in groves.

KOYIL.

The most Common term denoting the temple is Koyil. Koyil or Kovil, literally means 'the residence of the Lord.' Placenames having the termination of Koyil or Kovil have undoubted religious associations. In the sacred parlance of Saivism and Vaisnavism, Cidambaram and Śrirangam or denoted by the term '*KOYIL*' as these constitute the holiest of fanes in the respective faiths.

There are several placenames having the termination Koyil. Sankaranainar Koyil or shortly Sankaran koyil in Tinnevelly, is, as the name indicates, the temple of Lord Śankara. It has given its name to the town where it is situate. The Goddess Gomati, whose devout penance is said to have caused the manifestation of the Lord's Grace at the spot, commands the special adoration of the devotees, and the sacred dust of the temple styled *Purrumarundu* is cherished as the panacea for the ills of the human body. It is possible that the anthill was the original spot-divine out of which the present temple has grown.

Avidayar Koyil (Avadayar Koyil) about eight miles south of Arantangi owes its name to the ancient Siva temple which 'though small is considered to be one of the most perfect specimens of its class in Southern India.' Avidaiyar Koyil means the temple dedicated to the Lord of the Sacred Bull. Tradition has it that Manikkavacagar, the saintly minister of the Pandya king founded this temple at the spot where the Lord revealed Himself unto him. A stone representation of the Kuruntu tree under which he was initiated by Siva into the mysteries of the Saivite religion and the equestarian figure of Siva in the outer mantapam of the temple are supposed to testify to the foundation of the shrine by the saint.

Vaidiswaran Kovil in the Tanjore district was originally known as Pullirukkuvelur. The eagle kings Jatayu and Sampati are traditionally associated with this shrine. In the Tevaram pertaining to this temple, St. Appar refers to the Lord as 'one capable of eradicating incurable ills.' These sacred words were perhaps responsible for the popular name Vinai-tirttan-koyil, by which the temple is still known in the locality. Vaidiswaran, the Sanskrit equivalent, of the popular name, has however gained wide currency and hence it has become the name of the village.

The Tevaram mentions different kinds of koyil, e. g, Madakkoyil, Ilangoyil, Perungoyil, etc. The Chola king Koccenganan is said to have been a remarkable temple-builder. By him, about seventy temples known as Māḍakkoyil were dedicated to Śiva. The temple at Ambar on the river Arisil, Pennakadam, Nannilam, and Kudavayil are styled Perungoyil. Temples known as Ilangoyil were at Kadambur and Miyaccur near Peralam.

PALLI.

The termination Paḷḷi in the names of places is sometimes indicative of their religious importance. Tirukkattu-p-palli, for instance, is the name of two

Saivite shrines ... one near Tiruvenkadu and the other on the southern bank of river Kaduvay (Kudamurutti). In course of time the former assumed the Sanskrit name Aranisurar Koyil, the temple of the ' Lord of the jungle,' and the latter retains the original name.

On the bank of the Kaveri, near the Ayyampet Railway Station there is a village called Cakkarappalli. Tradition has it that Viṣṇu was gifted with a disc (cakkaram) by Siva at this spot. The epigraphical name of it is Alanturai.

Cembon palli, the golden temple, was the ancient name of a Saiva shrine seven miles east of Mayavaram. The present name of the place is Cembonar Koyil. Agattiyam palli near Vedaranyam is associated in legend with saint Agastiya and Tiru-cirappalli with Trisira, the three-headed warrior of Lanka. A Vaisnavite shrine known as Parttan palli is seven miles south east of Shiyali.

PALI.

The Jaina temple is generally called Pali in the Tamil country. An inscription at Maruttuvakkudi mentions two great Jaina temples (Perumbali) Janardanapuram. Among the shrines mentioned in the Tevaram, one is known as Arataiperumbali, the present Arittuvara Mangalam in the Papanasam taluq.

ICCARAM.

Another termination commonly found in sacred placenames is Iccaram, a Sanskrit tadbhava, which signifies ' the abode of Siva '.

The temple of Siva at Kaviripumpattinam founded by a Pallava king was styled Pallavan-iccaram. Another Siva temple which probably owed its origin to a king or prince of the Nāga tribe is known as Tirunakeccaram, and so forth.

Sometimes the name of the celebrity who inaugurated the worship of the shrine is associated with it. The Pallava king who renounced the Jaina religion at the instance of Saint Appar is said to have demolished the Pāḷis at Pataliputra and constructed a temple for Śiva at Tiruvatikai which he called Gunadara-viccaram. Gunadara or Ganapara was one of the surnames of the king.

The great temple at Tanjore dedicated to Śiva is known as Rājarājeccaram. It is a visible symbol of Rājarāja's intense religious zeal. Tradition has it that Karuvur Tevar, a great Siddha helped the king in installing the image in the temple, and his devout songs in praise of it are included in the collection of sacred verses.

The ancient temple at Darasuram is also said to have been brought into existence by Rājarāja. The original name of the shrine was Rājarājeccaram or Rājarājeśwaram, which became Rarasuram, perhaps by the operation of the law of haplology. The change of Rarasuram into Darasuram may be due to dissimilation, Rājendra Chola, the son and successor of Rājarāja erected the temple of Gangaikonda-Cholaccaram in the principal city which was named after him.

Other temple names bearing the suffix iccaram are Ramaccaram in Ràmnad, Mukkiccaram at Uraiyur, Gaṇapaticcaram at Naraiyur, Kapaliccaram at Mylapore, Pasupaticcaram at Avur and Karuvur, Varttamaniccaram at Pukalur etc.

VINNAGAR.

Just as the temple of Iśvara (Śiva) is styled Iccaram, the fane of Viṣṇu is known as Viṇṇagar. The Pallava kink Mahendravarman founded a temple for Viṣṇu at Mahendravadi and named it Mahendravinnagar. Similarly the Visnu temple at Nandipuram was known as Nandipuravinnagaram. Parameccara vinnagaram at Conjeevaram is considered to have been constructed or renovated by the Pallava king Parameśwara.

The influence of religion in the Tamilakam can also be understood by the incorporation of the names of the deities in placenames. Sivantiram is the correct name of the famous place known as Suchindram near Cape Comorin, Sivagiri, Sivagangai (Ramnad), Sivakasi (Ramnad), Sivapuram, Sivapuri near Chidambaram, are placenames having the name of the Lord Śiva.

Tirumāl is the classical name for Viṣṇu in Tamil. His name is associated with ancient places mentioned in the Tamil hymns. Tirumalperu of the Tevaram is identical with Tirumalpuram in the Chingleput District. Tirumal-irunjolai honoured by the songs of the Vaisnava saints was perhaps an extensive grove in which Viṣṇu was worshipped. The epigraphical name of Sivalaperi situated at the confluence of the Tampraparni and the Chittranadi is Ten-tiru-mal irunjolai.

Kannan, the popular name for Viṣṇu in the Tamil country is found as an ingredient in some placenames. Although several shrines connected with Kannan have been sung by Vaiṣṇava saints, special sanctity is attached to *five* of them known as 'Panca Kriṣṇa Kṣetra Tirukkannapuram,' four miles east of Nannilam (Tanjore district) is one of them and it has been honoured by the hymns of five Vaiṣṇava saints. Tirukkannan kudi, near Nagapatam, Tirukanna mangai near Tiruvarur are among the select five. Kannamangalam is the name of a place in Arni taluk, (North Arcot district).

MANNAR.

Some of the incarnations of Viṣṇu have been cherished in placenames Ramanatapuram (Ramnad) is associated with *Rāma* avataram and Singa-velkunram, 'the hill of the lovely lion,' in the Cuddappah district is obviously called after the manlion incarnation of Mahāviṣṇu. Singaperumal koyil, (Chingleput Dt.) Narasamangalam, a curruption of Narasingamangalam, and Narasingapuram (Chingleput Dt.) also owe their names to this incarnation.

Srimusnam in South Arcot which is famous for the temple dedicated to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu originally consisted of two parts. The portion in which the Viṣṇu temple is situated was called Ādivarāhanallur and the portion where the Śiva temple stands was known as Mudikondachola-nallur. The deity in the Śiva temple is referred to in inscriptions as Tirumuttam Udaiyar, the Lord of Tirumuttam. The increasing popularity of the Viṣṇu temple is perhaps responsible for the neglected state in which the Śiva temple is found today.

Tirunakeccaram, three miles to the east of Kumbakonam, is noted for two important shrines, one dedicated to Śiva and the other to Viṣṇu. The latter is known in inscriptions as Tiruvinnagar, and the former as Tirunakeccaram. The name of tbe village therefore was Tiruvinnagar-tineswaram. In course of time, however, the first part of the long compound was dropped probably for the sake of convenience and Tirunakeccaram has become the name of the village.

MURUGA.

One of the popular deities of the Tamils is Muruga whose exploits are as much a source of inspiration and delight to the people as his romance with the lovely maiden of the hill. His memorable victory over a mighty Asura king forms the theme of an epic poem devoutly cherished by the Śaivite world. Every hill of the Tamil land is dedicated to him.

Murugan bears several names, of which some are now found only in the ancient poems and placenames. For instance, the classical names Vel, Cey and Cendan are associated with placenames of antiquity. *Velur*, near Negapatam, in the Tanjore district, is called Kilvelur (Velur East). Besides this there are two places Ciruvelur and Peruvelur in the same district. Pulirukkuvelur is yet another Velur.

It is remarkable that although some of these placenames have since been substituted by others, the old religious associations continue to exist. At Pullirukkuvelur, now called Vaidiswaran-kovil the son-god Muthukumaran still continues to receive the special adoration of the votaries.

Another Velur famous in the songs of Avvaiyar is Pulvelur in the Tiruttani taluq (Chittoor District). Vellur is a variant for Velur and villages bearing this name are found in the Tiruchendur Taluk (Tinnelvelly Dt.).

The village which now goes by the name of Chenganur in Kumbakonam (Tanjore Dt.) is an ancient place. Chenganur is a corruption of Ceynallur. According to tradition it was the spot selected by the Son-god for offering his devout prayers to the Lord. It was in ancient times one of the five coronation cities of the Chola kings. In the world of religion it is cherised as the birth place of Chaṇḍeśwara one of the illustrious Śaiva saints.

Another village associated with Muruga is Ceyur, in the Coimbatore District, and Cheyyur, a corruption of Ceyur, is the name of a place near Madurantakam, (Chingleput Dt.).

The classical name Cendan is found in Cendamangalam in the Karur taluq (Trichinopoly Dt.). Murugan appears as a prefix in Murugan-kuricci (Tinnevelly Dt.), Murugamangalam (North Arcot Dt.) and Tirumurganpundi (Coimbatore Dt.).

Arumugam, the six-faced god, is another name for Murugan. It appears as a prefix in Arumugan-eri and Arumuga-mangalam in the Tiruchendur Taluq (Tinnevelly Dt.).

Kandan, Kumaran, Kadamban, Kangeyan, Shanmugam and Subrahmanian are the other names of this deity. *Kandan-kudi* is a village near Peralam (Tanjore Dt.). Kumaran is the first part of the placename *Kumaramungalam*. *Kadamban-turai* (now Kadambar-koyil) is a village in the Chingleput District. Kangeyam in Coimbatore, and Kanganur in North Arcot, which is a corruption of Kangeya-nallur, are associated with Kangeyan, another name of Muruga.

The consort of Murugan, Valli, has given her name to Valliyur in the Tirunelvely district, and Vallimalai in North Arcot District and so forth.

Gaṇapati is another popular deity of the Tamil country. His Grace is sought for the successful termination of every undertaking. Naturally his name is associated with villages and towns. Ganapatimedu (North Arcot), Gaṇapati Nallur (Salem), Ganapati Nagar (Tanjore) are named after this Son-god. Pillayar, the Tamil name of this deity is found in Pillayar kulam (Tirunelveli.)

The Tamil name Pillaiyar, in which 'ar' is an honorofic suffix signifies 'Son-god'. It is significant that this name is conspicuously absent in the early Tamil Literature. On the other hand, there are numerous references to Murugan, the Son-god, and one of the ten poems in the collection called Pattuppattu has been exclusively devoted to Him. The earliest mention of Ganapati, the Sanskrit name of Pillaiyar, is perhaps made in the Tevara hymns and it is noteworthy that the hymn in which the name occurs is the opening song in the orthodox recital of the Tevaram. Since the days of the Tevaram, (7th Century A. D.) the worship of Ganapati has become country-wide and His image is found on the banks of rivers and tanks, under every pipal tree, at street corners, in short, everywhere. It is a literary convention evidently set up by the Saivite writers of the medieval times to invoke the blessings of this deity in the opening verse of every work.

Baladeva, the brother of Krishna, was one of the deities worshipped in the ancient days. His temple is known as Vallai nagaram in Silappadhikaram. Vellai koyil in the Coimbatore district perhaps denotes the village where there was a temple dedicated to Vellai, the white deity. Another Vellai Koyil is a village near Palamcottah (Tirunelvely).

SUN.

Of the elements the Sun and the Moon were propitiated by the installation of their images in temples. In the ancient city of Pukar there was a koṭṭam dedicated to the Sun. The sacred hymns of Tevaram pertaining to a shrine called Pariti niyamam in Tanjore Dt. testify to the existence of a temple for Pairiti the Sun-god. The Lord of the shrine was perhaps known as Paiti appar, a name which has been corrupted as Parutti appar. Another temple dedicated to the Sun bears the name Suriyanar koyil near Tiruvidaimarudur (Tanjore). The central shrine where the image of the Sun is installed faces the west. The temple is said to have been built by Kulottunga I.

The classical name for the Moon, Tingal, is perhaps associated with Tingalur (Tanjore), the birth place of Saint Appudi, a Saiva saint.

The Puranic names of the celestial regions are sometimes adopted as placenames. Kailāsapuram and Srivaikuntam (Tirunelvely) are redolent of celestial residences. *Velliyangiri*, the silvery hill of Siva, is the name of a village in the Coimbatore district. Similarly, Tiru-parkadal, 'the ocean of milk' where Viṣṇu is said to slumber is the name of a village in the Walajah Taluq (North Arcot) Pon-Amaravati in the Ramanad District and elsewhere, bears the name of the golden city of Indra, the king of the celestials.

Pāpanāsam, at the foot of the Pothiya hills (Tirunelvely) is a pious name which perhaps originated in the bilief that the Tāmraparṇi which descends on the plains here, washes away the sins of the mortals. There is another Pāpanāsam in Tanjore.

Dharmapuran, (Tanjore) and *Sharmapuri* (Salem) denote perhaps the special religious merit that pertained to them in the ancient days. The former is the seat of a great mutt which promotes the cause of the Saivite religion and South Indian Culture. The latter was originally known as Takadur. It was a great city in the days of Atikaman. The military expedition undertaken by a Chera king against this fortified city is the theme of a classical poem entitled "Takadur Yattirai."

A large number of placenames of the Tamil country has the prefix Tiru permanently attached to them. It is generally believed that the holy places honoured by the hymns of the Saivite and Vaisnavite saints attained this distinction.

Tiru has become an integral part of the placenames in most cases. In fact in several instances the original names have been reduced to insignificant syllables by the process of attrition. Trichinopoly was originally known as Cirappalli. But in the modern contraction Tirucci (Trichy) the prefix Tiru is kept intact and the primitive name of the place is reduced to a single syllable. Near Trichinopoly there is a sacred place known as Tiruvasi, a corruption of Tirupaccil. The modern placename contains only Vasi besides the prefix.

In some cases 'Tiru' has lost its identity in the process of assimilation. Tirunilakudi has changed into Tennalkudi. Tiruneyttanam has become Tillaittanam, perhaps due to the popular desire of investing the place with the sanctity associated with Tillai (Chidambaram).

The popular tendency to enhance the spiritual merit of ancient places by exploiting initial corruptions of their names may be traced in Teralundur and Tirttanagari. The former is a corruption of *Tiru alundur* and the change of *Tíru* into *Ter* has given rise to the legend of the aeral coach. The latter is known as Tiru-tinai-nagar, 'the sacred city of millet' in the Tevaram. Tirutinai has become tirtta which perhaps forms the basis of a myth regarding the miraculous properties of its holy waters.

The holy places of Vaiśnavism have in certain cases taken the Sanskrit prefix *Śri.* Śrivaikuntam is a celebrated Vaiśnavite centre in Tirunelvely. Śrivilliputtur is the venerated birth place of Periyalwar and Andal. Śrirangam is the present name of the islet which contains the great temple of Viṣṇu, although the ancient Alwars preferred to call it Tiruvarangam. Sir Musnam in South Arcot is perhaps the Sanskrit equivalent of Tirumuttam. And Śriperumbudur is the birth place of the great philosopher Rāmānuja.

Among the shrines held sacred by the Saivites there are one or two places which may be considered to have Śri as the prefix. Cikali has the prefix Sti or its corruption Si.

It is the birth place of Saint Sambandar, the greatest of the Śaiva saints and hence held in the highest respect. Orthodox Śaivite opinion considers, however, that the prefix in the placename is a corruption of Cir, a Tamil word which connotes celebrity. The expression 'Cir tikal kali' which occurs in a song of Saint Sambandar is perhaps deemed to justify this opinion. Tiruvanjiyam is now known as Sri Vanjiyam.

The popularity of the great epics, the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, among the Tamils is attested by the placenames of the Tamil country. Rameswaram and Ramanadapuram (Ramnad) are associated with Rama. Hanumanthakudi in the Ramnad district evidently bears the name of Hanuman, the ambassador and devotee of Rama. Popular imagination has discovered the the exploits of this hero of the monkey race in Manamadurai which is assumed to be a corruption of Varana-viran-madurai. Tiruccirappalli, the classical name of Trichinopoly, is ingeniously twisted into Tirisirappalli in order that it may sustain the legend of Trisira, the three-headed warrior of Lanka. Today the elegant name for Trichinopoly in the literary world is Tirisirapuram. Karuvur got the name Karapuram as it was supposed to be connected with Kara, another hero of Lankā. Pious tradition associated with Pullirukkuvelur, the eagle king Jaṭāyu, who lost his life in defence of Sita and this tradition embodied into the Tevaram pertaining to Pullirukkuvelur (Vaidiswaran Kovil) has given rise to a number of legends. Pundanallur, in the vicinity of Vaidiswaran kovil, is considered to be a corruption of Puvilunda nallur ... a term which is supposed to indicate the spot where a flower slipped down from the garland of Sīta when she was in the grips of Rāvaṇa. Another village Cirandanallur, close by, is said to be the contraction of Cirakilanda nallur the spot where the eagle-king who resisted Rāvaṇa was clipped of his mighty wings. Sambāti, the brother of Jatāyu, is associated with Sambati nallur in the Madurantakam taluq, (Chingleput Dt.).

Mayamankuricci (Tirunelveli) and Mayaman-karadu (Salem) are connected with Mārīca who at the instance of Ravana assumed the form of an alluring stag to delude Sita. Manur near Tinnevelly is also invested with the legend of Mārīca.

Vāli, the king of the Vānaras, is associated with several places in the Tamil country. Valikandapuram, Valinokkam, are obviously named after him. Kurangadu-turai on the northern bank of the Kaveri is said to have derived its name from this monkey chief, while another Kurangaduturai on the southern bank of the river is connected with his brother Sugrīva.

The spot where Rama stretched himself on wild grass praying to the sea-god for a passage across the sea is known as Tiruppullani, said to be a variant of Tiruppullani, the Sanskrit equivalent of which is Dharbhasayanam. And Dhanuskodi is deemed to be the place where Rama bent his bow at the seagod who was slow to answer his prayers. The dam which the monkeys constructed across the sea is known as Setu and on account of the celebrity of the dam, the district of Ramnas is called sometimes Setunadu, and the rulers thereof Setukavalar. In the Ramnad District there are placenames having the prefix Setu.

The story of the Pāṇḍavas is cherished with no less fervour. The pedigree of the Pandya kings of the south is affiliated to the Pāṇḍavas, who in consequence have got the title of Pancavar. A Chera king has obtained immortal glory by the magnificent act of giving a sumptuous feed to the Pāṇḍava army engaged in the righteous war against Duryodhana. Tradition asserts that Arjuna visited the court of the Pandya king in the course of his southern pilgrimage, fell in love with the princess of the royal family and eventually married her. Many a hill of the Tamil country is associated with the Pandavas. The history of Pancapandava malai near Palani is interesting. The hill was originally known as Ayirai. On the top of the hill there was a temple dedicated to the war goddess, Korravai. The ancient kings used to propitiate this goddess before undertaking an expedition. In course of time Ayirai was corrupted into Aivar and Aivar malai was interpreted as 'the hill of the five.' The five were identified with Pancapāṇḍavas and the ancient goddess was made to play the role of Pāncāli, their devoted wife.

The monolithic temples on the seashore of Mahabalipuram are popularly called Pancapanda ratham, and a sculptural representation in the Shore-temple goes by the name of 'Arjuna's penance.'

Tiru-vet kalam near Chidambaram is said to be the place where Arjuna the prince of archers performed a great penance and obtained from Lord Śiva the great weapon called Pāṣupatam.

The fort which stands on Pulikal (Hulikal) 'the tiger hill' in the Nilgiris is called by the Badagas, Pākāsura kottai. According to the local legend it is connected with the demon Bhakasura who daily exacted from the surrounding villages a car load of provisions, which he devoured along with the driver of the cart. Bhīma, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers happened one day to be near the place and offered to take up the usual cart load of food. Getting hungry on the way he ate the provisions himself. The demon was furious and attacked Bhīma. In the terrible fight that followed the demon was done to death.

The small granite hills of Madura contain smooth rectangular spaces which are popularly connected with Panca Pāṇḍavas. Near Karungalakudi eight miles north of Melur there is a natural shelter formed by an overhanging rock, which is called Pancha Pāṇḍava Padukai, 'the bed of the five Pandavas.'

Ladapuram, nine miles west of Perambalur, is associated with the Pāṇḍavas in exile. The name of the place is said to be a corruption of Virāṭa-puram and it is explained that the town belonged to the king Virāta in whose country (according to Mahābhārata) the Pāṇḍavas lived in disguise for a year before the battle of Kurukshetra. A ruined camp the shape of which can only be indistinctly traced is pointed out in confirmation of the story. It is generally believed that the Kuruba shepherds wandering in the neighbouring hill have every now and then seen the bow of Arjuna rise from the ground and return into the earth with a clash of metal.

Agastya has obtained an abiding place in the mythology of the Tamil land. His eternal abode is the Pothiya hill on the Western Ghats, which is on that account held in high veneration as the Tamil hill. Poets, ancient and modern, have vied with one another in paying their tribute of gratitude to this hoary saint. Every great achievement of the ancient Tamils in arts, science and religion is attributed to him. He is said to have saved the land from the Asura peril by ravishing the cars of Rāvaṇa wifh lyric songs.

Several places in the Tamil land are connected with the life and activities of this saint. Agattiyampalli, for instance, near Vedaranyam, is said to be the shrine where he offered his devout prayers to have a sight of the wedded beauty of the Lord.

" It is one of the most remarkable achievements of medieval Hinduism to have harnessed the religious emotions of man in the effective service of society. The temple and the Mutt flourishing on dāna (gifts) together with the agrahāra, the Caturvedimangalam of the Chola inscriptions are most typical expressions of this phase of South Indian religion." The Devadāna, Brahmadeya and Salaboga are the main kinds of gifts.

Of these Devadāna, as the name indicates, is a gift to God and the lands dedicated to the deity were often indicated by means of boundary stones bearing its emblems. Villages bearing the name Devadānam are found in almost every district. Devadānapatti is a village seven miles east of Periyakulam (Ramnad). Sivayam Devadānam five miles south of Kulittalai (Trichinopoly) is possibly a gift of Rājarāja the great, as the first part of the name is a corruption of Śivapadasekharan, one of his surnames.

A gift of land to a religious institution for the performance of a specific festival or ceremony is known as Kattalai and some of the placenames bearing this suffix are expressive of the objects of the endowment, e. g. Munram Kattalai (Chingleput); Sukkiravara-k-kattalai (Tanjore), Periya Kattalai (Madura), and Pillayan Kattalai (Tirunelvely).

Besides Devadānam, there are other denominations of dāna such as Mahādāna, Uttamadāna, Dharmadāna, etc. e. g. Mahādānapuram in Kumbakonam (Tanjore), Mahādānam in Negapatam (Tanjore) and Mahādānapuram in Kulitalai (Trichinopoly). Uttamadāna is in Kumbakonam (Tanjore) and Uttamadānapuram in Pāpanāsam (Tanjore). Dharmadānapuram and Annadānapuram are in Mayavaram (Tanjore). These denote other kinds of gifts.

Salabogam is the endowment of land for the maintenance of rest houses and choultries. A village in Pāpanāsam (Tanjore) is called Salabogam. The Sanskrit term Chattiram and its Tamil equivalent Viduti are found among the placename terminations. Pavur Chattiram (Tirunelvely), Amma Chattiram (Trichinopoly), Chetti Chattiram (Tanjore). The Tamil termination Viduti occurs in Pala Viduti (Trichinopoly), Chenniya Viduti (Tanjore).

In popular parlance Chattiram and Chavadi go together, Chattiracchavadi (Coimbatore), Chetti chavadi (Salem) Kurumban Chavadi (Trichinopoly) are instances of placenames having this termination.

The austere lives of the high-souled men who lived in hermitages known as Matam attracted munificent gifts from princes and people alike. The matams (Mutts) of the Śaiva monks at Tiruvavaduturai (Tiruvaduturai), Tarumapuram (Dharmapuram), and Tiruppanandal are holy institutions intended to promote the cause of religion and culture. Isana matam attached to the Tiruvavaduturai mutt is the name of a village in Tirunelvely. Andimatam in Trichinopoly, Andar matam in Chingleput, Palli matam in Ramnad, and Siddilinga matam in South Arcot owe their origin to the pious instinct of the people.

Brahmadesam, evidently a Brahminic village, is found in every part of the Tamil country. There is epigraphical evidence regarding the creation of some of them. Chembiyan mahādevi, the mother of Uttama Chola, is said to have founded a village of Chembiyan-mahādevi in Tanjore as a Brahmadeya and built therein the temple of Kailāsamudaiyar (485 of 1925). Brahmadesam in North Arcot is mentioned in an inscription of the fifth year of Rajendra Chola as Karikottu-p-piramadiyam alias Parakarama Chola Chaturvedimangalam (243 of 1915). Probably this Brahmadesam owes its origin to Rājarāja one of whose surnames was Parākrama Chola.

Another kind of inām granted to learned Brahmins either rent-free or at a low rent is Pattavirutti which has become a placename. In Māyāvaram (Tanjore) there are two places Pattaviruttti and Pattamangalam. Pattavirutti Ayyampalaiyam is in coimbatore.

The inscriptions of the great Tamil kings record the creation of numerous Caturvedi mangalams, evidently granted to Brahmins well versed in the four vedas. Cholavandan, near Madura, is Cholakulāntaka Caturvedimangalam. Vijayanārāyaṇam in Tirunelveli is Vijayanārāyaṇa Caturvedimangalam. Kandiratittan in Trichinopoly is Kandiratitta Caturvedimangalam and Peruvalandan in Pattukkottai (Tanjore) is Peruvalvu-tanta-perumal caturvedi-mangalam.

Several ancient places were renamed after the royal personages who were responsible for the creation of Caturvedi mangalams. For instance, Alambakkam in Trichinopoly was called Dantivarma Mangalam in the Pallava times, after the king Dantivarman, but in the days of the Imperial Cholas it came to be called Maturāntaka Caturvedi mangalam. Pundamalli near Madras was known as Cherapandiya Caturvedimangalam. Kalavai in North Arcot assumed the name of Ulakalanda-Chola-Caturvedimangalam and Urmur (Erumbur) in the northern bank of the Coleroon was styled Vikrama Chola Caturvedimangalam.

Some of the Caturvedimangalams are associated with the names of queens and princesses of royal families. Shermadevi in Tinnevelly in Cheran-Mahādevi-Caturvedimaṅgalam. Tirubhuvani in Pondicherry is a contraction of Tirubuvana-mahādevi-Caturvedimangalam.

There are many villages in the Tamil country going by the name of Akaram, which is considered to be an abbreviation of Agrahāram. It also occurs as a placename termination e. g. Kottakaram (North Arcot). Puutakaram, (South Arcot), Kattakaram (Trichinopoly), Palliakaram (Chingleput), Melakaram (Tirunelveli). Agrahāram itself is the name of a place in Tirupattur (North Arcot). Agrahārapalayam is in Arnio (North Arcot).

TELUGU PROSE CONTENT IN THE CHODA AND REDDY INSCRIPTIONS

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A linguistic study of Dravidian languages has been attempted time and again by scholars of repute. Thanks to the efforts of linguists like Bishop Caldwell and Kaḷāprapurna G. V. Ramamurthy our knowledge of the subject has advanced. Since their time language professors in the colleges and the Universities have undertaken philological researches and are working for the furtherence of these linguistic studies.

In this paper I shall endeavour to offer a few observations about the Telugu Prose content in the Choda and Reddy inscriptions.

The earliest Telugu Prose Inscription* available belongs to the Choda dynasty. It can be said that this dynasty is responsible for the growth of pure prose inscriptions in Telugu. We cannot exactly say to what branch of the Chodas does the donor of the First Telugu Prose Inscription belongs since there is no evidence in the inscription to this fact. But there should not be any doubt that the donor belongs to Chodas, since almost all the Choda Chiefs were patrons of letters. To elucidate this a short history of the Choda chiefs is not out of place. The first branch namely the Velnati Chodas who ruled over the country of Velnadu in Guntur district over a hundred years encouraged poets like Manchana author of Keyūrabāhucharitra. The Telugu Chodas ruled from Nellore and were responsible for the development of Telugu Literature in the thirteenth century. Thikkana the greatest of the Telugu poets was the Minister of Manumasiddhi. The Renati Chodas, who ruled over Renadu which is identified with† "the black soil country which roughly included large portions of the modern districts of Cuddappah and Kurnool along with the valley of Kunderu river", the Kammanati Chodas who ruled from Kondena of the present Narsaraopet taluk, Guntur district, and the Pottapi Chodas who ruled from Pottapi a village in Pullempet taluq, Cuddupah district, have also encouraged Telugu literature.‡

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* Miscellany of papers presented to Rao Saheb G. V. Ramamurty Pantulu Garu on his 70th Birthday.

† E. I. Vol. XI.

‡ All the facts mentioned about Choda chiefs in this paper are from "Choda chiefs and some of their Telugu prose inscriptions" paper published by me in the J. A. H. R. Vol. XIX Pts. 23 and 40.

The Potladurthy Malepadu Inscription edited by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma belongs to a Choda king of the 7th century A. D. According to him this is the earliest Telugu Inscription available. We can agree with the Editor.* This inscription registers a gift of land to a Brahmin and it is stated that if anybody spoils the gift he will incur sin.

The language of the Inscription has nothing in common with the present-day Telugu. I wish to add to what has already been said that "Revanakalu" and "Puddanakalu" the names of the donors possibly are derived from the Sanskrit words "Ramaṇa" which means all love and "Buddhana" which means all wisdom.

The Satyāditya Chola Inscription edited by H. Krishnasastry was ascribed to 9th century. The language is somewhat ununderstandable. It contains forms such as "kodukul". The 'kul' of the kodukul is a Dravidian suffix which is the origin of the Telugu plural nominative suffix "lu". It was accepted by all the Dravidian scholars that 'kal' was existing as a suffix denoting plural number in the primitive Dravidian family.† This Inscription registers a gift made by the Chola king to a member of the Kasyapagothra. It also mentions that one who tampers with the charity will incur sin.

The Bhavanārāyaṇaswāmi temple Inscription of Kommana edited by Mr. M. S. Sarma‡ registers a gift of Kommana for the merit of his father Govindamatya and his mother Ketasani. The donor Kommana Manthri was the minister of Gonka II. He was one of the ablest ministers of Velnadu chiefs. Kommana's father Govindamatya also was very famous for his political skill. This Inscription also tells us that the Gonkas are the Mahāmaṇḍaleswarlu and their minister Kommana was Sandhi Vigrahi and one of the mainstays of the kingdom.

In this Inscription most of the words take the present pronunciation like "Vaninjekoninadu". The secondary sign for "R" which is called the Velapaligilaka in Telugu is invariably used where 'R' occurs in conjunction with another consonant like peggada. In the modern script the secondary form is not frequently used.

Boya is generally used for a Brahmin in the old Inscriptions. Here 'Bommana Boyine' and 'Namana Boyine' are used. This 'Boyine' is the accusative case of 'Boya'. It must have come from "Bhojaka" which means a village headman. In olden days Brahmins were among the administrators and they earned the title "Bhojaka" which has been corrupted into "Boya, Boyana, Bondu, etc."*

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* Miscellany of papers presented to V. V. R.

† Andhra History and Culture Vol. II.

‡ Bharati 1927.

It is stated that in some Telugu Inscriptions of the Renati Cholas the office like that of a "Bhojaka" means a village headman. In ancient times mostly in Pre-Nannaya Inscriptions, i. e. prior to 11th century A. D. there were mentioned these three words, viz., Bhojaka, Rattakudi and Gamakudi. We have dealt with 'Boya'. Now we take up Rattadlu which is otherwise called Rattakudi or "Rattaguttu". These are the various forms of the same word. Scholars are of opinion that Inscriptions of other times mention "Rattagudi, Rattodi, Rattadi and Rattadikamu" in addition to those forms mentioned above. All these forms of Rattadlu are closely related to the Sanskrit word Rāṣṭrakūta. This Rāṣṭrakūta as the village headman, seems to be common, prior to the 11th century or even from the 7th and 8th centuries in the Telugu country. As regards the Gamakudi we have to take that it has the same meaning etc. like Rattakudi.†

We have now to deal with an Inscription of one Prithveśwara a Choda chief of the Velnati line. It belongs to the 12th century A. D.‡ In the Telugu Prose portion of this Inscription the words "Prolananti, Navakhandavada" etc. are used. We know Prolunadu is identified with that part of the Telugu country which roughly included large portions of present Peddapur and Pithapur taluks of the East Godavary district. Andhra country must have been consisting of a number of nāḍus such as Prolunadu, Veginadu, Kammanadu, Renadu, Pakanadu, Palnadu, etc. Navakhandavada is the present Navcondada of the same district. Evidently it is the corrupted form of "Navakhandavada". It is stated that this splendid city of Navakhandavada came into prominence prior to the construction of Rajahmundry as the Eastern Chalukya capital. Rājarāja Narendra gave this city of Navakhandavada as a gift to his contemporary Pavuluri Mallana a poet and a mathematician of repute. This Inscription registers a gift of Prithveswara son of Kulothunga Manmagonka, a Mahāmaṇḍeleśwara and Jayambikā of the Kondapadamati family. The gift is made to Kunti Mādhavaswāmy of Pithapur, East Godavary where the inscription was laid.

The language in some places is like the modern Telugu language. The scribe is fond of doubling the consonant that occurs in conjunction with the letter "R". Thus, for example, he has written "Havirbber Achar" 'R' where the modern scribe would write Havirbalyarchanavdhamu. This means the secondary form or Velapeligilka is used. This secondary form appears like the upper half of a circle. "Kodku" meaning son is used for "Koduku". Even to-day in documents we find mostly kodku not koduku. Anuswāra is used after long vowels like Nanti, Nenti, etc. Vada is one of the synonyms of "village" like grama, padu, parru, palli, etc.

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* Andhra Patrika Vrisha Annual.

† Andhra Patrika Vrisha Annual.

‡ Gadya Chintamani.

A word remains to be said about an Inscription of a Rājādhirāja Chola of 1196 A. D. This is edited by Dr. N. Venkataramanyya and it was published by him in the leading Telugu monthly magazine "The Bhārati."* The Inscription, it seem, is taken from the South Indian Inscriptions. It seems to me that the script of the inscription has more things in common with the script of the inscriptions which are already mentioned.† It was written prithvu for prudhvu which is a correct form of the Sanskrit word. Anusvāra and Sekatarepha were used just like other inscriptions. Some modern scholars in Telugu think that it is unnecessary to observe the Arthānusvāra and Sekatarepha as they have no significance phonetically, because the pronunciation remains unchanged even if it is dropped now.

We gather from all the Choda Inscriptions which are mentioned here that their language is different from the Telugu that is being spoken to-day. They are of immense use to the student of Philology. Further investigations into the prose inscriptions and their language content will throw much light upon the history of Telugu Prose literature.

The Choda chiefs succeeded the Eastern Chalukyas‡ not only in the administration of the Telugu country but also in the patronage of the Telugu literature.

After these rulers there was the revival of patronage of letters during the magnificent rule of Kakatiyas of Warangal in the 13th century A. D. From this century onwards the Telugu language progressed without interruption for three centuries. The development attained during the reign of Kakatiyas is praiseworthy and it forms a separate part by itself. So I propose to deal with the development of the Telugu prose during the short and splendid reign of the Reddys of Kondavidu and the Reddys of Rajahmundry first, though it may not be in a chronological order.

These great Reddys ruled over Andhra country for over a hundred years. Vemareddy was the founder of this dynasty. His capital was Addanky. He was succeeded by his son Komaty Prolaya the patron of poet Erraya. Prolayavema was succeeded by Anapotha (whose regnal period was 1350 to 1362). He was succeeded by Anavema. Then Kumāragirireddy succeeded Anavema who was famous for his patronage of pandits and poets. Anavema changed his capital to Kondavidu from Addanki. In Kumāragiri's reign all the literary activities were given good impetus. Kumāragiri entrusted the administration to Katayavema his sister's husband and engaged himself in enjoying in the company of artists and poets. Kumāragiri gave away Rajahmundry to his sister Mallamamba wife of Katayavema who started the Rajahmundry branch of the Reddy dynasty.

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* The Bhārati 1945 June.

† S. I. I. IV No 1100.

‡ See my paper on 'Eastern Chalukyas and their Prose Inscriptions' read in the 12th Session of the All India Oriental Conference.

After Kumaragiri, Peda Komativema came to the Kondaveeti throne. He appointed Srinadha the prince among Telugu poets as the Educational officer. Vemabhupala was succeeded by his son Rachavema the last of this line.

Katayavema of the Rajahmundry fame was succeeded by Alladareddy and he was succeeded by Virabhadrareddy. Srinatha entered Virabhadrareddy's court through the good offices of Bendapudi Annamatya and afterwards became his court poet.*

Having taken a brief survey of the Reddy rule, we shall try to trace the linguistic and historical bearings of the Prose Inscriptions of the Reddy dynasty. They are a few in number while the Sanskrit Inscriptions are many. They not only encouraged trade and commerce but they have made agricultural and horticultural enterprises successful by giving financial assistance to the ryots to improve their lands and gardens. On account of these benefactions the agriculturists enjoyed perfect peace and prosperity. The privileges of good Government were enjoyed and hence there was nothing wanting in social life.

Literature and arts were encouraged. Mallareddy was the first to patronise Erraya who was one of the translators of Mahābhārata works of the rarest merit in Telugu and who was the author of Harivamśa a work next to Mahābhārata in matter and merit. He dedicated this work to Vemareddy. Erraya who belonged to the high order of Telugu poets was the author of works like Narasimha-purāṇa and Rāmāyaṇa, the latter being lost is not available. We know that Srinatha-a unique name in Telugu literature-known for his elegant style and clear thought, also flourished in Reddy's time. Though there were some other poets, these two represent the ages in which they lived. As the introductory portions of their works were devoted to descriptions of the geneologies and the virtues of their patrons, the information they detail is generally of political, military and literary importance.† In Errana's Narasimha Purāṇa mention was made about Velnati chiefs. In his Harivamsa Vemareddy's virtues were described in detail. Srinatha's works throw a flood of light on the social conditions of his time. Kridabhiraman, which was admitted on all hands to be the work of Kavisārvabhauma, as it is characterised by all those poetic genii associated with the writing of Srinātha, contains descriptions of fairs and festivals and information about the political conditions in Kakate Prataparudra's period. The preface in Naishadha tells us something about the educational matters of his time. The introductory portion of Hara-Vilasam gives out how Vssantotsavam was celebrated with the help of Avachi Tippaya who used to supply numerous perfumes to Kumaragirireddy. Srinātha's Palnaticharitra Pīthikā furnishes some information about the peaceful lives lead by the people of Palnad. As Bhima Khandam and Kasikhandam were dedicated to the minister Annaya and king Virabhadra the prefaces contain many interesting facts about the minister and the ruler along with the descriptions of great deeds performed by their ancestors. Thus Srinatha's prefaces are of immense value to a historian also.

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* Andhrakavula Charitra.

† . A., H R. S. Vol II.

It is to be noted here that as Srinatha's powerful personality dominated the Telugu literary world for over half a century and as he survived all his patrons, his works portray the conditions of his age. The royal patronage is noticeable not only in the case of poets and pandits Erraya, Srinatha, Vāmanabhaṭṭa, Praudhakavi and Kommana, but also in the case of dancers like Lakumadevi. Kings like Kumaragiri and Pedakomativema enriched the Sanskrit literature with their own works such as Vasanta Rajyamu and Srungāradīpikā etc. The development on the side of literature and arts is a standing monument to their artistic taste and scholarship. Their contribution to the cultural progress of the country is great. Addanki, Kondaveedu and Rajahmundry became the sanctuaries of learning. The names of Vemareddy, Kumāragiri and Vīrabhadrareddy have become immortal.

By this time there arose two types of literary works in Telugu, Purāṇas and Prabandhas.* Purāṇas are those famous works which are mostly in verse interspersed with prose. The themes of purāṇas are mostly mythological and religious. Prabandhas are another type of literary compositions which are also mostly in verse interspersed with prose, but the themes of prabandhas are taken from purāṇas or ithihāsas. There is opportunity for the poet to show his powers of imagination and description etc. in the prabandha. Errana though belonged to the puranic age was recognised as the pioneer for the prabandha type of literature. Srinātha stood between these two standard types and enriched both the varieties by his contributions. Thus he became an ideal to the authors of both the varieties. His sweetness of expression and symmetry of versification were imitated by many a prabandha poet.

His prose is as chaste and as dignified as his poetry. All his poetical works, purāṇas, prabandhas, translations, original compositions — were invariably interspersed with prose. He followed Nannaya the famous author of Mahābhārata the first literary production in Telugu which is a campū kāvya, i. e. a combined work of prose and poetry. Nannaya perfected poetry as well as prose. Prior to him there were some writings in poetry and prose which were fragmentary in character. Nannaya's work made a great advance over the language of the Inscriptions. His poetry is polished and flowing. His prose has all the characteristics of his verse. It can be called poetic prose, i. e. prose which rises to the level of poetry in thought and beauty of language, but which does not follow the rules of metre. Just as Nannaya's prose made great advance over the prose in the Inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas, Srinadha's prose also made great advance over the prose of the Reddy Inscriptions. In the inscriptions of the Reddi kings there was no literary prose.*

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* Modern India and the West.

We will begin with Kommuchikkala Plates of Anavota.† The Inscription is edited by Mr. B. V. Krishnarao. It is written partly in Sanskrit and partly in Telugu. The alphabet employed is Telugu and closely resembles the modern one. The anusvāra is not properly used like 'Babumgarki' in some places. The letter 'Bha' and 'ba' are not differentiated from one another as there is no vertical stroke at the bottom of 'Bha'. Sobhakrit is written as Sobakrit. All the inscriptions of Reddys belong to Telugu Kannada lipi and Burnell has remarked that the script that flourished from 1400 A. D. is Telugu Kannada script. There are some scholars who hold the opinion that the Telugu script is not derived from Brāhmi script or any other script, but it is one having‡ Anuswāra or Bindu for its nucleus. But this view is not favoured by many and that view, namely, that Telugu script has been derived from Brāhmi script the mother of all the scripts in India, is being maintained by scholars.

Returning to the topic under discussion, we note that almost all the Inscriptions of the Reedis contain Telugu prose as it was spoken in those days. In some Inscriptions the word Sani is used. It means a prostitute at present. For example, Bogamusani, Dommarasani, Sanidi, etc. In Inscriptions and Mahābhāgavata it is used for a woman in general. In order to show reverence Amma gāru, Reddimigaru were employed. In Telugu 'gāru' is the honorofic post position as 'gal' in Tamil. In the present day Telugu we do not find purṇānusvāra before this 'gāru'. In almost all the Inscriptions the numeral suffix 'Agu' is used. The synonyms of this 'Agu' are 'Avu' and 'Ava'. In almost all the Inscriptions 'Agu' and 'Ava' are employed. In the Mahābhārata of the 11th century 'Agu and Ava' are used. In Basava Purana (12th century A. D.) Ava is used. Sometimes by adding the root 'Agu' before, nouns become adjectives as Baludagu Manugudu. The doubling of the consonants that follow the anuswāra such as "Manddapamu" and Puntha are to be seen in some Inscriptions. This peculiarity is common in ancient Inscriptions also but it is not in use now. Using Anuswāra after long vowels like 'Nandu' is also not in use now. The names of villages undergo a change now like Totturapudi to Tottaramudi. The influence of Sanskrit and Prākrit was less when compared with that of Eastern Chāluḳya Inscriptions.* Casual forms like "Kattenche" were frequently employed. Passive voice is used.

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* Handbook of Telugu Literature.

† J. A. H. R. S. Vol. III Pts. 2, 3 and 4.

‡ History of Telugu Literature.

Most Inscriptions contain Telugu prose and poetry along with some Sanskrit ślokas and Sanskrit prose. Pure prose is of a later origin in Telugu. Most of the prose pieces dealt with here are with local touches and full of idioms. Easy understanding is the keynote of the majority of the pieces. They are a contrast to the literary prose. The prose of the Reddy Inscriptions contained colloquial expressions. Rules of traditional grammar were not observed and some sentences begin with 'ya' like 'Yituvanti'. As most of the Inscriptions contain an easy language, they were within the reach of masses also. These prose passages served as incentives to the writers of Southern School who developed pure prose writings which served very useful purpose of propagation and who prepared local records which are very important sources of the history of the period. In a way, these prose passages prepared the ground for the modern Telugu movement or the movement for making spoken Telugu the vehicle of literary expression in the beginning of the 20th century.

I could not substantiate all my statements by giving examples from all the Inscriptions available. I could not but touch upon the social and political conditions of Reddis reflected in the literature of the age.

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* Hindu College Magazine, 1943.

TELUGU LANGUAGE IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM A. D.

(Pre-Chalukyan period)

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Telugu Language of the first millenium A. D. clearly betrays far closer affinities with other Dravidian Languages of South India, than the language of Nannaya's Telugu Bhārata, the first extant work of the 2nd millennium A. D. Nannaya's work, the first literary composition in Telugu, was written under the patronage of Rāja Rājanarendra, a Chalukyan King of Rajahmundry, about the middle of the 11th century A. D. and so belongs to the 2nd millennium of the Christian era. No literary work of the Pre-Nannaya age has so far been discovered; therefore we have to depend merely on the available inscriptional writings for all our knowledge of the condition of the Telugu Language before Nannaya. A study of these inscriptions clearly indicates that the Telugu Language of the pre-Nannaya age has undergone no little change just about the beginning of the 2nd millennium A. D., when Nannaya came to adopt it in his work the translation of Mahābhārata. Again, as Nannaya's is the only literary work which came down to us for over a century or so after him, we are not in a position to trace the steps in the gradual development of that language. Yet we will not perhaps be far wrong, if we consider that Nannaya himself was partly responsible for the sudden turn taken in the development of the language about his time. The title "Āndhra-bhāshā Vāgānuśāsana" given to him may also justify this in a way, and it is the language adopted by him in his Bhārata that became the standard literary language for many centuries after him. Though we cannot be definite as to how far he was personally responsible in moulding the Telugu Language to his tune, or whether he merely followed the tradition of a change which has already come into existence, it is clear that the condition of the language of the Pre-Nannaya age differed very much from that adopted by him in the Bhārata. For an investigation into the origin and development of the Telugu Language from the Dravidian point of view, a study of the language of the inscriptions of the first millennium A. D. i. e. of the Pre-Nannayya age will be of very great help. This age can be divided into two periods—viz., Pre-Chalukyan and Chalukyan.

Inscriptions actually written in Telugu become available only from the second half of the first millennium, i. e. from the 7th century A. D. when the Kings of Eastern Chalukya and Chola dynasties began to rule over the Telugu country. But during the earlier centuries, all the inscriptions found in the country were written either in Sanskrit or Prākrit and not in the Telugu Language. From this some began to argue that the Telugu language before the 6th century of the Christian era was not at all in existence, and it began to evolve at that time from the Prākrit which is considered as the current language spoken by all the people in the country. This argument cannot stand, since it denies the existence of non-Aryan peoples and their languages even in Southern India before the coming of the Aryans and does not take due notice of the non-Aryan characteristics found in the Prākrits themselves. The Aryan Prākrit of the Inscriptions even of the Telugu country, can under no circumstances be proved to be Dravidian in origin, though in later stages these Prākrits have developed some Dravidian characteristics which have become very prominent in modern Aryan vernaculars of Northern India, owing to the gradual influence of the Dravidian-Language-speaking people who form the lower strata of society, on the Aryan.

Though perhaps due to the predominating influence of Prakrit till the 4th century A. D. and later of Sanskrit, we have no traces of inscriptions written in Telugu before the 7th century A. D. it is not possible to deny the very existence of Telugu before that as some have done. For, even in those inscriptions of the early centuries, written in Prakrit or Sanskrit, when reference has to be made to a village granted to somebody as a gift, or boundaries of that village were to be given, Telugu names as they were current in the language of the country, had to be introduced into the Prākrit or Sanskrit composition of these inscriptions. While thus introducing indigeneous names, Sanskrit pratyayas, or terminations were sometimes added to the Telugu names, this making a mess of the whole thing.

"Cinnapure grāmeyakāh vaktavyāh"
"Prālūra grāme" — Munduru grāme (once 'ra' once 'ru')
"Kamburāncheruve" — viriparasa (cheruve). Cheruvu is a pure Telugu word.
"Regoṇṛam' nama gramam" etc.

We can clearly see in them not only their indigeneous character but even traces of their Dravidian origin, since they are a foreign element in the language adopted by the inscriptions. The early Prakrit inscriptions of the Andhra Kings discovered at Amarāvati, Jaggayyapeta, or even Nāgārjuna Konda, do not refer to any gift of villages made to any persons, but only mention some gifts made to Buddhist shrines; as such, we do not meet with any names of villages mentioned therein. Perhaps the earliest reference to any Telugu Village that we can trace, is the one found in one of the earliest inscriptions of the Pallavas, namely the Maidavol Prakrit inscription of Sivaskanda Varma and that is the name of the village 'viripara' — "Andhāpatiya gāmo viripara dattam". This seems to be a Prakritised form of 'Virparru' which later came to be pronounced as 'Vippaṛru' or 'Vippaṛla' a village in the Narasaropet Taluk of the Guntur District. The same village is again referred to in a later inscription of the

Chakyan king 'Jayasimhavallabha' of the 7th century A. D. as "vitpaṛti". This is an adjectival form of a word 'vitpaṛṛu'. That this is not a Sanskrit or a Prakrit word but an indigenous Dravidian word is clear from the second part of the word 'paru' or 'paṛṛu' which contains in it the 'vallinum' or the hard rough 'ṛ' or the sakata repha as it is called, which is peculiar to all the languages of the Dravidian group, but not found either in Prakrit or Sanskrit at any stage. This word 'paṛṛu' with the double 'ṛ' occurs in many other village names in the inscriptions of the both pre-Chalukyan and Chalukyan periods as Peṇukapaṛṛu (Ongodu grant of Pallava King Skandavarman II), nidumbaṛṛu, pasumbaṛṛu, kalucuvum baṛṛu, pāmbaṛṛu, etc. etc.

The word 'Paṛṛu' occurs in Tamil and Malayalam also in the sense of a resting place, a village or a portion of the country etc. In Kannada it occurs as 'pattu' from the root 'paṛṛu' (-Telugu-Paṭṭu-) = to seize, hold, adhere to etc. In Telugu the root Paṛṛu changed into Paṭṭṛu-paṭṭu = to catch hold of, seize, and as a noun it means a place or a hold.... cf. Uniki-paṭṭu = a place to live in, habitation. We thus see the development of the vallinum 'ṛ' in these languages and this development is peculiar to the Dravidian, and not at all found in the Aryan Sanskrit or Prakrit. Later, when Sanskrit inscriptions came to be written in Nāgari characters, the script of this letter had to be introduced into the Nāgari writing when names of villages or words containing this letter came to be mentioned therein as this letter is foreign to Sanskrit alphabet and Nāgari writing.

This by itself is sufficient to show that a language different from Sanskrit or Prakrit was current in the Telugu country during the early centuries of the Christian era.

This sound 'ṛ' which is quit foreign to the Aryan group of languages occurs in the names of some villages mentioned in the inscriptions of the same century...as Chencheruvu, Kamburancheruve, aṛutoṛe. These occur in the Pedavegi Inscription of the Salnkayana dynasty. One peculiarity which we have to note in the word 'cheruvu' forming part of the names 'Chencheruvu' and Kamburancheruvu' is that the initial 'ch' of the word 'cheruvu' meaning a tank, is due to the palatalisation of the earlier guttural 'k', preserved even until now in the corresponding Kannada form 'koṛe'. It must have taken a long time for this palatalisation to have been effected in this language, after it got separated from Kannada or from the primitive mother tongue, which should have got the guttural form. If that is so, are we not justified in presuming the existence of Telugu as an independent language in this country at least, some centuries earlier than the date of this inscription or at least from the beginning of the Christian era?

2. Another landmark in the History of Telugu language, which takes us a little earlier than the 4th century A. D. is the word 'Nāgabu' which occurs

prominently by itself, written on one of the stone slabs discovered at Amaravati. This word occurs inscribed on the slabs alone and not in any sentence. Hence it is sometimes doubted whether it is a Telugu word or not. Yet since we meet with such forms as 'Pulobūru' in Polamuru Inscription of Madhava Varma III of the Vishnukundin dynasty (about 550 A. D.) (the same appearing as 'polomburu' in the inscription of Jayasimha Vallabha of Chalukyan Dynasty about 640 A. D.), and also in words like 'vakrabu', 'Siddhāyabu', 'Maṭhabu' of the later inscriptions, we may be sure that it is a Telugu word with the termination 'bu', which later came to assume various forms as 'mbu', mmu, or mu...nāgambu, nāgammu or nāgamu. This 'bu' or 'mbu' can easily be traced to the Dravidian noun forming suffix 'bu' which occurs in Tamil words like 'irumbu', 'elumbu' (bone), pulabu (field), cunāmbu, pāmbu, vembu. These 'bu' ending words assumed the following forms in Telugu:— inumu, emmu, polamu, sunnamu, pāmu, vemu. The 'mu' of these words is not however considered as the sign of the nominative, but only as part of the words themselves; it must be on the analogy of these forms that Tatsama words—i. e. neuter nouns from Sanskrit, borrowed by Telugu, developed the form in 'bu' or 'mbu'.

3. The village names occurring in the inscriptions of the Pre-Chalukyan Period furnish us some more information regarding the condition and the peculiar features of the Telugu language during that period.

(i) One such feature is the occurrence of the peculiarly Dravidian sound 'ḷ'—the 'rzh' sound as it is called by Dr. Caldwell in some of the village names like 'ḷenduluru' mentioned in the Chikkula inscription of Vikramendra Varman of the Vishnukundin dynasty of the 5th century A. D. as 'ḷenduḷūra vāsakāt'... 'regoṇram nāma gramam' etc. This sound occurs in many other words in later Chola and Chalukya inscriptions of the first millennium A. D. i. e., till about the time of Nannaya when it suddenly disappeared from the language. It was mostly replaced by 'ḍ', sometimes also by the vallinum 'ṛ' or Sakata repha and 'ḷ'. 'Lenduluru' the name of a village near Ellore in the West Godavari District on the Madras-Calcutta line has now become 'dendulūru', but sometimes written also as 'ḍendulūru'. This sound ḷ occurs in Tamil and Malayalam even today and in Kannada until the 12th century A. D. In this language it is mostly represented by the sound 'ḷ' and it has undergone various changes in other Dravidian Languages. The Chikkulla plates of the 5th century A. D. in which this letter appears for the first time in the name of a Telugu village, were written in what is called the South Indian or the Telugu-Kannada script, and the language used was Sanskrit. Even by that time the Telugu Kannada script seems to have adopted a form different from that used in the Tamil script and this letter, foreign to the Sanskrit alphabet, came to be introduced even into Sanskrit Nāgari writing in later times, when indigenous words containing this peculiar sound had to be mentioned therein. A good number of words containing this peculiar sound occurs in the inscriptions of the kings of the Chola and Chalukya dynasties in later centuries of the first millennium A. D. and they will be considered later.

(ii) Another peculiarly Dravidian sound that occurs in these early inscriptions of the pre-Chalukyan period, and also finds a place in many words of later Chalukyan inscriptions is 'ṇṛu', which is found in the name of the village 'regonṛam' occurring in the above-mentioned 'Chikkulla' plates of the Vishnukundin dynasty. This combination 'ṇṛ' occurs earlier (4th century) in the name of the village 'tāṇṛi koṇṛa' mentioned in the 'Gorantla' inscription of Attimarma and again the word 'Kuṇṛuru' in the Polamuru Inscription of Madhava varman III of the Vishnukundin Dynasty. Of these 'Tāṇṛi koṇṛa' is identified with 'Tāḍi Koṇḍa' earlier 'Tāṇḍikoṇḍa', a village 10 miles from Guntur, on the eastern bank of the river Krishna; and Kuṇṛur with Koṇḍūru in the Sattenapalli taluk of the Guntur District. From this we can see that the second 'ṇṛ' changed into 'ṇḍ' in later times. This seems to be a peculiar Dravidian combination, for neither of these sounds occur in any of the North Indian or the Aryan group of languages. The 'ṇ' here is an alveolar nasal ... the n of words like 'then' in English—considered as the final n or the 'raunakara' in Tamil, (to distinguish it from the dental n) and preserved even now in Tamil in words like avan, ivan, magan, etc. The vallinum 'ṛ' being also an alveolar sound, has the same place of production as this final 'n' and therefore whenever this final 'r' is stressed or nasalised it takes this 'n' before it, thus giving rise to the combination 'nr' very frequently in the language. But this combination being perhaps difficult for pronunciation has given rise to different sounds in different languages. The word 'Kuṇṛu' meaning 'mountain' or a hill in Tamil Language, has become 'Koṇḍa' in Telugu and Kan; 'Kunnu'—in Malayalam; 'Kunji'—in Tulu. Telugu and Kannada forms like guṭṭa, guḍḍa, etc. indicate the loss of the nasal. Similarly, 'Tāṇṛi' seems to have changed into 'Tāḍi'. Thus the village 'Taṇṛi Koṇṛa' later came to be known as 'Tāḍikoṇḍa' and 'Kuṇṛūru as Koṇḍūru'. The form 'Goṇṛam' in "regoṇṛam" seems to indicate a stage midway between 'kuṇṛu' and 'koṇḍa'—namely that of 'koṇṛa' which later on gave rise to the form 'koṇḍa'. "Regonrum" = Renu + Kuṇṛu must have become "regonda" but this village is not identified—perhaps gone out of existence.

There are many instances in Telugu, where words with the final 'n' of the earlier language, having taken the vallinum 'ṛ' as a help sound, gave rise to forms in 'ṇḍu' or 'ḍu'—cf. Tam. avaṇ, > avaṇṛu > avaṇḍu > vāṇḍu > vāḍu (he).
Tamil : Magaṇ > magaṇṛu > magaṇḍu > magaḍu. (Tam. son, Tel. husband).
Tamil : Oṇ' > Onnu > Oṇṛu > Oṇḍru > Oṇḍu (One).
Tamil : Paṇṛi–Mal. Panni, K. Te. pandi (a hog).

The root 'tor' to appear, to become visible (Kan. Toru–darsane) takes n or gets nasalised and becomes 'toṇṛu' in Tamil, also Toṛṛu. Mal. Tonnu. This is found in Telugu as ‘toncu’; ‘tocu’. Noun form from it is ‘trova’ meaning a way, passage.

Though originally in the above words of the inscriptions the combination ‘ṇṛ’ is of the final ‘ṇ’ and vallinum ‘ṛ’, this combination of ‘ṇṛ’ seems to have already gained a tendency to be pronounced as something like ‘ntr’, even by the time of these inscriptions. That is why, we should think, that a new script or letter–sign which looks somewhat different from that adopted for either Sakatarepha, the vallinum ṛ, or the cerebral ḍ, or even the peculiar Dravidian rzh sound ‘ḷ’, came to be introduced in the South Indian Vengi script of the day and in the later Vengi–Chalukyan script whenever this combination of ‘ntr’ had to be represented in writing. Owing to the close similarity in the script adopted for these letters in the inscriptions the sign for the alevolar ‘ṭ’ used for this combination was sometimes read as the vallinum ‘ṛ’ or ‘ḷ’ in these words by some scholars. For instance, ‘tāṇṛi–koṇṛa’ was read by Fleet and Hultzsch as ‘taṇḷi koṇḷa’. Since ‘ḷ’ also changed in later times to ‘ḍ’ in Telugu this reading apparently made no difference, but the sign used in that combination is seen to be clearly different from that of ‘ḷ’. Thus we have to admit that even by that time the tendency in pronunciation of the combination ‘ṇṛ’ as ‘nṭṛ’ has become so noticeable, that it had to find representation in the writing of that day in the Telugu country. At a later date, both of these alevolar ṇ and ṭṛ uounds changed into cerebral sounds and came to be written as such i. e. ṇḍ. Thus ‘Tānṭri Konṭra’ became ‘taṇḍi koṇḍa’. Similarly, ‘vaṇṛu’, ‘magaṇṛu’, sṇḷi, etc., represented in writing as vāntru, magantru, untri, etc. later assumed the forms, vāṇḍu, magaṇḍu, uṇḍi, etc.

We have seen how ‘mu’ of words like ‘nagamu’, ‘mathanu’ etc. which is the result of the gradual development of earlier ‘bu’ or ‘mbu’ has been considered as the neuter singular termination of Tatsama words in Telugu. Similarly this ‘ḍu’ or ‘ṇḍu’ which is a development from earlier forms ending in ‘ṇ’ or ‘ṇṛu’ (avan, magan, Raman, etc.) is taken as the sign of the masculine nominative singular in this language, by later grammarians though, as a matter of fact, these form part of the words themselves.

These are some of the sounds which may be considered peculiarly Dravidian and not found in the Aryan group of languages. They had their special development in Telugu whose existence in the early centuries of the Christian era has been vouchsafed by many words containing these sounds occurring in the inscriptions of that period.

4. The same inscription, namely the Chikkulla plates (530 A. D.) gives us also an inkling into the inflexional condition of the language at the time. The word ‘Vijayarājya saṃvatsarambuḷ’ a Telugu inflexional form occurring at the end of the inscription written in Sanskrit is perhaps the earliest known form of a

Telugu noun in plural inflexion. The word 'Samvatsarambu' shows that the form in bu or mbu which we first met with in the word Nagabu of an earlier century, has already come into vogue. The final 'ḷ' in "Samvatsarambuḷ" is the sign of plurality, which later on developed into lu. This cannot be traced to any termination in Sanskrit or Prakrit, since these languages do not have an independent sign of plurality as such, without at the same time having any reference to one particular case or other. That is, the terminations 'su, au, jas, i, os, sup, etc. of Sanskrit, combine the case with the number, and they indicate the singular or plural number of the nominative or the locative as the case may be, but never indicate singularity or plurality independently by themselves. Thus, there is nothing like a singular termination or a plural termination by itself in Sanskrit as we find it in Dravidian Languages.

Attempts have been made by scholars who believe in the Aryan origin of the Telugu and other South Indian Languages, to trace this Telugu plural termination 'lu' to the Sanskrit word 'loka' as this word in the form of 'log' is used as a sign of plurality, in some of the modern vernaculars of North India. These came into existence as independent languages only in the 2nd millennium of the Christian era, and since earlier Sanskrit or Prakrits show no sign of having possessed an independent sign of mere plurality, the development of an independent sign of plurality itself in modern Vernaculars of North India may be presumed to have been due directly to the influence of the Dravidian Languages on them.

The earlier history of the plural sign 'ḷu' of later Telugu, which appears as 'ḷ' in "Samvatsarambuḷ" occurring in the inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, has to be traced only by comparing it with the forms available in Tamil, Kannada or other South Indian Languages. In most of these languages 'kaḷ' is used as the sign of plurality — as 'maran-gaḷ', eli-gaḷ, etc. Tolkappiyar the first Tamil grammarian who belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, makes mention of this 'kaḷ' as the sign of plurality, appended to the neuter or 'ahṛiṇai' class of nouns. But later on its use has been extended to other classes of nouns also. In Telugu the original form 'kaḷ' seems to have been mutilated and only the latter part of it, namely, 'ḷ' came to be considered as the sign of plurality. In some other languages the final 'ḷ' seems to have been dropped and 'ka' alone stood as the sign of plurality. An investigation into a number of words in Telugu having double forms in the singular, one of which ends in ka, while the cognate forms in other languages do not show it, reveals the fact that the 'ka' ending forms in Telugu are the result of a wrong splitting of the old plural forms in 'kaḷ'. And it is on account of such wrong splitting that 'ḷ' or 'lu' part of the original 'kaḷ' came to be regarded as the sign of plurality in Telugu and a number of words ending in 'ka' or 'ga' like elika, chiluka, molaka, Īga, enuga, pinuga, mrāku, regu, gogu, etc. have come into use in this language. Though in a few forms like ‘bhaṭṭāraḷakun’, ‘Veseruvuḷu’, ‘kodukuḷ’, ‘vegavilāḷu’, ‘swāmuḷ’ etc. ‘ḷ’ persisted to be the plural suffix even in the Chalukyan period for some time, ‘lu’ seems to have been gaining ground even from the beginning of this period. Both the forms appear side by side in the inscription of Jayasimhavallabha, about the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

From the word ‘samvatsarambuḷ’ the earliest Telugu plural form so far available found in the Chikkulla plates of the 6th century A. D. we see that ‘ḷ’ separated from the primitive Dravidian suffix ‘kaḷ’ has already come into use as an independent plural suffix in Telugu and began to be suffixed to Tatsama words like ‘Samvatsarambu’ to make the plural from it. Though we do not meet with Desya forms like eligaḷ, chilukaḷ or mrākuḷ in any of the early inscriptions in order to indicate to us the line of development, yet it must have taken a long time, perhaps some centuries, before ‘ḷ’ got separated from indigenous or desya forms like the above, and came to be recognised as a sign of plurality, so as to be suffixed to the tatsama or borrowed words in Telugu. Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese languages retained the full form ‘kaḷ’ even to this day. This language must have been separated from the other languages of the Dravidian group and become independent long before the 6th century A. D.

5. Another point we have to note here is the change of the cerebral ‘ḷ’ to the dental ‘l’ in later forms. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada the plural suffix ‘kaḷ’ retains its cerebral ḷ even to this day. But the tendency to change ‘ḷ’ to ‘l’ seems to have set in the Telugu Language even from the beginning of the Chalukyan period. In the earlier period we have besides “Samvatsarambuḷ” four more words with ‘ḷ’, viz., ‘muḷuda’, ‘daḷiyavāvi’, ‘Eḷure’ ‘Lenduḷūra’. The ‘ḷ’ in the last two words changed later into l – Eluru, Dendulūru. The first part of the word ‘elu-uru’ may be connected with the root elu = to govern or rule, the earlier form of which must be āḷ—as it occurs even now in Tamil and Kannada. The primitive root ‘āḷ’ = to rule must have assumed the form ‘eḷ’ in Telugu by the time of the Chikkulla plates, which later on changed into ‘elu’. The change of initial ā of primitive words into e in Telugu is of frequent occurrence. e. g. Tamil, Yānai—Anai: > Tel. Enuga. Tam. Yān, Nān, = I – Telugu Nenu, enu; Tamil Ār, river, > Telugu ‘eru’. Tamil Āṇḍu = year, Telugu eḍu; T. yār = who, > Telugu Evaru. Kan. ‘āṛisu’ = to pick out, select, choose. > Te. eṛu; Tam. Kan. aṛi = to know > Tel. eṛugu, etc. etc.

Even in later inscriptions of the Chalukya period this ḷ persists and we meet with forms like ‘eḷu vāru’, ‘eḷucuṇṛi’, Kāvūrboḷu, rattiguḍḷu, Bhaṭāraḷa, Pannesaḷa, Ūriswāmuḷ, Kodukuḷ, vatsarambuḷ.

In all the above forms the cerebral ḷ changed into the dental l in later language.

6. Another sound which occurring in the names of early inscriptions has undergone a change like this in later language is the cerebral ṇ. This has changed into dental n. In pre-Chalukyan period we meet with this sound in one or two names like 'Manchyaṇṇa bhaṭṭāraka', 'Peṇukaparru'. But later we meet with this letter in words like 'eṇ', 'eṇuboṇṛa' eṇumbodi', 'koṇi', 'Paṇi ḳesiri', etc. When we compare these forms with those in other Dravidian Languages like Tamil and Kanarese, we find that the cerebral nasal belongs to the earlier or primitive language and the change in later language is peculiar to Telugu. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese, 'eṇ', 'eṇtu', 'eṭṭu' means eight, and this is changed into 'enimidi' in Telugu. This 'en' form that is preserved even in the earlier stages of Telugu — as 'eṇubonra' and 'eṇumbodi' later on changed into 'enubadi' : 'paṇi' means 'work' derived from the root 'paṇ' to do, even now in current use in Tamil and Malayalam. In later Telugu it became 'pani'. Only the noun form is preserved in Telugu, and no verbal form is directly made from this root. Perhaps the root 'pannu' to devise (a plan), to spread (a net) is a development from this root. 'Koṇi' is from the root 'koḷ' to take. In the participial form 'ḷ' seems to have changed into nasal 'ṇ'. In later Telugu this 'ṇ' has changed into the dental n — koni.

Thus the few forms occurring in the early inscriptions not only indicate the line of the growth and development of the Telugu Language, but also help to establish its close affinity with other languages of South India.

7. From the names of villages mentioned in the early inscriptions we can gather a few more Desya words—like 'ūru', 'koḍu', 'toṛe', which are to be considered as purely Dravidian. We have already dealt with 'Cheṛuvu' and 'paṛṛu' occurring at the end of some village names. The word 'ūru' is given in the Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra, as a Deśya word 'uro = grāmah' meaning 'grāma' a village. This may be derived from the root 'uṇḍu' < 'unru' = to be, to inhabit, etc. Koḍu means in Telugu a wooden support of a cot or a table. In Tamil it means a peak of a mountain or hill. 'Ongoḍu' is perhaps 'On-koḍu' = having one peak. "Ongoḍu" in the Guntur District has now become 'Ongole'. 'Tore' in Tamil and Kanarese is a place where you land, or get into a river or a port. "Tore" in Kanarese means a stream or a river. The word "doruvu" in Telugu means a small pond with a sloping entrance is perhaps connected with this. The village aṛutoṛe is not identified.

Thus, these Telugu words, ūru, paṛṛu, cheṛuvu, koṇṛa, koḍu, toṛa, words which may be said to be of pure Dravidian origin appearing at the end of village names in the Telugu country in the Prakṛit and Sanskrit inscriptions of the kings of the Pre-Chalukyan dynasties that ruled over the Āndhradeśa clearly

indicate to us the condition of the Telugu Language during the early centuries of the Christian era of the Pre-Chalukyan period, i. e. before 7th century A. D.

The information supplied by a study of these words found in the early inscriptions, is no doubt very meagre, yet it covers such an important part in the field of *phonetics* and *grammar* as well as of *vocabulary*, that it is sufficient to dispel all our doubts about the independent existence of an indigenous language in the Telugu country not directly derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit even from the very beginning of the Christian era. It is also sufficient to indicate its close relation with other languages of South India from which it must have got separated long before the beginnings of the Christian era.

A STUDY OF CASES IN DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

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The study of declension in Dravidian Languages is an extremely interesting one which goes to provide yet another proof, if proof is needed, that this family of languages is independent of Sanskrit. In this paper an attempt has been made to analyse the several case signs in Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Tulu, the five important members of the Dravidian Family of Languages and study their importance historically.

The following is a tabular statement showing the several case-signs.

CASES.	KANNADA.	TAMIL.	TELUGU.	MALAYALAM	TULU.
Nominative (1)	No case suffix. n ? m ?	No case suffix-stem is used as it is.	ḍu, mu, vu, Plural—lu.	No case suffix.	No case suffix.
Accusative (2)	am, an, annu (modern)	ai	ni-nu	e	an, ān, n.
Instrumental (3)	im, in, inda, inde, e	āl	Ceta, ce, toda, to	al, ot	ḍt, t
Dative (4)	ke, gem, nge, kke,	ku	kay, koraka, kosara.	ku, nu	k, g
Ablative (5)	at, attaṇiṃ, etc.	in	valana, kanṭe, patti.	ilinnu, kal.	ḍt.
Genetive (6)	atu, adu, ā, a	atu, a (plural)	ki, ku, to, topala	ute, nte	ta, a
Locative (7)	oḷ, alli, e, uḷ, oḷage	il	andu, na	il, kal	ḍ, ḷ

At the outset we are impressed with certain characteristics peculiar to all the Dravidian Languages : (a) The majority of the case signs do not differ with the number or gender of the noun. It is the same accusative, same instrumental, same dative, same genitive, same locative throughout. (e. g.) In Kannada, we have

(i) maganam keḷidaḷ
(ii) magaḷam keḷidaḷ

(iii) Nāyiyam poydam
(iv) makkaḷam keḷidaḷ
(v) Nāygaḷam poydar.

We find the same accusative sign ' am ' used irrespective of number and gender. The same holds good in the case of other Dravidian Languages. Whereas in Sanskrit it changes at every step.

(b) The fact that there is such an amount of laxity in the application of the rule of case-sign in these languages and the practice of ' functional synchretism (commonly termed vibhakti pallaṭa) that prevails, goes to substantiate that at one time in the early past, the distinction between severel case-signs was not well-marked. It was by the context — more than by the rule — that the relation between the subject and the object, was understood e. g. in Kannada this has been in vogue from the earliest times to the present day and certain deviations from the strict grammatical rules are hailed as idioms.

(1) Elavo-nīnenna Konday — must have been nīnnennam konday (genetive enna is used instead of the accusative ennam).

(2) Karu-biḍu which is considered a good idiom, must have been ' karuvam biḍu ' (Again genitive for accusative).

(3) Nuṇpanuḷḷam must have been nuṇpuḷḷan (Accusative used for nominative).

(4) Kattiyoḷ or Kattiyalli Kaḍidan must have been Kattiyim or Kattiyinda kaḍidan. (Here the locative sign ' oḷ ' has been used instead of the instrumental sign ' in ' or ' inda ').

This practice of Vibhakti pallaṭa goes on even to this day in almost all the Dravidian Languages and it is by the context that the correct relationship is grasped. If we could mathematically argue out we may come to the inevitable mathematical equation that Nominative = Accusative = Instrumental = etc.

(c) There is no independent case sign for the nominative, even though Kannada grammarians were tempted to take ' m ' or ' n ' or bindu, and Telugu grammarians were tempted to take ḍu, nu, vu, for singular and lu for plural. Closer examination will tell us that had there been a genuine case-sign, it must have been affixed in the nominative case of all nouns. But in Kannada only nouns ending in ' a ' take that so called case-sign. Others do not. In Telugu too words like tandri, talli, do not take in that sign. Evidently, they are the remnants of the Dravidian pronouns avan (kannada) and vāḍu etc. (Telugu) tagged on to the bases, at times, just to indicate the gender. Therefore there is no regular case-sign for the nominative in the Dravidian Languages.

(d) *Ablative Case* is another very interesting item that has evoked much interest among the students of comparative grammar. Some scholars like Dr. Caldwell hold the view that there is no Ablative case in the Dravidian Languages, but Dravidian grammarians who fashioned their treatises after Sanskrit grammar invented it to fall in line with Sanskrit. But if we study the table of signs, given before, we find what is the instrumental case sign (" in ") in Kannada is the Ablative case-sign in Tamil. Also in Kannada without this 'in' or 'inde' coming to the aid 'at', the case cannot function. In Tamil 'āl' is the instrumental case-sign. Thus we find that there is no definiteness about the Instrumental and Ablative case-signs of the Dravidian Languages. It may be we do not have different case-signs, but the idea of ablative case is there. For is there no difference between the ideas implied in the case-ending of Kattiyinda and maneyunda between 'Kattiyinda Kaḍide' and 'Maneyinda bande'. In some Kannada dialects 'inda' is used exclusively for ablative and 'li' (a variant of 'alli' of the locative) used for the instrumental case (e. g. Kattili Kaḍide). If we analyse carefully this suffix 'inda' or 'in' it looks as though it must be a later form derived from 'il' meaning 'house', or 'here'. (It is common knowledge of philology that l becomes n). If, as suggested, 'in' has something to do with 'place' it is in the fitness of things that 'in' takes the rightful place of the ablative case-sign. Therefore, it is extremely hard to discard the ablative case as such, although there may not be an independent case-sign which is used uniformly in all the Dravidian Languages.

(e) Dr. Caldwell and several other scholars have expressed the view that case-signs in the Dravidian Languages must have been independent words with their own meaning at one time during the develepment of these languages. From the table above, it is seen that Telugu possesses a good many signs which are still meaningful words. Ceta, toda, koraka, velana, patti, are all fully understandable words used as case-signs. Telugu behaves in a peculiar manner in regard to some case-signs. What is used for Dative in the other (ku) is used as a genitive case-sign in Telugu. " Andu " an adverb of time (?) in the other Dravidian Languages is used as a locative case sign in Telugu. In all the Dravidian Languages, the locative case-sign oḷ, uḷ, il, etc. are full of meaning. They mean inside (oḷ), house (iḷ), there (alli) etc. The genitive case-sign a, really a relic of atu (that, possession), is meaningful. Quite probably 'in' is meaningful. In the case of instrumental case, it would mean with 'here' (il in) and in the case of albative case, it would mean from 'here' (il > in). Accusative and Dative signs are no doubt relics of some Dravidian words which still continue to play hide-and-seek with us.

From the fore-going analysis, it is clear that there is an underlying oneness in the development of case signs in the Dravidian Lauguages, there is no fixity regarding the application of the case rule in them, there is much functiona

synchretism, at times one particular case-sign is used for denoting different cases in two Dravidian Languages (thereby indicating the laxity at the earliest times), that exact meaning is attained by context, that at one time there might not have been any case-signs at all, but gradually those words which were employed to indicate the relationship between the several nouns began to act as case-signs. Some relating to old forms and some others, contracting into new forms beyond recognition (as in the accusative and dative case-sign).

Telugu noun in plural inflexion. The word 'Samvatsarambu' shows that the form in bu or mbu which we first met with in the word Nagabu of an earlier century, has already come into vogue. The final 'ḷ' in "Samvatsarambuḷ" is the sign of plurality, which later on developed into lu. This cannot be traced to any termination in Sanskrit or Prakrit, since these languages do not have an independent sign of plurality as such, without at the same time having any reference to one particular case or other. That is, the terminations 'su, au, jas, i, os, sup, etc. of Sanskrit, combine the case with the number, and they indicate the singular or plural number of the nominative or the locative as the case may be, but never indicate singularity or plurality independently by themselves. Thus, there is nothing like a singular termination or a plural termination by itself in Sanskrit as we find it in Dravidian Languages.

Attempts have been made by scholars who believe in the Aryan origin of the Telugu and other South Indian Languages, to trace this Telugu plural termination 'lu' to the Sanskrit word 'loka' as this word in the form of 'log' is used as a sign of plurality, in some of the modern vernaculars of North India. These came into existence as independent languages only in the 2nd millennium of the Christian era, and since earlier Sanskrit or Prakrits show no sign of having possessed an independent sign of mere plurality, the development of an independent sign of plurality itself in modern Vernaculars of North India may be presumed to have been due directly to the influence of the Dravidian Languages on them.

The earlier history of the plural sign 'ḷu' of later Telugu, which appears as 'ḷ' in "Samvatsarambuḷ" occurring in the inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, has to be traced only by comparing it with the forms available in Tamil, Kannada or other South Indian Languages. In most of these languages 'kaḷ' is used as the sign of plurality — as 'maran-gaḷ', eli-gaḷ, etc. Tolkappiyar the first Tamil grammarian who belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, makes mention of this 'kaḷ' as the sign of plurality, appended to the neuter or 'ahṛiṇai' class of nouns. But later on its use has been extended to other classes of nouns also. In Telugu the original form 'kaḷ' seems to have been mutilated and only the latter part of it, namely, 'ḷ' came to be considered as the sign of plurality. In some other languages the final 'ḷ' seems to have been dropped and 'ka' alone stood as the sign of plurality. An investigation into a number of words in Telugu having double forms in the singular, one of which ends in ka, while the cognate forms in other languages do not show it, reveals the fact that the 'ka' ending forms in Telugu are the result of a wrong splitting of the old plural forms in 'kaḷ'. And it is on account of such wrong splitting that 'ḷ' or 'lu' part of the original 'kaḷ' came to be regarded as the sign of plurality in Telugu and a number of words ending in 'ka' or 'ga' like elika, chiluka, molaka, īga, enuga, pinuga, mrāku, regu, gogu, etc. have come into use in this language. Though in a few forms like 'bhaṭṭāraḷakun', 'Veseruvuḷu', 'koḍukuḷ', 'vegavilāḷu', 'swāmuḷ' etc. 'ḷ' persisted to be the plural suffix even in the Chalukyan period for some time, 'lu' seems to have been gaining ground even from the beginning of this period. Both the forms appear side by side in the inscription of Jayasimhavallabha, about the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

From the word 'samvatsarambuḷ' the earliest Telugu plural form so far available found in the Chikkulla plates of the 6th century A. D. we see that 'ḷ' separated from the primitive Dravidian suffix 'kaḷ' has already come into use as an independent plural suffix in Telugu and began to be suffixed to Tatsama words like 'Samvatsarambu' to make the plural from it. Though we do not meet with Desya forms like eligaḷ, chilukaḷ or mrākuḷ in any of the early inscriptions in order to indicate to us the line of development, yet it must have taken a long time, perhaps some centuries, before 'ḷ' got separated from indigenous or desya forms like the above, and came to be recognised as a sign of plurality, so as to be suffixed to the tatsama or borrowed words in Telugu. Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese languages retained the full form 'kaḷ' even to this day. This language must have been separated from the other languages of the Dravidian group and become independent long before the 6th century A. D.

5. Another point we have to note here is the change of the cerebral 'ḷ' to the dental 'l' in later forms. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada the plural suffix 'kaḷ' retains its cerebral ḷ even to this day. But the tendency to change 'ḷ' to 'l' seems to have set in the Telugu Language even from the beginning of the Chalukyan period. In the earlier period we have besides "Samvatsarambuḷ" four more words with 'ḷ', viz., 'muḷuda', 'daḷiyavāvi', 'Eḷure' 'Lenduḷūra'. The 'ḷ' in the last two words changed later into l – Eluru, Dendulūru. The first part of the word 'elu-uru' may be connected with the root elu = to govern or rule, the earlier form of which must be āḷ—as it occurs even now in Tamil and Kannada. The primitive root 'āḷ' = to rule must have assumed the form 'eḷ' in Telugu by the time of the Chikkulla plates, which later on changed into 'elu'. The change of initial ā of primitive words into e in Telugu is of frequent occurrence. e. g. Tamil, Yānai—Anai: > Tel. Enuga. Tam. Yān, Nān, = I – Telugu Nenu, enu; Tamil Ār, river, > Telugu 'eru'. Tamil Āṇḍu = year, Telugu eḍu; T. yār = who, > Telugu Evaru. Kan. 'āṛisu' = to pick out, select, choose. > Te. eṛu; Tam. Kan. aṛi = to know > Tel. eṛugu, etc. etc.

Even in later inscriptions of the Chalukya period this ḷ persists and we meet with forms like 'eḷu vāru', 'eḷucuṇṛi', Kāvūrboḷu, rattiguḍḷu, Bhaṭāraḷa, Pannesaḷa, Ūriswāmuḷ, Kodukuḷ, vatsarambuḷ.

In all the above forms the cerebral ḷ changed into the dental l in later language.

6. Another sound which occurring in the names of early inscriptions has undergone a change like this in later language is the cerebral ṇ. This has changed into dental n. In pre-Chalukyan period we meet with this sound in one or two names like 'Manchyaṇṇa bhaṭṭāraka', 'Peṇukaparru'. But later we meet with this letter in words like 'eṇ', 'eṇuboṇṛa' eṇumbodi', 'koṇi', 'Paṇi kesiri', etc. When we compare these forms with those in other Dravidian Languages like Tamil and Kanarese, we find that the cerebral nasal belongs to the earlier or primitive language and the change in later language is peculiar to Telugu. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese, 'eṇ', 'eṇtu', 'eṭṭu' means eight, and this is changed into 'enimidi' in Telugu. This 'en' form that is preserved even in the earlier stages of Telugu — as 'eṇubonra' and 'eṇumbodi' later on changed into 'enubadi': 'paṇi' means 'work' derived from the root 'paṇ' to do, even now in current use in Tamil and Malayalam. In later Telugu it became 'pani'. Only the noun form is preserved in Telugu, and no verbal form is directly made from this root. Perhaps the root 'pannu' to devise (a plan), to spread (a net) is a development from this root. 'Koṇi' is from the root 'koḷ' to take. In the participial form 'ḷ' seems to have changed into nasal 'ṇ'. In later Telugu this 'ṇ' has changed into the dental n — koni.

Thus the few forms occurring in the early inscriptions not only indicate the line of the growth and development of the Telugu Language, but also help to establish its close affinity with other languages of South India.

7. From the names of villages mentioned in the early inscriptions we can gather a few more Desya words—like 'ūru', 'koḍu', 'toṛe', which are to be considered as purely Dravidian. We have already dealt with 'Cheṛuvu' and 'paṛṛu' occurring at the end of some village names. The word 'ūru' is given in the Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra, as a Deśya word 'uro = grāmah' meaning 'grāma' a village. This may be derived from the root 'uṇḍu' < 'unru' = to be, to inhabit, etc. Koḍu means in Telugu a wooden support of a cot or a table. In Tamil it means a peak of a mountain or hill. 'Ongoḍu' is perhaps 'On-koḍu' = having one peak. "Ongoḍu" in the Guntur District has now become 'Ongole'. 'Tore' in Tamil and Kanarese is a place where you land, or get into a river or a port. "Tore" in Kanarese means a stream or a river. The word "doruvu" in Telugu means a small pond with a sloping entrance is perhaps connected with this. The village aṛutoṛe is not identified.

Thus, these Telugu words, ūru, paṛṛu, cheṛuvu, koṇṛa, koḍu, toṛa, words which may be said to be of pure Dravidian origin appearing at the end of village names in the Telugu country in the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions of the kings of the Pre-Chalukyan dynasties that ruled over the Āndhradeśa clearly

indicate to us the condition of the Telugu Language during the early centuries of the Christian era of the Pre-Chalukyan period, i. e. before 7th century A. D.

The information supplied by a study of these words found in the early inscriptions, is no doubt very meagre, yet it covers such an important part in the field of *phonetics* and *grammar* as well as of *vocabulary*, that it is sufficient to dispel all our doubts about the independent existence of an indigenous language in the Telugu country not directly derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit even from the very beginning of the Christian era. It is also sufficient to indicate its close relation with other languages of South India from which it must have got separated long before the beginnings of the Christian era.

A STUDY OF CASES IN DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

Sri. M. Mariappa Bhat, Madras University

The study of declension in Dravidian Languages is an extremely interesting one which goes to provide yet another proof, if proof is needed, that this family of languages is independent of Sanskrit. In this paper an attempt has been made to analyse the several case signs in Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Tulu, the five important members of the Dravidian Family of Languages and study their importance historically.

The following is a tabular statement showing the several case-signs.

CASES.	KANNADA.	TAMIL.	TELUGU.	MALAYALAM	TULU.
Nominative (1)	No case suffix. n ? m ?	No case suffix-stem is used as it is.	ḍu, mu, vu, Plural—lu.	No case suffix.	No case suffix.
Accusative (2)	am, an, annu (modern)	ai	ni-nu	e	an, āń, n.
Instrumental (3)	im, in, inda, inde, e	āl	Ceta, ce, toda, to	al, ot	ḍt, t
Dative (4)	ke, gem, nge, kke,	ku	kay, koraka, kosara.	ku, nu	k, g
Ablative (5)	at, attaṇiṃ, etc.	in	valana, kanṭe, patti.	ilinnu, kal.	ḍt.
Genetive (6)	atu, adu, ā, a	atu, a (plural)	ki, ku, to, topala	ute, nte	ta, a
Locative (7)	oḷ, alli, e, uḷ, oḷage	il	andu, na	il, kal	ḍ, ḷ

At the outset we are impressed with certain characteristics peculiar to all the Dravidian Languages: (a) The majority of the case signs do not differ with the number or gender of the noun. It is the same accusative, same instrumental, same dative, same genitive, same locative throughout. (e. g.) In Kannada, we have

(i) maganam keḷidaḷ
(ii) magaḷam keḷidaḷ

(iii) Nāyiyam poydam
(iv) makkaḷam keḷidaḷ
(v) Nāygaḷam poydar.

We find the same accusative sign 'am' used irrespective of number and gender. The same holds good in the case of other Dravidian Languages. Whereas in Sanskrit it changes at every step.

(b) The fact that there is such an amount of laxity in the application of the rule of case-sign in these languages and the practice of 'functional synchretism (commonly termed vibhakti pallaṭa) that prevails, goes to substantiate that at one time in the early past, the distinction between severel case-signs was not well-marked. It was by the context — more than by the rule — that the relation between the subject and the object, was understood e. g. in Kannada this has been in vogue from the earliest times to the present day and certain deviations from the strict grammatical rules are hailed as idioms.

(1) Elavo-nīnenna Konday — must have been nīnnennam konday (genetive enna is used instead of the accusative ennam).

(2) Karu-biḍu which is considered a good idiom, must have been 'karuvam biḍu' (Again genitive for accusative).

(3) Nuṇpanuḷḷam must have been nuṇpuḷḷan (Accusative used for nominative).

(4) Kattiyoḷ or Kattiyalli Kaḍidan must have been Kattiyim or Kattiyinda kaḍidan. (Here the locative sign 'oḷ' has been used instead of the instrumental sign 'in' or 'inda').

This practice of Vibhakti pallaṭa goes on even to this day in almost all the Dravidian Languages and it is by the context that the correct relationship is grasped. If we could mathematically argue out we may come to the inevitable mathematical equation that Nominative = Accusative = Instrumental = etc.

(c) There is no independent case sign for the nominative, even though Kannada grammarians were tempted to take 'm' or 'n' or bindu, and Telugu grammarians were tempted to take ḍu, nu, vu, for singular and lu for plural. Closer examination will tell us that had there been a genuine case-sign, it must have been affixed in the nominative case of all nouns. But in Kannada only nouns ending in 'a' take that so called case-sign. Others do not. In Telugu too words like tandri, talli, do not take in that sign. Evidently, they are the remnants of the Dravidian pronouns avan (kannada) and vāḍu etc. (Telugu) tagged on to the bases, at times, just to indicate the gender. Therefore there is no regular case-sign for the nominative in the Dravidian Languages.

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The earlier history of the plural sign 'ḷu' of later Telugu, which appears as 'ḷ' in "Samvatsarambuḷ" occurring in the inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, has to be traced only by comparing it with the forms available in Tamil, Kannada or other South Indian Languages. In most of these languages 'kaḷ' is used as the sign of plurality — as 'maran-gaḷ', eli-gaḷ, etc. Tolkappiyar the first Tamil grammarian who belongs to the early centuries of the Christian era, makes mention of this 'kaḷ' as the sign of plurality, appended to the neuter or 'ahṟiṇai' class of nouns. But later on its use has been extended to other classes of nouns also. In Telugu the original form 'kaḷ' seems to have been mutilated and only the latter part of it, namely, 'ḷ' came to be considered as the sign of plurality. In some other languages the final 'ḷ' seems to have been dropped and 'ka' alone stood as the sign of plurality. An investigation into a number of words in Telugu having double forms in the singular, one of which ends in ka, while the cognate forms in other languages do not show it, reveals the fact that the 'ka' ending forms in Telugu are the result of a wrong splitting of the old plural forms in 'kaḷ'. And it is on account of such wrong splitting that 'ḷ' or 'lu' part of the original 'kaḷ' came to be regarded as the sign of plurality in Telugu and a number of words ending in 'ka' or 'ga' like elika, chiluka, molaka, īga, enuga, pinuga, mrāku, regu, gogu, etc. have come into use in this language. Though in a few forms like 'bhaṭṭāraḷakun', 'Veseruvuḷu', 'kodukuḷ', 'vegavilāḷu', 'swāmuḷ' etc. 'ḷ' persisted to be the plural suffix even in the Chalukyan period for some time, 'lu' seems to have been gaining ground even from the beginning of this period. Both the forms appear side by side in the inscription of Jayasimhavallabha, about the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

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5. Another point we have to note here is the change of the cerebral 'ḷ' to the dental 'l' in later forms. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada the plural suffix 'kaḷ' retains its cerebral ḷ even to this day. But the tendency to change 'ḷ' to 'l' seems to have set in the Telugu Language even from the beginning of the Chalukyan period. In the earlier period we have besides "Samvatsarambuḷ" four more words with 'ḷ', viz., 'muḷuda', 'daḷiyavāvi', 'Eḷure' 'Lenduḷūra'. The 'ḷ' in the last two words changed later into l – Eluru, Dendulūru. The first part of the word 'elu–uru' may be connected with the root elu = to govern or rule, the earlier form of which must be āḷ—as it occurs even now in Tamil and Kannada. The primitive root 'āḷ' = to rule must have assumed the form 'eḷ' in Telugu by the time of the Chikkulla plates, which later on changed into 'elu'. The change of initial ā of primitive words into e in Telugu is of frequent occurrence. e. g. Tamil, Yānai—Anai: > Tel. Enuga. Tam. Yān, Nān, = I – Telugu Nenu, enu; Tamil Ār, river, > Telugu 'eru'. Tamil Āṇḍu = year, Telugu eḍu; T. yār = who, > Telugu Evaru. Kan. 'āṛisu' = to pick out, select, choose. > Te. eṛu; Tam. Kan. aṛi = to know > Tel. eṛugu, etc. etc.

Even in later inscriptions of the Chalukya period this ḷ persists and we meet with forms like 'eḷu vāru', 'eḷucuṇṛi', Kāvūrboḷu, rattiguḍḷu, Bhaṭāraḷa, Pannesaḷa, Ūṛiswāmuḷ, Kodukuḷ, vatsarambuḷ.

In all the above forms the cerebral ḷ changed into the dental l in later language.

6. Another sound which occurring in the names of early inscriptions has undergone a change like this in later language is the cerebral ṇ. This has changed into dental n. In pre-Chalukyan period we meet with this sound in one or two names like 'Manchyaṇṇa bhaṭṭāraka', 'Peṇukaparru'. But later we meet with this letter in words like 'eṇ', 'eṇuboṇṛa' eṇumbodi', 'koṇi', 'Paṇi kesiri', etc. When we compare these forms with those in other Dravidian Languages like Tamil and Kanarese, we find that the cerebral nasal belongs to the earlier or primitive language and the change in later language is peculiar to Telugu. In Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese, 'eṇ', 'eṇtu', 'eṭṭu' means eight, and this is changed into 'enimidi' in Telugu. This 'en' form that is preserved even in the earlier stages of Telugu — as 'eṇubonra' and 'eṇumbodi' later on changed into 'enubadi': 'paṇi' means 'work' derived from the root 'paṇ' to do, even now in current use in Tamil and Malayalam. In later Telugu it became 'pani'. Only the noun form is preserved in Telugu, and no verbal form is directly made from this root. Perhaps the root 'pannu' to devise (a plan), to spread (a net) is a development from this root. 'Koṇi' is from the root 'koḷ' to take. In the participial form 'ḷ' seems to have changed into nasal 'ṇ'. In later Telugu this 'ṇ' has changed into the dental n — koni.

Thus the few forms occurring in the early inscriptions not only indicate the line of the growth and development of the Telugu Language, but also help to establish its close affinity with other languages of South India.

7. From the names of villages mentioned in the early inscriptions we can gather a few more Desya words—like 'ūru', 'koḍu', 'toṛe', which are to be considered as purely Dravidian. We have already dealt with 'Cheṛuvu' and 'parṛu' occurring at the end of some village names. The word 'ūru' is given in the Deśināmamālā of Hemachandra, as a Deśya word 'uro = grāmah' meaning 'grāma' a village. This may be derived from the root 'uṇḍu' < 'unru' = to be, to inhabit, etc. Koḍu means in Telugu a wooden support of a cot or a table. In Tamil it means a peak of a mountain or hill. 'Ongoḍu' is perhaps 'On-koḍu' = having one peak. "Ongoḍu" in the Guntur District has now become 'Ongole'. 'Tore' in Tamil and Kanarese is a place where you land, or get into a river or a port. "Tore" in Kanarese means a stream or a river. The word "doruvu" in Telugu means a small pond with a sloping entrance is perhaps connected with this. The village aṛutoṛe is not identified.

Thus, these Telugu words, ūru, parṛu, cheṛuvu, koṇṛa, koḍu, toṛa, words which may be said to be of pure Dravidian origin appearing at the end of village names in the Telugu country in the Prakrit and Sanskrit inscriptions of the kings of the Pre-Chalukyan dynasties that ruled over the Āndhradeśa clearly

indicate to us the condition of the Telugu Language during the early centuries of the Christian era of the Pre-Chalukyan period, i. e. before 7th century A. D.

The information supplied by a study of these words found in the early inscriptions, is no doubt very meagre, yet it covers such an important part in the field of *phonetics* and *grammar* as well as of *vocabulary*, that it is sufficient to dispel all our doubts about the independent existence of an indigenous language in the Telugu country not directly derived from Sanskrit or Prakrit even from the very beginning of the Christian era. It is also sufficient to indicate its close relation with other languages of South India from which it must have got separated long before the beginnings of the Christian era.

A STUDY OF CASES IN DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

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The study of declension in Dravidian Languages is an extremely interesting one which goes to provide yet another proof, if proof is needed, that this family of languages is independent of Sanskrit. In this paper an attempt has been made to analyse the several case signs in Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Tulu, the five important members of the Dravidian Family of Languages and study their importance historically.

The following is a tabular statement showing the several case-signs.

CASES.	KANNADA.	TAMIL.	TELUGU.	MALAYALAM	TULU.
Nominative (1)	No case suffix. n ? m ?	No case suffix-stem is used as it is.	ḍu, mu, vu, Plural—lu.	No case suffix.	No case suffix.
Accusative (2)	am, an, annu (modern)	ai	ni-nu	e	an, ān, n.
Instrumental (3)	im, in, inda, inde, e	āl	Ceta, ce, toda, to	al, ot	ḍt, t
Dative (4)	ke, gem, nge, kke,	ku	kay, koraka, kosara.	ku, nu	k, g
Ablative (5)	at, attaṇiṃ, etc.	in	valana, kanṭe, patti.	ilinnu, kal.	ḍt.
Genetive (6)	atu, adu, ā, a	atu, a (plural)	ki, ku, to, topala	ute, nte	ta, a
Locative (7)	oḷ, alli, e, uḷ, oḷage	il	andu, na	il, kal	ḍ, ḷ

At the outset we are impressed with certain characteristics peculiar to all the Dravidian Languages : (a) The majority of the case signs do not differ with the number or gender of the noun. It is the same accusative, same instrumental, same dative, same genitive, same locative throughout. (e. g.) In Kannada, we have

(i) maganam keḷidaḷ
(ii) magaḷam keḷidaḷ

(iii) Nāyiyam poydam
(iv) makkaḷam keḷidaḷ
(v) Nāygaḷam poydar.

We find the same accusative sign 'am' used irrespective of number and gender. The same holds good in the case of other Dravidian Languages. Whereas in Sanskrit it changes at every step.

(b) The fact that there is such an amount of laxity in the application of the rule of case-sign in these languages and the practice of 'functional synchretism (commonly termed vibhakti pallaṭa) that prevails, goes to substantiate that at one time in the early past, the distinction between severel case-signs was not well-marked. It was by the context — more than by the rule — that the relation between the subject and the object, was understood e. g. in Kannada this has been in vogue from the earliest times to the present day and certain deviations from the strict grammatical rules are hailed as idioms.

(1) Elavo-nīnenna Konday — must have been nīnnennam konday (genetive enna is used instead of the accusative ennam).

(2) Karu-biḍu which is considered a good idiom, must have been 'karuvam biḍu' (Again genitive for accusative).

(3) Nuṇpanuḷḷam must have been nuṇpuḷḷan (Accusative used for nominative).

(4) Kattiyoḷ or Kattiyalli Kaḍidan must have been Kattiyim or Kattiyinda kaḍidan. (Here the locative sign 'oḷ' has been used instead of the instrumental sign 'in' or 'inda').

This practice of Vibhakti pallaṭa goes on even to this day in almost all the Dravidian Languages and it is by the context that the correct relationship is grasped. If we could mathematically argue out we may come to the inevitable mathematical equation that Nominative = Accusative = Instrumental = etc.

(c) There is no independent case sign for the nominative, even though Kannada grammarians were tempted to take 'm' or 'n' or bindu, and Telugu grammarians were tempted to take ḍu, nu, vu, for singular and lu for plural. Closer examination will tell us that had there been a genuine case-sign, it must have been affixed in the nominative case of all nouns. But in Kannada only nouns ending in 'a' take that so called case-sign. Others do not. In Telugu too words like tandri, talli, do not take in that sign. Evidently, they are the remnants of the Dravidian pronouns avan (kannada) and vāḍu etc. (Telugu) tagged on to the bases, at times, just to indicate the gender. Therefore there is no regular case-sign for the nominative in the Dravidian Languages.

(d) *Ablative Case* is another very interesting item that has evoked much interest among the students of comparative grammar. Some scholars like Dr. Caldwell hold the view that there is no Ablative case in the Dravidian Languages, but Dravidian grammarians who fashioned their treatises after Sanskrit grammar invented it to fall in line with Sanskrit. But if we study the table of signs, given before, we find what is the instrumental case sign (" in ") in Kannada is the Ablative case-sign in Tamil. Also in Kannada without this 'in' or 'inde' coming to the aid 'at', the case cannot fnnction. In Ṭamil 'āl' is the instrumental case-sign. Thus we find that there is no definiteness about the Instrumental and Ablative case-signs of the Dravidian Languages. It may be we do not have different case-signs, but the idea of ablative case is there. For is there no difference between the ideas implied in the case-ending of Kattiyinda and maneyunda between 'Kattiyinda Kaḍide' and 'Maneyinda bande'. In some Kannada dialects 'inda' is used exclusively for ablative and 'li' (a variant of 'alli' of the locative) used for the instrumental case (e. g. Kattili Kaḍide). If we analyse carefully this suffix 'inda' or 'in' it looks as though it must be a later form derived from 'il' meaning 'house', or 'here'. (It is common knowledge of philology that l becomes n). If, as suggested, 'in' has something to do with 'place' it is in the fitness of things that 'in' takes the rightful place of the ablative case-sign. Therefore, it is extremely hard to discard the ablative case as such, although there may not be an independent case-sign which is used uniformly in all the Dravidian Languages.

(e) Dr. Caldwell and several other scholars have expressed the view that case-signs in the Dravidian Languages must have been independent words with their own meaning at one time during the develepment of these languages. From the table above, it is seen that Telugu possesses a good many signs which are still meaningful words. Ceta, toda, koraka, velana, patti, are all fully understandable words used as case-signs. Telugu behaves in a peculiar manner in regard to some case-signs. What is used for Dative in the other (ku) is used as a genitive case-sign in Telugu. " Andu " an adverb of time (?) in the other Dravidian Languages is used as a locative case sign in Telugu. In all the Dravidian Languages, the locative case-sign oḷ, uḷ, il, etc. are full of meaning. They mean inside (oḷ), house (iḷ), there (alli) etc. The genitive case-sign a, really a relic of atu (that, possession), is meaningful. Quite probably 'in' is meaningful. In the case of instrumental case, it would mean with 'here' (il in) and in the case of albative case, it would mean from 'here' (il > in). Accusative and Dative signs are no doubt relics of some Dravidian words which still continue to play hide-and-seek with us.

From the fore-going analysis, it is clear that there is an underlying oneness in the development of case signs in the Dravidian Lauguages, there is no fixity regarding the application of the case rule in them, there is much functiona

synchretism, at times one particular case-sign is used for denoting different cases in two Dravidian Languages (thereby indicating the laxity at the earliest times), that exact meaning is attained by context, that at one time there might not have been any case-signs at all, but gradually those words which were employed to indicate the relationship between the several nouns began to act as case-signs. Some relating to old forms and some others, contracting into new forms beyond recognition (as in the accusative and dative case-sign).

SECTION : HINDI

Presidential Address

Dr. B. P. Mishra, Bilaspur

बहिनों और भाइयों,

अखिल भारतीय प्राच्यविद्या महासभा के इस त्रयोदश अधिवेशन में आपलोगों के सन्मुख उपस्थित होते हुए मुझे संकोच भी हो रहा है और उत्साह भी। संकोच इस लिए हो रहा है कि जो गुरुतर भार मेरे कन्धों पर रखा गया है उसको वहन करने के लिए मुझसे भी योग्यतर अनेक सज्जन कदाचित् इसी महासभा में विद्यमान हैं। उत्तम होता कि इस मंच से उनकी विचारधारायें मुझे सुनने को मिलतीं और उनके द्वारा इस विभाग का सुचारु संचालन मुझे देखने को मिलता। उत्साह इसलिए हो रहा है कि आपलोगों के समान लब्ध-प्रतिष्ठ विद्वानों का ऐसा सुंदर सहयोग हिंदी को प्राप्त है और आपलोग इस सहृदयता के साथ मेरे समान अल्पज्ञ के भी कुछ वाक्य सुनने के लिए प्रसन्नतापूर्वक यहां पधारे हुए हैं।

यह कहने की बात नहीं कि हिन्दी का महत्व दिन दिन बढता जा रहा है। प्राच्यविद्या महासभा के साथ तो उसका घनिष्ठ सम्बन्ध होना ही चाहिए। भारतीय संस्कृति की संरक्षा और परिवृद्धि में इसी भाषा ने देववाणी संस्कृत और जनवाणी प्राकृत का सबसे बड़ा उत्तराधिकार पाया है। अनेक शताब्दियों से यही भाषा भारतीय राष्ट्र की भाषा रही है और अनेक शताब्दियों तक यही भाषा राष्ट्रभाषा के पदपर आरूढ रहने वाली है। इसलिए मैं तो उस दिन परम प्रसन्न होऊंगा जिस दिन सुनूंगा कि प्राच्यविद्या महासभा के कर्णधारों ने इस हिन्दी ही को अपने विचार-विनिमय का माध्यम बना लिया है और अब इसी भाषा के द्वारा महासभा की समूची कार्यवाहियां सम्पन्न हो रही हैं। प्राच्यविद्याओं की चर्चा के लिए प्राच्यलोग अंग्रेजी के समान एक विदेशी भाषा का मुह ताकें यह बात आत्मसम्मान के सर्वथा प्रतिकूल जान पडती है। हमारे पास यदि कोई सर्वजन सम्मत अथवा सर्वजन सुलभ भाषा न होती तो बात दूसरी थी। परन्तु हिन्दी के रहते यह कहा ही नहीं जा सकता कि इस देश में ऐसी सर्वजन-सुलभ तथा सर्वजन-सम्मत भाषा का किसी प्रकार भी अभाव है।

इस सम्बन्ध में विचार करते हुए "हिन्दुस्तानी" विषयक आन्दोलन भी बरबस ज्ञानचक्षुओं के सामने आ जाता है। हिन्दी और हिन्दुस्तानी के बीच जो संघर्ष सा छिड़ गया है उसने

हिन्दी के संबंध में कई भ्रामक धारणायें फैला दी हैं। जब मुसलमान लोग “हिन्द” में आये तब “हिन्दी” वस्तुओं—हिन्द की वस्तुओं-से परिचय प्राप्त करना भी उन्होंने आवश्यक समझा। जनसाधारण में दिल्ली के आसपास की प्रचलित भाषा को उन्होंने हिन्द की भाषा माना और उसे “हिन्दी” अथवा “हिन्दवी” नाम दिया। यही मध्यदेश की भाषा थी जो कम से कम, उत्तरभारत में भली भांति प्रचलित थी। हिन्दू भी इसी भाषा का व्यवहार करते रहे और मुसलमान भी। इसबीच अनेक सज्जनों ने प्रयत्न किया कि हिन्दू और मुसलमान संस्कृतियों का एकीकरण हो जाय। परन्तु दुर्भाग्यवश यह बात न हो सकी। इसलिए कई शताब्दियों बाद हिन्दी की दो स्पष्ट शाखाएं हो गईं। हिन्दी का वह रूप जो मुस्लिम संस्कृति से भरपूर प्रभावित था उर्दू या उर्दुए मुअल्ला कहाया, और वह रूप जो हिन्दू संस्कृति तथा संस्कृत भाषा से विशेष प्रभावित था, मुसलमानों द्वारा तथा कुछ हिन्दुओं द्वारा भी “भाखा” अथवा “भाषा” नाम से सम्बोधित हुआ। उर्दू का रूप तो दरबारों तक और पढेलिखे कुछ लोगों तक ही सीमित रहा, परन्तु हिन्दी का “भाखा” रूप सर्वसाधारण के हृदयों में घर किये रहा। इसीलिए जब अंग्रेज लोग आये और उन्हें भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा से परिचय प्राप्त करने की इच्छा हुई तब इसी “भाखा” में ग्रन्थ–प्रणयन प्रारंभ हुआ। प्रेमसागर, नासिकेतोपाख्यान आदि इसी भाषा में लिखाए गये। पादरीलोगों ने इसी भाषा में अपने प्रचार ग्रन्थ तैयार कराये। परन्तु फिर राजनैतिक दावपेंचों आदि के कारण हिन्दी की और उनकी उपेक्षा हुई और उर्दू तथा अंग्रेजी का बोलबाला हुआ। इतना होते हुए भी जनता के हृदय से यह भाषा हटाई न जा सकी और इसलिए यही भाषा अपने प्राचीन “हिन्दी” नामके साथ फिर अपने प्राचीन आसन पर विराजमान दिखाई दे रही है।

मुस्लिम संस्कृति कितनी भी उच्च हो फिर यह अपने वर्तमान रूप में विदेशी संस्कृति ही मानी जाती है। इसलिए राष्ट्रभाषाके विकास में इस संस्कृति को प्रधान आधारस्तंभ बनाने से काम नहीं चल सकता। इसके लिए तो परम्परागत संस्कृति ही मानदण्ड का काम दे सकती है। इसीलिए यदि हमें अपनी राष्ट्रभाषा के लिए नए शब्द बनाने होगें तो उन्हें विशेषतः संस्कृत के आधार पर ही गढ़ना होगा। यह बात नहीं है कि हम विदेशी शब्दों अथवा मुहाविरोंका एकदम बहिष्कार करते रहें। उन्हें जितना अपनाते बने अपनाना चाहिए। भाषाकी सजीवता का लक्षण ही यही है कि उसकी पाचनशक्ति उचित रूपसे काम दे रही हो। परन्तु इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि भाषा की प्रकृति पहिचाने बिना उसमें मनमानी ठूंसठांस होने दी जाय। ऐसा होने से भाषाको निश्चय ही अपच हो जायगा और आश्चर्य नहीं कि वह शीघ्र ही अपना कलेवर छोड़ दे और स्वतः हमारे लिए विदेशी बन जाय। उसका कलेवर छूटा कि उसके द्वारा हमतक आई हुई परम्परागत संस्कृति का कलेवर भी छूटा ही समझिये। और अपनी परम्परागत संस्कृति ही हमसे छूट गई तो हमारी राष्ट्रीयता का ही क्या मूल्य रहा?

किसी भी भाषा के प्रत्येक शब्द के पीछे एक सामान्य अर्थ ही नहीं छिपा रहता, वरं उस अर्थ के साथ एक परम्परागत सांस्कृतिक भाव-समूह भी लहरें मारा करता है। “उस्ताद” में वह बात आ ही नहीं सकती जो “गुरु” में है। “भगवान दास” और “अब्दुल करीम” अर्थतः एक होते हुए भी भिन्नभिन्न सत्ताएं रखते हैं। इसी प्रकार अब “हिन्दी” और “उर्दू” का हाल हो गया है। दोनों दो भाषाएं हो चुकी हैं और दोनों की दो भिन्न प्रकृतियां हो चुकी हैं। इन दोनों के संमिश्रण से जिस नई

“हिन्दुस्तानी” भाषा के गढ़ने का प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है वह तबतक सर्वमान्य नहीं हो सकती जबतक परम्परागत भारतीय और विदेश से आई मुस्लिम संस्कृतियों का समुचित समन्वय न हो जाय। यदि भगीरथ-प्रयत्न द्वारा “भाखा” और उर्दू की तहों तक जाकर हिन्दुस्तानी नाम से हिन्दी का पुराना रूप छांट भी लिया गया तो भी संस्कृति-विभिन्नता के कारण सांप्रदायिक लोगों के हाथों में पड़कर वह या तो उर्दू का चोला ग्रहण कर लेगा, या संस्कृतबहुल “भाषा” का। इसलिए नई भाषा गढ़ने की बात को राजनैतिक नेताओं की प्रयोग-प्रक्रिया के लिए छोड़कर राष्ट्रभाषाके निर्णय में हमें तो यही देखना उचित है कि हमारे लिए हिन्दी का परम्परागत रूप अधिक उपयुक्त होगा अथवा अरबी फारसी मिश्रित रूप। राष्ट्रीयताके सच्चे प्रेमी लोग इन दोनो में से हिन्दी के परम्परागत रूप को ही वस्तुतः अधिक उपयुक्त समझेंगे। विशेष रूपसे उच्च विचारों के आदानप्रदान में तो निश्चित ही यही रूप अधिक उपयुक्त समझा जायगा। इसीलिए मेरा नम्र निवेदन है कि अखिल भारत की प्राच्यविद्या महासभा, जो संभवतः भारत को एक राष्ट्र मान रही है और अपने द्वारा विद्वज्जनों को उच्च विचार ही देना चाह रही है, राष्ट्रभाषा के इस प्रश्न पर गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार करे, और हिन्दी को अपनी कार्यवाहियों का माध्यम बनाने का पूरा प्रयत्न करे।

यह बात नहीं है कि हिंदी तथा हिंदुस्तानी के सम्बन्ध में ये मेरे अपने ही विचार हों। देश के बड़े बड़े नेताओं ने इस विषय पर कुछ इसी प्रकार का प्रकाश डाला है। यदि हिंदुस्तानी गढ़ी, अथवा उर्दू और हिंदी के दोषों से निकाल कर छांटी, जा रही है, तो सर्वसाधारण के सामान्य व्यवहारों ही के लिए। वह बाजारों तथा अखबारों की ही भाषा होकर रहेगी, न कि उच्च साहित्य की। उच्च साहित्य के लिए जो राष्ट्रभाषा होगी उसका ढांचा मेरी समझ में विशुद्ध हिन्दी का होगा। हां, यह हो सकता है कि उसमें से बहुतसे अप्रचलित संस्कृत शब्द और संस्कृत व्याकरण के अनेकानेक प्रयोग निकाल दिए जायं, तथा उनके स्थान में अरबी फारसी के प्रचलित शब्द तथा प्रयोग स्वीकार कर लिए जायं। परन्तु ऐसा करने से भाषा का रूप नहीं बदल जाता। वह जिस नाम से पुकारी जाती है उसी नाम से पुकारी जायगी।

मुझे न तो उर्दू भाषासे कोई विरोध है और न उर्दू साहित्य से। उसे फलने फूलने का उसी प्रकार अधिकार है जिस प्रकार मराठी, बंगाली या गुजराती को। परन्तु उसे राष्ट्रभाषा वेही लोग मान सकते हैं जो मुसलमानों के संबंध में एक अलग राष्ट्र की कल्पना कर रहे हैं। तथा एक राष्ट्रभाषा की दो लिपियां और दो शैलियां भी उन्हें ही भा सकती हैं जो वर्तमान परिस्थिति में राष्ट्रीयता के दो रूपों के कायल हैं। आखिर इस द्विविधा का कभी न कभी तो अंत होगा। और वह अंत निश्चित ही हिन्दी के पक्ष में होनेवाला है। इसलिये जो लोग उर्दू के अभाव में हिन्दी को अकेली आगे नहीं बढने देना चाहते हैं अथवा जो अनावश्यक ही यह समझकर भयभीत होते रहते हैं कि हिंदुस्तानी के नामपर उर्दू ही देश की राष्ट्रभाषा हो जायगी और राष्ट्रीय साहित्य के क्षेत्र से भी हिन्दी को निकाल बाहर करेगी, वे वस्तुस्थिति को पूरी तरह नहीं समझ पाये हैं, ऐसा समझना चाहिये। महात्मा गांधी अपना कार्य कर रहे हैं और अखिल भारतीय हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन अपना कार्य। एकही उद्देश्य को अपने सामने रखकर दोनों ने दो भिन्न मार्गों का अवलम्बन किया है। महात्मा गांधी के इस कथन में

कि सम्मेलन की विशेष सेवा करने ही के लिये वे सम्मेलन से अलग हुए हैं, बहुत बड़ा सत्य निहित है। इस सत्यका जो लोग अनुभव नही कर पा रहे हैं वे ही हिन्दी और हिदुस्तानी के तथाकथित संघर्ष से विक्षुब्ध होते रहते हैं।

हिन्दी जगत् में जनपद आन्दोलन नामक एक नया आन्दोलन अंगड़ाइयां ले रहा है। अभी इस आंदोलन ने जोर नहीं पकड़ा है, परन्तु लक्षण दिखाई पड़ते हैं कि शीघ्र ही यह उग्र रूप धारण कर लेगा। इस आंदोलन के प्रभाव से हिन्दी उन प्रान्तों में भी मातृभाषा के पद से हटा दी जावेगी जहां वह अबतक मातृभाषा मानी जाती रही है। इस मध्यप्रदेश के महाकोशल को ही लीजिए। यदि जनपद आंदोलन सफल हुवा तो छत्तीसगढ़ी, बुंदेलखंडी और निमाड़ी आदि यहां की मातृभाषाएं हो जावेंगी और हिन्दी को केवल राष्ट्रभाषा के पदपर आसीन रहकर ही सन्तुष्ट होना पड़ेगा। हिन्दी को राष्ट्रभाषा के रूप में स्वीकार करने का एक प्रबल कारण यह है कि वह कई प्रान्तों की मातृभाषा है। जनपद आंदोलन की सफलता के बाद यह कारण अपने वर्तमान रूप में कहां तक स्थिर रह सकेगा यह विचारणीय है। फिर यह विकेन्द्रीकरण भी कहां जाकर रुकेगा यह कहना बहुत कठिन है। कहावत है कि एक एक योजन पर जनपदों की बोलियां बदल जाया करतीं हैं। राजनांदगांव की छत्तिसगढ़ी वह नहीं जो रायगढ़ अथवा बस्तर की है। इस स्थिति में जनपद के किस स्थान-विशेष की बोली को टकसाली मानकर मातृभाषा पद दिया जाय! और यदि किसी स्थान–विशेष की बोली को प्रान्त भर के लिये टकसाली समझा जा रहा है, तो हिन्दी ही के लिये यह पद क्यों न सुररिक्षत रखा जाय? जब कि संसार राष्ट्रीयता से भी आगे बढ़कर अन्तरराष्ट्रीयता की बातें सोच रहा है, उस समय हमें "जनपद आन्दोलन" की बातें सोचने में बहुत सतर्क रहना चाहिए। हम यह नहीं चाहते कि जनपद की बोली में कुछ लिखा ही न जाय। ब्रजभाषा, अवधी, बुन्देलखण्डी, राजस्थानी आदि में न जाने कितना साहित्य निर्मित हुआ है। ग्राम्यगीतों और ग्राम्य कहावतों की भाषा जनपदों ही की भाषा है। परन्तु जबतक राष्ट्रभाषा हिन्दी का रूप और आसन देश में सुदृढ़ नही हो चुका है तबतक जनपद की बोलियों को शिक्षा का, और विशेषकर उच्च शिक्षा का, माध्यम बनाने का आग्रह करना हमारी समझ में उपयुक्त न होगा।

शिक्षा के माध्यम की बात सामने आते ही हमारे ध्यान में नागपुर विश्वविद्यालय का निर्णय भी खिंच आता है। विश्वविद्यालय के कुलपति जस्टिस पुराणिक महोदय तथा अन्य सदस्यों की सदिच्छा और सत्प्रयत्न से विश्वविद्यालय ने निश्चय कर लिया है कि प्रान्तीय भाषाओं के माध्यम द्वारा उच्चशिक्षा का प्रबंध किया जावे। यह निःसंदेह स्तुत्य निर्णय है और इस प्रकार कीं आवाज यहीं से नहीं वरं अन्य विश्वविद्यालयों से भी उठाई जा रही है। अतएव हिंदी हितैषियों का परम कर्तव्य हो जाता है कि वे विविध विषयों मे कॉलेज के लायक पुस्तकें शीघ्रतिशीघ्र तैयार कर दें। मध्यप्रदेश की हिन्दी प्रारंभ से ही टकसाली रही है, क्यों कि इस प्रान्त में उर्दू का जोर कभी नहीं रहा। यहां की हिन्दी को संस्कृत की ही एक दूसरी वंशजा मराठी का पूर्ण सहयोग प्राप्त है। मराठी के अनेकानेक धुरंधर विद्वानों ने हिन्दी के साहित्य की प्रसन्नतापूर्वक अभिवृद्धि की है। दोनों भाषाओं की लिपि भी एक है; और दोनों भाषाओं में विविध विषयों के पारिभाषिक शब्द भी एक ही प्रकार

के गढ़े जा सकते है। अतएव दोनों भाषाओं के विद्वानों के सहयोग से हिंदी में उच्च शिक्षा विषयक पाठ्य ग्रन्थों के निर्माण कार्य में अन्य प्रान्तों की अपेक्षा यह प्रान्त अधिक सफल हो सकता है ऐसा विश्वास है। विश्वविद्यालय के अधिकारियों से निवेदन है कि जिस प्रकार उन्होंने माध्यम विषयक उत्तम निर्णय करने की कृपा की है उसी प्रकार अध्यापकों तथा अधिकारी लेखकों को प्रोत्साहित करके ग्रंथ–प्रणयनका भी कार्य प्रारंभ करा दें।

हिन्दी में ग्रन्थप्रणयन न हो रहा हो यह बात नहीं है। इस समय हिन्दी साहित्य की दिन दूनी रात चौगुनी उन्नति हो रही है। प्रत्येक विषय में उत्तमोत्तम पुस्तकें तैयार की जा रही हैं। महायुद्ध के कारण कागज़ों का जो अभाव हो गया था उसके प्रभाव से इस बीच नई पुस्तकें देखने को बहुत कम मिल रही हैं। परन्तु इसका यह अर्थ नहीं है कि वे तैयार न की गई हों। युक्तप्रान्त, बिहार और पंजाब में ठोस साहित्य निर्मित हो रहा है। अन्य प्रान्तों में भी अनेक प्रकाशन संस्थाएं खुल चुकी हैं। मध्यप्रदेश भी अपनी शक्तिभर अपना सहयोग-दान दे रहा है। श्रद्धेय पं. माखनलालजी चतुर्वेदी की सूक्तियों और बाबू गोविंददासजी के नाटकों के अतिरिक्त यहां के दो मिश्र महोदयों द्वारा दो महाकाव्य–कृष्णायन और साकेत संत — तैयार हो चुके हैं जो हिन्दी साहित्य की स्थायी सम्पत्ति होंगे। मध्यप्रान्तीय साहित्यिकों का एक वृहत् इतिहास श्री सिलाकारीजी ने प्रस्तुत कर ही दिया है जो सुविधा के अभाव से अवतक छप नहीं सका है। प्रान्त के अनेकानेक सज्जन डाक्टरेट की उपलब्धि के लिये अपने अपने निबंध लिखने में जुटे हुए हैं। वे निबंध अवश्य ही साहित्य–भारती के मंदिर के मूल्यवान अलंकार होंगे।

विशुद्ध साहित्यिक रचनाओं की ओर दृष्टिपात कीजिए तो जान पड़ेगा कि अभी भी अधिकांश सज्जन गतानुगतिकता और वादों के विवाद से मुक्त नहीं हो पाये हैं। इतिवृत्तात्मक रचनाओं की प्रतिक्रिया में छायावाद आया, और छायावाद की प्रतिक्रिया में प्रगतिवाद। इन वादों में अनेक स्थलोंपर पाश्चात्य प्रभाव का अन्धानुकरण स्पष्ट दिखाई पड़ता है। जिस प्रकार केवल काल्पनिक मनोराज्य के स्वप्न देखते रहना और उन्हें दुरूह शब्दावलियों द्वारा व्यक्त करते रहना छायावाद नहीं है, उसी प्रकार केवल नालियों को शहर मानकर समाज के श्याम पक्षको क्रान्ति पूर्ण शब्दों में सामने लाते रहना ही प्रगतिवाद नहीं है। साहित्य केवल एक कला ही नहीं है। उसके कलापक्ष की अपेक्षा उसका हृदय पक्ष विशेष महत्वपूर्ण है। वह साहित्य ही क्या जिसने हृदय विकसित न किया–जिसने सत्य की वास्तविक अनुभूति न दी। प्रसन्नता की बात है कि आज दिन का प्रगतिवाद "सुन्दरम्" के साथ ही साथ "सत्यम्" और "शिवम्" की उपलब्धि की भी आवश्यकता का कुछ कुछ अनुभव करने लगा है।

काव्य प्रबंधों, उपन्यासों और नाटकों की अपेक्षा इस समय कहानियों और एकांकी रचनाओंका ज़ोर अधिक है। पद्यों और निबन्धों में भी राष्ट्रीय जागरण संबंधी विषयों की प्रमुखता रहती है। यह क्रम स्वाभाविक है। परन्तु इस क्रम से मिली हुई वस्तुओं की संख्या इतनी अधिक हो गई है कि अधिकांश नवयुवकों अथवा सामान्य पाठकों का ध्यान इनसे आगे जाता ही नहीं है। उनमें से

कई लोगों का ज्ञान खड़ी बोली तक ही सीमित रह जाता है। हिन्दी को गौरव प्रदान करने में जितना खड़ी बोली का हाथ है उससे अधिक "पड़ी बोली" (ब्रज, अवधी इत्यादि) का है। रामचरितमानस, सूरसागर आदि ग्रन्थरत्न इसी पड़ी बोली की विभूतियां हैं। इन्हें स्वप्न में भी भुलाया नहीं जा सकता। पड़ी बोली आज दिन भी जीती जागती फूल फल रही है और आज दिन भी उसमें माननीय पंण्डित द्वारकाप्रसादजी मिश्र प्रभृति सज्जनों द्वारा "कृष्णायन" के समान महाकाव्य रचे जा सकते हैं। अतएव जो सज्जन हिन्दी के वास्तविक अभ्युदय के दर्शनाकांक्षी हैं वे उसके दोनों रूपों को अपनी दोनों आंखो के सन्मुख समान भाव से स्थान दें।

युगधर्म से जब समाज बंधा हुआ है तब स्वाभाविक है कि साहित्य भी उसकी उपेक्षा नहीं कर सकता। पिछले दो तीन वर्षों में अखिल विश्व के युगधर्म ने पलटे खाये हैं। भारत में तो परिवर्तन की लहर ने विशेष रूप से अपना जोर बनाया है। हिंदी साहित्य में इसीलिए गान्धीवाद और समाजवाद की इन दिनों खूब चर्चा हुई है। इसलिए, जैसा कि पहले कहा जा चुका है, हिंदी और हिंदुस्थानी ने इन दिनों क्रियात्मक रूप धारण कर लिया है। इसलिए, इन दिनों जनपथ आन्दोलन का जामा पहिन विकेन्द्रीकरण ने बुन्देलखंड और राजस्थान में अपना ढिंढोरा पीटना प्रारंभ कर दिया है। इसीलिए विश्वविद्यालयों में मातृभाषा का महत्त्व बढ़ रहा है, और डॉक्टर रघुवीर आदि सज्जनों के प्रयत्न से पारिभाषिक शब्दों, प्रो. दयाशंकर दुबे आदि सज्जनों के प्रयत्न से शास्त्रीय ग्रंथों तथा पं. किशोरीदास वाजपेयी, बाबू रामचन्द्र वर्मा आदि सज्जनों के प्रयत्न से भाषा की विशुद्धि आदि की समस्या हल की जा रही है। इसीलिए आज हिंदी साहित्य का बहुसम्मत विषय कोई काल्पनिक मनोराज्य नहीं, किन्तु मजदूरों और किसानों का ठोस सत्य हो रहा है। आज हमारे लेखकों और पाठकों की रुचि अन्तर–राष्ट्रीय संस्कृतियों की जानकारी के लिये अग्रसर हो रही है। परन्तु इस व्यापकता की खोज में पड़कर उन्होंने अपनी विशेष निधियां भुलाई नहीं हैं। विक्रम की द्विसहस्त्राब्दी के बाद उन्होंने जिस उमंग से इस स्वर्णयुग की चर्चा की, बंगाल के अकाल के बाद बच्चन आदि सत्कवियों के सहयोग से उन्होने उसी जोश के साथ इस सहयुग का कर्कश चित्र भी उभय प्रकार के नेत्रों के सन्मुख झुला दिया। पं. हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी, बाबू गुलाबराय और हमारे मंत्री डॉ. हीरालाल जैन प्रभृति कुछ सज्जनों ने इन दो तीन वर्षों के भीतर ऐसी गवेषणात्मक कृतियां भी दी हैं जो काल निरपेक्ष होकर भाषा और साहित्य दोनों की अनेक समस्याओं का समाधान करती हुइ दोनों की गौरववृद्धि में विशेष सहायक सिद्ध हो रही हैं।

हिन्दी की समस्याओं का विचार करते हुए दो विषय और भी हैं जिनकी ओर ध्यान गये बिना नहीं रहता। एक है रेडियो और दूसरा है सिनेमा। रेडियो के संबंध में हिन्दी जगत् ने जो देशव्यापी आन्दोलन छेड़ा उसका प्रभाव लोगोंने स्पष्ट देखा। हर्ष का विषय है कि इस संबंध में गवर्नमेंट ने अपनी नीति में जो परिवर्तन किया है उसके कारण इस वर्ष हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन ने रेडियो विभाग को अपना सहयोग देना स्वीकार कर लिया है। परन्तु सम्मेलन ने यह नीति स्पष्ट कर दी है कि "यदि एक ही भाषा शैली में संवादों का प्रसार होना है.तो वह भाषा ऐसी हिन्दी होगी जो

न केवल संयुक्तप्रान्त, बिहार, मध्यप्रान्त, राजपुताना, मध्यभारत, दिल्ली और पंजाब में समझी जा सके किन्तु जो महाराष्ट्र, गुजरात, बंगाल, उड़ीसा और दूसरे प्रान्तों में भी समझी जा सकें। इस भाषा में फारसी, अरबी और दूसरे विदेशी जनसाधारण में चले हुए शब्दों का बहिष्कार न होगा परन्तु भाषा का आधार देशी शब्द ही होंगे, चाहे तत्सम रूप में चाहे तद्भव रूप में। नये शब्दों के बनाने में संस्कृत और प्राकृत का ही सहारा लिया जायगा, क्यों कि देश की अधिकतर प्रान्तीय भाषाओं का उनसे संबंध है ! अरबी और फारसी आदि विदेशी शब्द जो चलन में हैं वे भी हिन्दी व्याकरण के अनुसार व्यवहार में आयेंगे।" देखना चाहिए कि इस सहयोग के अनन्तर रेडियो अब हिन्दी के किस प्रकार के रूप को प्रचार का माध्यम बनाता है।

सिनेमा के क्षेत्र में हिन्दी के कई लब्धप्रतिष्ठ कलाकार प्रवेश पा चुके हैं। मैं समझता हूं कि उसके सहयोग से राष्ट्रभाषा का रूप विकृत न होने पावेगा। परंतु जिस बात का सबसे अधिक डर है वह है उनकी प्रतिभा का दुरुपयोग। सिनेमा व्यवसायियों का विशेष ध्यान तो चवन्नीवाले दर्शकों पर रहता है, क्योंकि उन्हीं से उन्हें विशेष आय होती है। कलाकार लोग अपनी कलाकृतियों से यदि चवन्नीवाले दर्शकों का मनोरंजन करते हुए उन्हें ऊंचा उठा भी सकें तब तो उसकी प्रतिभा सफल है, अन्यथा यदि वे निम्नस्तर का मनोरंजन ही दे सके तो यही समझा जायगा कि अर्थलाभ के लोभ के हाथों उन्होंने अपनी प्रतिभा बेच दी। प्रतिभा के बलपर अनुभूति के सागर को जो जितना अधिक मथ सकेगा वही उतने अधिक मूल्यवान रत्नों की लड़ियां बिखेर सकेगा। साहित्य-रचना एक महती साधना है। हृदय का खून सुखा सुखा कर काला कर कर के कागजों पर उँडेला जाता है, तब कहीं उस स्याही से लोक को अपने कल्याण की उज्वल वस्तुएं मिलतीं हैं। अक्षरों के रूप में ऐसी अक्षर उज्वल वस्तुएं दे सकने की जिनमें ईश्वर-दत्त क्षमता है उन्हें अपना दायित्व भलीभांति समझते रहना चाहिए। इसी में उनका भी कल्याण है और लोक का भी। मेरा अनुरोध है कि हिन्दी के पुजारी, चाहे वे सिनेमा क्षेत्र में हों; चाहे उसके बाहर हों, अपने इस दायित्वको समझें। इस दायित्व के लिए यह भी नितान्त आवश्यक है कि साहित्यकार वस्तुस्थिति की वास्तविकता को कभी न भूले। भविष्य के पथप्रदर्शक के लिए शून्यविहारी बनने के बदले ठोस जमीन पर स्थित रहकर गतिशील होना ही परम अभीष्ट है।

मैंने आप लोगों का बहुत समय लिया। अतएव इस धैर्य के साथ इस वक्तृत्व को सुनते रहने के कारण आप लोगों को हृदय से धन्यवाद देता हुआ मैं अपना स्थान ग्रहण करता हूं।

नामदेव और उनकी हिन्दी कविता

प्रो· विनयमोहन शर्मा, नागपुर

प्राचीन युग में आसेतु हिमाचल तक जो सांस्कृतिक योग हम पाते हैं, वह संतों की जागरूकता और समन्वय बुद्धि के कारण ही सध सका है। उनकी पर्यटन प्रवृत्ति ने एक प्रान्त की संस्कृति का दूसरे प्रान्तों में सहज संचार कर दिया था। प्रान्तीयता की दिवारों को उन्होंनें ढा दिया था। इसीलिए ज्ञान, धर्म, साहित्य और संस्कार का अमृत किसी प्रान्त विशेष से भरकर उसी तक नहीं रह गया, उसने समस्त देश को आप्लावित किया। किसी भी प्रान्त की जनता ने यह जानने की कभी चेष्टा नहीं की कि शंकराचार्य, चैतन्य, नामदेव, मीरा, सूर, और कबीर ने कहाँ जन्म लिया, क्योंकि जिस प्रकार उन्होंने सब प्रान्तों को अपना समझा, उसी प्रकार तब प्रान्तों ने भी उनपर अपना समान अधिकार माना। यही कारण है कि प्राचीन संतों के जीवन-क्रम का ज्ञान सन्दिग्ध और अपूर्ण रह गया है। संतों ने स्वयँ अपने संबंध में मौन ही धारण किया है। उन्हें अपने भौतिक शरीर को 'अमर' बना रखने की कभी चिन्ता नहीं हुई। उन्होंने तो अपने भीतर जिस 'परम सत्य' को अनुभव किया था, उसी को 'अमर' बनाने की चेष्टा की। उनके लिए अपनी शरीर-लीला गौण थी। वे ऐसे दीप-वाहक थे जो अपने को छाया में रखकर संसार को केवल 'प्रकाश' देते थे। लोग यह भी नहीं जान पाये थे कि वे कब आये और कब चले गये।

मध्यदेश में जिन नामदेव ने 'निर्गुणपंथ' का सूत्रपात किया और जिसे कबीर, नानक आदि ने प्रचारित किया, उनके बारे में भी यही हाल है। वे महाराष्ट्र के रहनेवाले थे या उत्तर भारतके इसमें भी सन्देह है। सिक्खों के आदि ग्रन्थ में 'गुरुओं' की वाणी के अतिरिक्त जयदेव, नामदेव, त्रिलोचन, परमानन्द, सदन, वेणी, रामानन्द, घना, पीपा, सेना, कबीर, रैदास, मीराबाई, शेख फरीद, भीकण, सूरदास आदिके भी पद संकलित हैं।

'आदि ग्रन्थ' का संग्रह संवत् १६६१ में किया गया है। मराठी के कतिपय साहित्यकार 'आदि ग्रन्थ' के भक्त नामदेव और महाराष्ट्र के संत नामदेव को एक नहीं मानते। और जिन नामदेव के अभंगों का महाराष्ट्र में सातसौ वर्षों से प्रचार है उनको भी ज्ञानदेव या ज्ञानेश्वर का समकालीन नहीं मानते। परन्तु हम भिंगारकर, पांगारकर, आजगाँवकर, भावे, जोशी आदि के समान ही ज्ञानेश्वर कालीन नामदेव और 'आदिग्रन्थ' के नामदेव को अभिन्न मानते हैं। ज्ञानदेव ने अपने ग्रन्थ ज्ञानेश्वरी के अन्त में "शके बाराशीं बारोत्तरें। तैं टीका केली ज्ञानेश्वरें" ओवी लिखकर अपना 'काल' असंदिग्ध कर दिया है। ज्ञानेश्वरी की रचना शके १२१२ में पूर्ण हुई है। महाराष्ट्र में 'नामदेव'

नामके छः संत कवि हो गए हैं। अतएव ज्ञानेश्वर-कालीन आदि नामदेव के सम्बन्ध में जानकारी प्राप्त करना और भी कठिन हो गया है। पूना के आवटे महाशय ने 'सकल संत गाथा' में नामदेव के अभंगों की गाथा छापी है जिसमें २५०० अभंग हैं। उसमें कमाल, मीराबाई आदि की कथा भी गाई गई है, जो आदि नामदेव के समकालीन नहीं थे। इन संतों की गाथा गानेवाला "विष्णुदास नामा" है, परन्तु यह ज्ञानेश्वर कालीन नामदेव से भिन्न होना चाहिए; क्योंकि आदि नामदेव शके १२७२ में समाधिस्थ हो चुके थे। गड़बड़ में डालनेवाली बात यह है कि आदि नामदेव और मीरा, कमाल आदि के चरित्र गाने वाला नामदेव दोनों अपने को 'विष्णुदास नामा' कहते है और दर्जी भी। पर श्री राजवाड़े ने विष्णुदास नामा की एक 'बावन अक्षरी' प्रकाशित की है जिसमें उसने 'नामदेव राय' की वन्दना की है। 'नामदेव राय' से उसका आशय आदि नामदेव से जान पड़ता है। इस प्रकार दोनों का भिन्नत्व प्रकट हो जाता है। तीसरा नामदेव महानुभाव पंथ का है। उसने महाभारत पर ओवी बद्ध ग्रन्थ लिखा है। यह भी अपने को 'विष्णुदास नामा' कहता है। यह विवादास्पद है कि महानुभाव पंथीय नामदेव महाभारतकार है, पर वह ज्ञानेश्वर-कालीन नामदेव नहीं है, यह निर्विवाद है। परन्तु हम उन नामदेव की चर्चा करना चाहते हैं जिन्होंने कबीर के पूर्व ही उत्तर भारत गें भागवत-धर्म को जनता तक पहुँचाया था। ये महाराष्ट्रीय थे; नरसी ब्राह्मणीग्राम (परभणी ज़िला) में रहते थे। इनका काल-निर्णय सन् १२७० से १३५० तक निर्धारित किया गया है। मेंकालिफ 'सिख-रिलीजन' में लिखता है :—

"Namdeo, the Maratha Saint, wrote principally in Marathi, but he composed certain Hindi songs which are preserved in the Granth Saheb. He was a taiior by caste and is considered as one of the greatest saints of Mahārāshtra. His birth date is 1270 A. D. and the date of his death 1350 A. D."

डॉ. ईश्वरीप्रसाद और प्रो. रानाडे ने भी इसी मत का प्रतिपादन किया है। उनके आधुनिक चरित्र लेखकों के अनुसार नामदेव के पिता दामा शेट सदा 'जय विठ्ठल' का उच्चारण करते रहते थे। अतएव नामदेव में बचपन से ही विठ्ठल' के प्रति भक्ति उत्पन्न हो गई थी। वे प्रति वर्ष पंढरपुर की यात्रा किया करते थे, पर बाद में वहीं जाकर बस भी गये। प्रत्येक आसाढ़ी कार्तिकी को पंढरपुर में नामदेव के साथ ज्ञानदेव आदि संतों का सत्संग होता और इस तरह भक्ति का अजस्र रस प्रवाहित होता था। ज्ञानदेव के साथ नामदेव ने द्वारका, राजपुताना, काशी, खानदेश आदि की यात्रा की। दोनों संतों म बड़ा प्रेम था। शके १२१८ में जब ज्ञानदेव ने समाधि ली तो नामदेव ने उनके प्रति ज़ो श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित की है उसमें उनकी विरह-विह्वलता स्पष्ट दीखती है। ज्ञानदेव से बिछुड़ने पर नामदेव का मन दक्षिण से ऊब गया। वे अपने साथ कुछ 'वारकरियों' को लेकर मथुरा-वृन्दावन गये और वहाँ से पंजाब की ओर। उत्तर भारत में अधिक समय तक रहने के कारण उन्होंने हिन्दी में भी

कविता की। हरिद्वार से तीन मील के फ़ासले पर 'नामदेव' मठ सुना जाता है। मारवाड़ के कोलाद गाँव में 'नामदेव कूप' है, जिसका गहरा पानी 'विट्ठल' की कृपा से सतह पर आ गया था। नामदेव ने ज्ञानेश्वर को नाम-स्मरण का यह चमत्कार दिखाया था। पंजाब के गुरुदासपुर जिले में घोमान नामक एक गांव है, जहां नामदेव के पूजित 'ठाकुर' का मन्दिर और नामदेव की पादुका संस्थापित है। इन बाह्य चिन्हों से उनकी पंजाब तक की यात्रा का एक प्रमाण मिलता है। प्राचीन ग्रन्थों में 'महीपति' का 'भक्तविजय', नरहरि मालो कृत 'भक्तकथामृत', नाभादास कृत 'भक्त–माल' आदि ग्रन्थ प्रमुख हैं। प्रथम दो ग्रन्थ मराठी में और अन्तिम हिन्दी में है। भक्तमाल की रचना १५ या १६ वीं शताब्दी की मानी जाती है और महीपति की १७००–१८०० के मध्य। पंजाब में बाबा पूरणदास की 'नामदेव की जन्मसाखी' नामक ५५१ पृष्ठों की पोथी है।

इन भक्त चरित्रों में भक्त की अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण अलौकिक जीवन–गाथाओं का इस प्रकार समावेश किया जाता है कि जिससे समाज में 'भक्त' के प्रति अपार श्रद्धा पैदा हो। अतः जबतक इनमें वर्णित घटनाओं का स्वतंत्र प्रामाणिक समर्थन न मिले तबतक उनपर विश्वास करने को मन नहीं चाहता। उक्त ग्रन्थों से यही निष्कर्ष निकल सकता है कि नामदेव नीच वर्ण के होकर भी असाधारण पुरुष थे और परम भक्त थे; जिनपर जनता श्रद्धा रखती थी। उनके विभिन्न चरित्रों से यह भी सिद्ध होता है कि उनपर 'खेचर' नामक गुरु के उपदेशों का बड़ा प्रभाव पड़ा था। अतः जो 'विट्ठल' उन्हे पंढरपूर के मंदिर में ही दीखता था वह उन्ही की 'कृपा' से सर्वव्यापी हो गया।

कवि के विषय में उसके ग्रन्थों से भी जाना जाता है। अतः उसके हिन्दी पद्यों को पढ़ने से यह विदित होता है कि पंढरपुर के नामदेव ही पंजाब के नामदेव हैं, और उन्हीं ने हिन्दी में पद लिखे हैं। इस निष्कर्ष पर हम निम्न कारणों से पहुँचते हैं :—

भाव धारा

आदि नामदेव के मराठी अभंगों की धारा हिन्दी पद्यों में भी मिलती है। हिन्दी पदों में बार बार 'विट्ठल' मराठी अभंगों के समान ही आया है, जिससे नामदेव का पंढरपुर के 'विट्ठल' देव से सम्बन्ध व्यक्त होता है।

मराठी अभंगों में राम, केशव, नरहरि, वैकुंठपति आदि नाम हिन्दी पदों के समान ही आये हैं। हरिकीर्तन की महिमा हिन्दी–मराठी दोनों रचनाओं में पाई जाती है। दोनों भाषाओं के पद्यों में प्रल्हाद, ध्रुव, उपमन्यु, अजामिल, गणिका, पूतना, अहल्या, द्रौपदी नाम बराबर आते हैं।

जाति

हिन्दी और मराठी दोनों भाषाओं के पद्यों में कवि न अपनी जाति का उल्लख किया है:—

(१) "हीनड़ी जात मेरी, जादम राइया।
छीपे के जनम काहे कउ आइया।" (आदि ग्रन्थ)

(२) " मन मेरो गज़ु जिव्हा मेरी काती ।
मणि मणि काटउ जमकी फासी । "

(इसमें कवि ने अपने पेशे के अनुरूप ही रूपक बाँधा है।)

मराठी में " आम्ही दीन शिंपी हों जाति हीन " कहा गया है।

पंजाब, राजस्थान और मध्यभारत में 'छीपा' रँगरेज कहलाते हैं। इसी आधारपर कोई यह सन्देह करते हैं कि महाराष्ट्र की 'शिंपी' प्रथक् जाति है। पर वास्तव में दोनों जातियाँ ही एक नहीं हैं, शब्द भी एक है। 'शिंपी' का 'श' उसी प्रकार 'छ' बन जाता है जिस प्रकार 'षष्ठी' का 'ष' 'छ' बन गया है। अतः हिन्दी पद्यकार नामदेव अपने को 'छीपा' लिखकर भी महाराष्ट्रीय बने रह सकते हैं

घटनाओं की समानता

'विठोबा' की मूर्ति का नामदेव के हाथ से दूध पीना, झोपड़ी की 'छान' का भगवान द्वारा छाना, और मृत गायको सुलतान के आगे जिलाने की घटनाओं का उल्लेख हिन्दी और मराठी पद्यों में एकसा पाया जाता है। उत्तर भारत में 'आदि ग्रन्थ' के नामदेव के विषय में यह कहीं प्रमाण नहीं मिलता कि उसका किसी स्थान में स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व था; उसकी पंढरपुर के नामदेव से अभिन्नता ही कही जाती है।

जब नामदेव ज्ञानदेव समकालीन सिद्ध हो जाते हैं तब नामदेव का कबीर के पूर्व ईसा की १३ वीं-१४ वीं शताब्दी में होना निश्चित हो जाता है।

नामदेव का वारकरी पंथ और नाथ-सम्प्रदाय

नामदेव ने जिस 'निर्गुण'-पंथ का उत्तर भारत में प्रचार किया था, वह महाराष्ट्र में वारकरी-पंथ या भागवत-सम्प्रदाय कहलाता है। 'वारकरी पंथ' को वेद प्रामाण्य और वर्णव्यवस्था दोनों तत्त्व मान्य हैं पर कर्मकाण्ड से प्रथक् रहकर उसने सर्वसुलभ भक्ति-मार्ग का आश्रय लिया। उसने बाह्य की अपेक्षा अंतरंग पर विशेष ज़ोर दिया। इसकी विशेषता यह है की इसमें सभी धर्मों का समावेश हो जाता है; अमीर से लेकर गरीब तक; ब्राह्मण से लेकर चाण्डाल तक सभी को इसमें स्थान है पर उच्च-नीच तथा उदासीनता-निराशा को स्थान नहीं है। स्त्री-पुरुष सभी के लिए इसका द्वार खुला हुआ है। यद्यपि वारकरी संतों ने पंढरपुर के विठ्ठल-दर्शन के लिए यात्रायें कीं, पर वे अपनी परम्परा 'विठ्ठल' से नहीं मानते। इस पंथ के प्रसिद्ध संत ज्ञानदेव, नामदेव, एकनाथ और तुकाराम हैं। ज्ञानदेव की ज्ञानेश्वरी में 'विठ्ठल' का नाम तक नहीं है। सच बात तो यह है कि वे अपने 'विठ्ठल' को सब प्राणियों में देखते थे। नामदेव कहते हैं—

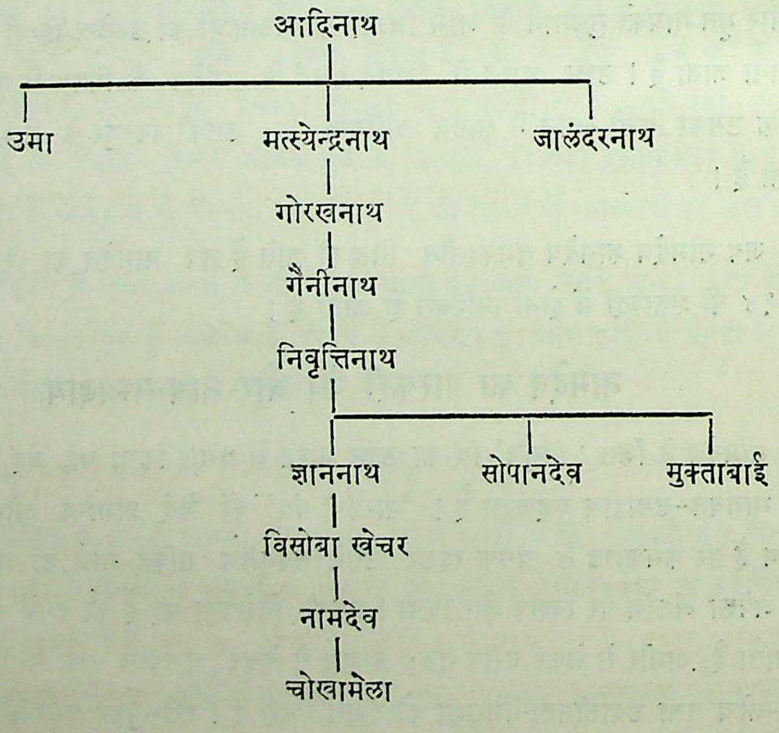
" इभै बीठल, ऊभै 'बीठल,'
'बीठल' बिन संसार नहीं। "

एक मराठी टीकाकार ठीक कहते हैं—

"महाराष्ट्र संत हे केव्हां हि द्वैती नव्हते, अद्वैत भक्तीचें पूर्ण सुख भोगणारे आहेत।"

उनकी दृष्टि में भक्ति और मुक्ति, सगुण और निर्गुण दोनों एकरूप हैं। एकनाथ ने इसे "आनन्दवनभुवन" कहा है।

महाराष्ट्र में वारकरी या भागवत-संप्रदाय का प्रारंभ कब हुवा, इस सम्बन्ध में महाराष्ट्रीय साहित्यकार कोई निर्णय नहीं कर पाये। पर यह तो स्पष्ट ही है कि इसपर रामानुज के भागवत मत का बहुत कम प्रभाव पड़ा है—जहाँ वह 'द्वैत'वादी है वहाँ यह अद्वैत तत्त्वपर आधारित है। इस पर निश्चय ही नाथ-सम्प्रदाय का गहरा प्रभाव पड़ा है। नाथ-पंथ का उद्‌गम उत्तर भारत में हुवा था पर उसका विस्तार समस्त देश में हो गया था। हम डॉ. ईश्वरीप्रसाद के मत से सहमत नहीं हैं कि नामदेव पर मुसलमानी प्रभाव पड़ा है। वारकरी पंथ के सन्तों की गुरू-परम्परा का 'वृक्ष' नीचे दिया जाता है—



भावे के अनुसार विसोबा खेचर ज्ञाननाथ के नहीं, सोपानदेव के शिष्य थे।

गोरखनाथ को महाराष्ट्र में नाथ-मत के प्रचार का श्रेय दिया जाता है। मराठी में गोरखनाथ का 'अमरनाथ संवाद' नामक ग्रन्थ है जिसके दृष्टांत और प्रतीक 'ज्ञानेश्वरी' के उदाहरण और प्रतीक से बिलकुल मिलते हैं। नामदेव के गुरु 'खेचर' प्रसिद्ध नाथ पंथी थे। इस पंथके बाह्य चिन्ह है :

"शैली, शृंगी, कंथा, झोली, विभूति लगाया तन मो।
कोटिचंद्रका तेज झुलत है, चली आपने गत मो।"

(मेखला, शङ्गी, कंथा, कर्णमुद्रा, कौपीन, पुंगी, व्याघ्राम्बर, खडाऊँ और झोली के साथ कान छिदाना भी इनका बाह्याचार है। इसीसे इनको 'कनफटा' भी कहते हैं। भिक्षा के समय एकतार बजाते और 'अलख निरंजन' कहते हैं। भोजन के पूर्व पूंगी बजाकर भोजन करते हैं । ये मूर्तिपूजा कर्मकाण्ड, तीर्थ, व्रत व ऊँच-नीच-भेद की तीव्र निन्दा करते हैं । वारकरियों ने नाथ-मत की आभ्यन्तर धारा को अपनाकर ग्रहस्थाश्रम में ही भक्ति की सहज-साधना का प्रचार किया।

नामदेव कहते हैं—

" आनीले कागद, काटीले गूडी आकास मधे भरमी अले
पंचजना सिउ बात बतउ आ, चीत सुडारी राखी अले।
मनु राम नाम बेधी अले।
आनीले कुंभ भराइले ऊदक, राजकुआरि पुरंदरीए,
हसत विनोद विचार करती है, चितुसु गागरि राखी अले।
मंदरु एकु दुआर दस जाके, गऊ चरावन छाडी अले।
पाँच कोस पर गऊ चरावत, चीतसु बछरा राखी अले।
कहत नामदेव सुनहुति लोचन, बालकु पालन पडढ़ी अले।
अंतरि बाहरि काज बिरूधी, चीतसु बारिकि राखी अले।"

तीर्थ-स्नान की अनावश्यकता पर नामदेव कहते हैं—

" तीरथ देखिन जल महि पैसड, जीअ जंत न सतावउ गो,
अठसठि तीरथ गुरू दिखाए, घट ही भीतर नाउगो।"

बंगाल का 'सहजिया-सम्प्रदाय' महाराष्ट्र का वारकरी पंथ ही है। दोनों का मूल नाथ पंथ में है।

ज्ञानदेव ने वारकरी पंथ को महाराष्ट्र से आगे नहीं बढ़ाया, नामदेव उसका उत्तर भारत में प्रचार कर कबीर, नानक, रैदास आदि संतों के लिए 'निर्गुण-पंथ' की भूमि तैयार की। पर ज्ञानदेव, नामदेव ने जिस मत को जनता में प्रतिष्ठित किया था उसका बीज आठवीं सदी में ही योगी सिद्धनाथ बो चुके थे।

" किन्तह तित्थ तपोवण जाई।
मोक्ख कि लब्भइ पाणी न्हाई।"—सरहपाद (७६० ई०)

नामदेव कहते हैं :—

कोटिज तीरथ करै, तनुज अहिवालै गारै
राम नाम सरि तऊ न पूजै।

और भी—

" वेद पुरान सासत्र अनंता,
गीत कवित्त न गावउ गो।"

सिद्ध भी सहज पंथ को मानते थे—'भोग-भूमि' में ही वे मोक्ष-निर्वाण का सुख अनुभव करते थे। उन्होंने 'काया-तीर्थ' की प्रतिष्ठा की थी। गुरुमहिमा की स्वीकृति भी वारकरी पंथ में सिद्धनाथों से प्रविष्ट हुई थी।

नामदेव का कबीर आदि निर्गुणियों पर प्रभाव

'कबीर' 'निर्गुनियों' के सिरमौर कहे जाते हैं। पर उनमें 'ज्ञानियों' जैसी रुक्षता नहीं है। वे भक्त की सहृदयता रखते हैं। कभी अपने 'राम' की बहुरिया बनते हैं, कभी उसे नामदेव के समान 'मा' भी सम्बोधित करते हैं। ऐसा लगता है, वे उसके सगुण-रूप पर भी मुग्ध हैं! कबीर कहते हैं— " राम मेरा पिउ, मैं राम की बहुरिया "

नामदेव भी यही कहते हैं —" मैं बउरी मेरा भतार।"

महात्मा चरनदास की वाणी है—" पीव चहौ कै मत चहौ, वह तौ पी की दास।"

महात्मा चरनदास ने भी अपना परमात्म सम्बन्ध नामदेव के समान ही 'पिय हमरे हम पिय की पियारी।' स्थापित किया है।

कबीर में गुरु-महिमा का बड़ा बखान किया गया है। नामदेव ने भी 'सद्गुरु भेटला देवा।' 'ज्ञान अंजन मोको गुरु दीना' आदि में गुरु की स्तुति की है। गुरु के ज्ञान से 'नर ते सुर होइ जात निमिख में सति गुरु बुधि सिखलाई।'

गुरु के प्रसाद से सब कुछ संभव है—

जउ गुरुदेव त मिलै मुरारि
जउ गुरुदेव त उतरै पारि
जउ गुरुदेव त बैकुंठ तरै
जउ गुरुदेव त जीवत मरैं।"

" गुरु के सबदि एहु मन राता दुविधा सहज समाणी "

नामदेव के समान कबीर ने भी अनुभव किया है कि गुरू में 'नर' को 'नारायण' बन देने की क्षमता है—

"बलिहारी गुर आपणै द्यौं हाड़ी कै बार
जिनि मानष तैं देवता करत न लागी बार।"

कबीर ने तो 'गुरु' को 'गोविन्द' से भी अधिक महत्व दिया है।

"गुरु गोविंद दोनों खड़े काके लागौं पाय।
बलिहारी गुरु आपकी जिन गोविंद दियो बताय।"

जैसा हम पहिले कह आये हैं कि गुरू-महत्त्व कबीर या नामदेव की अपनी ही स्वीकृति नहीं है, उसकी स्थापना आठवीं शताब्दी में सिद्ध-नाथ कवि सरहपा भी कर चुके हैं—

" गुरु उबएसे अमिअ-रस, घाव ण पीअउ जेहि
बहु सत्थत्थ मरुथलहिं, तिसिए मरिअइ तेहि।"
" णिअ मण सब्बे सोहिअ जब्बे
गुरु-गुण हिअए पइसइ तब्बे।"

कबीर के बाद नानक, चरनदास, धरमदास, सहजो, रमाबाई, रैदास सभी 'सत्गुरु' के आगे नत मस्तक होते हैं—

" गुरु मोहि खूब निहाल कियो।
बूड़त जात रहे भवसागर, पकरि के बाहिं लियो।"—धरसदास
" मैं मिरगा, गुरु पारधी, सबद लगायो बान।
चरनदास घायल गिरै, तन मन बीधे प्रान"—चरनदास
" गुरु किरपा जेहि नर पै किन्ही
तिन्ह यह जुगुति पिछानी।
नानक लीन भयो गोविन्द सों,
ज्यो पानी सँग पानी॥"—नानक

नामदेव ने एक स्थलपर कहा है—

' कामी पुरख कामिनी पिआरी।
ऐसे नामे प्रीति मुरारी।'

तुलसीने भी इसी भाव की पुनरावृत्ति की है। योग की इड़ा, पिंगला, सुषुम्ना की कबीर ने चर्चा की-है नामदेव में इनका उल्लेख है—

" इड़ा पिंगुला अउरु सुखमना,
पउनै बंधि रहाउ गो।
चंदु सूरजु दुइ सम करि राखउ
ब्रह्म जोति मिलि जाउगो।"

नाम महिमा भी नामदेव में भरी पडी है। उनके बाद के सभी ज्ञानाश्रयी कवियों में हम इसे पाते हैं।

'गगन मंडळ' की वर्षा से कबीर का भींगना प्रसिद्ध है। वे कहते हैं—

" गगन गरजि मध जोइये, तहाँ दीसै तार अनंत रे।
बिजुरी चमकिं घन वरषि है, तहां भीजत हैं सब संत रे॥

नामदेव कहते हैं—

" अड़मड़िया मंदलु बाजैं,
बिनु सावण अनहत गाजै।
बादल बिनु बरखा होई।
जउ ततु विचार कोई।
मोकर मिलिओ राम सनेही।"

कबीर के समान नामदेव को भी अनहद नाद की मधुर ध्वनि की अनुभूति होती थी—

" धनि धनि ओ राम बेनु बाजै।
मधुर मधुर धुनि अनहद गाजै।"

हिन्दू मुसलमानों की कट्टरता को नामदेव ने 'कबीर' से पहले कोसा है। भगवान को उन्होंने मंदिर–मस्जिद में नहीं, अपने में ही देखा है—

" आजु नामे विठलु देखिआ,
मूरख को समझाऊ रे।
पांडे तुम्हारी गायत्री, लोधे का खेतु खाती थी।
लैकरि ठेगा टगरि तोरी, लांगत लांगत जाती थी।

……………………………………

हिन्दू अना तुरकू काणा, दुहात गिआनी स्याना
हिन्दू पूजै देहुरा, मुसलमाणु मसीत,
नामे सोइ सेविआ जह देहुरा न मसीत।"

'कबीर' भी पाँडे जी पर टूटते हैं—

" तू राम न जपहि अभागी।
बेद पुरान पढ़त अस पाँडे, खर चंदन जैसे मारा।
राम नाम तत समझत नाहीं, अंति पड़ै मुखि छारा।"

'मुल्ला' भी उनसे नहीं बच पाये :—

" काजी कौन कतैब बषानैं,
पढ़त पढ़त कते दिन बीते, गति कै नहीं जान।"
'मुलां कहाँ पुकारै दूरि, राम रहीम रह्या भरपूरि'
यहु तो अलह गूँगा नाही, देखै खल कटती दिल माही।

नामदेव में 'विरह' की पीड़ा की मात्रा 'कबीर' से अधिक तो नहीं है पर मर्मभेदी अवश्य है—

" मोहि लागती तालावेली, बछरे बिनु गाइ अकेली ।
पानीआ बिनु मीनु तलफै ।
ऐसे रामनाम बिनु वापरो नामा, जैसे तापते निरमल घामा ।
तैसे रामनाम बिनु वापुरो नामा "

बहुदेवोपासना की नामदेव निन्दा करते हैं—

" भैरव भूत सीतला धावै, खर वाहन उहु छार ऊड़ावै ।
हउतउ एकर मइआ लैहऊ । "

'पाहन' पूजने का भी निषेध नामदेव ने किया है—

" एकै पत्थर की जै भाऊ। दूजै पाकर धरिये पाऊँ ।
जे ओहू देउ त ओहु भी देवा । कहि नामदेव हम हरि की सेवा। "

कबीर का यह दोहा प्रसिद्ध है—

" पाहन पूजे हरि मिलैं, तो मैं पूजों पहार ।
ताते यह चाकी भली, पीस खाय संसार ॥ "

कबीर ने जैसे 'हिजड़ा' आदि शब्दों से पुराणपंथियों की पूजा (?) की है उसी प्रकार नामदेव भी उन्हें 'दोगला' से स्मरण करते हैं--

" राम रसायन पीऊ रे दगरा । "

शब्द-प्रयोग

नामदेव ने कुछ ऐसे शब्दों का प्रयोग किया है जो प्रायः सभी ज्ञानाश्रयी संत कवियों की रचनाओं में पाये जाते हैं । वे हैं 'खसम', भरतार, निरंजन वीठुला, सुन्न (शून्य) । 'खसम', भरतार और निरंजन शब्द हमें सातवीं शताब्दी में सरहपाद की रचनाओं में भी मिलते हैं। "खसम" शब्द का प्रचलित अर्थ पति है, जो अर्बी से ग्रहण किया गया है। इसकी विवेचना पं. हजारीप्रसाद द्विवेदी ने अपनी 'कबीर' नामक पुस्तक में की है। उन्होंने ख = आकाश, सम = समान; अर्थ लेकर यह प्रतिपादित किया है कि मन की वह अवस्था जो सगुण-निर्गुण से परे है ।

सिद्धनाथ सरहपाद ने आठवीं शताब्दी में ख-सम का प्रयोग किया है और वह संभवतः उसी अर्थ में है जिसकी ओर पं. हजारीप्रसाद ने इङ्गित किया है —

" सब्ब रूअ तहि खसम करिज्जइ
खसम सहावे मण वि धरिज्जइ । "

सरहपाद का आशय है कि सब रूपोंको—निर्गुण–सगुण—दोनों को आकाश सम कर दीजिए। मन को आकाश (शून्य) बना लीजिए।

इसका यही अर्थ हो सकता है, मन को रूप, अरूप, सुख, दुख सबसे रहित बना डालिए। सम भाव धारण कर लीजिये।

सरहपाद बौद्ध थे। अतः संभव है, उन्होंने महायान दार्शनिकों की परिभाषा में ही "ख" (शून्य) का व्यवहार किया हो। नामदेव–कबीर आदि ने भी इसी अर्थ में उसका प्रयोग किया है, यह निश्चय रूप से कहना कठिन है।

'भतार' शब्द का प्रयोग भी सरहपाद में मिलता है—

एक्कु खाइ अवर अण्ण बि पोड़इ, बाहिर गइ भत्तारह लोड़इ। '

यह स्पष्ट है कि यहां 'भत्तार' पति के अर्थ में व्यवहृत हुवा है। 'निरंजन' को नामदेव ने 'निर्मल' के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त किया है और 'ब्रह्म' के अर्थ में भी।

कबीर में 'निरंजन' खास प्रकार के 'जोगियों' के लिए संभवतः प्रयुक्त हुआ है—

" कहै कबीर जो हरि–रस भीगे,
ताकू मिल्या निरंजन जोगी।"

'वीठुला' या 'विठ्ठल' शब्द का प्रयोग नामदेव ने पंढरपुर के विठ्ठल और व्यापक ब्रह्म दोनों अर्थ में किया है। इसकी उत्पत्ति विष्णु शब्द से हुई है। नामदेव ने इसको उत्तर भारत में प्रचलित किया है जो व्यापक अर्थ में संतों द्वारा प्रयुक्त हुआ है। नामदेव के समकालीन त्रिलोचन ने उसका प्रयोग किया है—

" मिलु मेरे वीठुला, लै बाहड़ी वलाई।"

कबीर भी कहते हैं—

(१) " मन के मोहन वीठुला, बहुमन लागौ तोहि रे,
चरन कँवल मन मानियाँ, और न भावै मोहि रे।
(२) गोकल नायक वीठुला मेरो मन लागौ तोहि रे।"

गुजराथ के नरसी मेहता अपने श्रीकृष्ण विहार में लिखते हैं—

" विठ्ठल रह्यो रे बसी। मारे मन विठ्ठल रह्यो रे बसी।"

'विठ्ठल' शब्द का व्यापक अर्थ–प्रयोग देखकर ही कोई नामदेव को महाराष्ट्रीय न होने की दलील भी पेश करते है। पर वे यह भूल जाते हैं कि विठ्ठल को व्यापक बनानेवाले पंढरपुर के नामदेव ही थे। उनसे पूर्व इस शब्द का प्रयोग नहीं मिलता।

नामदेव की भाषा

नामदेव की भाषा में कोई साहित्यिक रूपव्यवस्था नहीं मिलती। व सबसे पहिले संत थे, और बाद में भी। उन्होंने अपने हृदय की सहज भक्ति को शब्दों का रूप दिया—वे उसे सजाने सँवारने के लिए नहीं रुके। उसे हम पं. रामचंद्र शुक्ल के शब्दों में सधुक्कड़ी भाषा कह सकते हैं। उसमें प्रांतीय और अरबी फारसी शब्दों का समावेश है। वर्तमान मराठी के प्रत्यय चा, ला, भी उनके हिन्दी पद्यों में यहाँ वहाँ प्रयुक्त हुए हैं। पर इससे उनकी भाषा में मराठी की खिचड़ी होगई है, इसे स्वीकार नहीं किया जा सकता। 'ला' का रूप भूतकाल में पूर्वी हिन्दी में उस समय भी था और आज भी है-

"जंगल जाय जोगी धनिया रमौले
काम जराय जोगी बनि गेले हिजरा"—कबीर (१५ वीं शताब्दी)
"ई कुल बतियाँ कबहुँ नहिं जनलीं
खेलत रहली अँगनवाँ हो।" जयशंकरप्रसाद (सन् १९३२)

'चा' प्रत्यय भी तत्कालीन राजस्थानी भाषा में 'का' के अर्थ में व्यवहृत होता था। "वेली किसन रुक्मिणी रीया" में जिसकी रचना पृथ्वीराज ने विक्रम १६३७-३८ में की है, चा प्रत्यय मिलता है—

"कुण जानै संगि हुवा केतला
देस देस **चा** देसपति"

नामदेव मारवाड़ में काफी समय तक रहे थे। अतः उनके पद्यों में 'चा' का प्रत्यय आ जाने से उनकी भाषा में मराठीपन नहीं देखा जा सकता। केवल 'चा' प्रत्यय ही आधुनिक हिन्दी इतिहासकारों को अटपटासा लगता है। संतों को तो अपना मत बहुजन समाज में प्रचलित करना अभीष्ट था। अतः उन्होंने बहुजन सम्मत भाषा को ही अपनाया। नामदेव की भाषा इस प्रकार लोक भाषा है। उससे पता चलता है कि खड़ी बोली का वर्तमान बोलचाल का रूप भी उस समय प्रचलित था।

नामदेव के हिन्दी पद्य

नामदेव के हिन्दी पद्यों का संकलन पूना से प्रकाशित 'सकल संत गाथा' में किया गया है। उसमें उनकी कुल संख्या १०२ है। सिक्खों के ग्रन्थ साहब में उनके ६१ पद्य संग्रहीत हैं।

उनमें उनके वारकरी-पंथ सिद्धान्तों का प्रतिपादन मात्र है। कबीर की तरह उनमें "नैया बिच नदिया डूबी जाय" जैसी 'उलटबासियाँ' नहीं है। उनकी अभिव्यक्ति बहुत ही बोधगम्य है। उनके पदों में जहाँ रूपक, उपमा, दृष्टांत आदि अलंकार आये हैं वे काव्य के सौन्दर्य के लिए नहीं; उनकी अनुभूति को स्पष्ट करने के लिये हैं। उनका हिन्दी संत कवियों में यही महत्व है कि उन्होंने उन्हें वह 'प्रकाश' दिखाया जिसके सहारे उन्होने अपना मार्ग खोजा और अपने 'भगवान' की 'रूप' तथा 'नाम' प्रतिष्ठा की।

डाक के सम्बन्ध में कुछ और बातें

श्री. जीवानन्द ठाकुर, दरभंगा

अपनी कृषिसम्बन्धी कहावतों और व्यावहारिक जोतिष वचनों के द्वारा "डाक" समस्त उत्तरभारत के गृहस्थ समाज में इस प्रकार व्याप्त हैं, कि उनके देशकाल निर्णय में बड़ा ही व्यामोह उपस्थित होता रहा है। श्रुति की तरह उनकी मूलवाणी किसानों के कण्ठो में युगों से परम्परागत तो रही है, किन्तु देशकाल के व्यवधान ने स्वभावतः उसकी भाषा में अनेक परिवर्तन उपस्थित कर दिये हैं। फलतः जिस प्रान्तसे उनके वचनों का संकलन किया गया है उसीके आधारपर तत्तत् संकलयिता विद्वानों ने उन्हें तत्तद्देशीय सिद्ध करने का प्रयास किया है। यही कारण है कि जहां वङ्गदेशीय संस्करण में "डाक" को बंगाली[*] युक्तप्रान्तीय जिलों से किए गये संकलन में उन्हें कनौजिया[†] और कहीं कहीं गोरखपुरिया[‡] सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न हुआ है, वहाँ मिथिलादेशीय संग्रह ने उन्हें मैथिल प्रतिपादित किया है। इन परस्पर विवदमान प्रसंगों में विचारकों के समक्ष इस निबन्ध में "डाक" के सम्बन्ध में स्थान-काल विषयक जो तथ्य उपस्थित किया जा रहा है, आशा है, उससे निर्णय की दिशा में सहायता मिलेगी।

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[*] एइ व्यचितर रथित वलिया प्रसिद्ध कतक गुलिवचन वांडगालार सर्वत्र प्रचलित आहे=यथा—

आय व्ययकरे सासुड़ी के पूछे
सर्वकाल स्वामी के पूजे।
ताहाके धर्म आपुनि बुझे
रौद्रकाँटा कुटाय रान्धे॥
खड़ कांटा वर्षा के वान्धे
फूटभाषे डाक गोयाले॥ (विश्वकोष ८म भाग ४१५ पृष्ठ)

[†] आलस नींद किसानै नासै
चोरै नासै खांसी।
अंखिया लीसर बैसवै नासे
बावै नासै दासी॥ (कनौजिया—घाघ और भड्डरी,)

[‡] निहपद्दराज मनहो हाथ
साधु पड़ोसी नीमन साथ।
हुकुमी पूत धिया सतवार
तिरिआ माइ रखे विचार॥
कहै घाघ हम करत विचार
बड़े भाग से दे करतार॥ (गोरखपुरिआ पाठ 'घाघभड्डरी')

डाक के सम्बन्ध में अभीतक जो अनुसंधान किया गया है उनमें दंतकथाओं का ही आधार लिया गया है, अथवा कल्पना की भित्तिपर ही चित्र अंकित किये गये हैं। अभी तक डाक के विषय में जो ग्रन्थ प्रकाशित हुए हैं उनमें भी डाक के परिचयात्मक अनुसन्धान अधूरे हैं। प्रायः लिखित ग्रन्थों का आधार उनमें नहीं लिया गया है। पण्डित श्री रामनरेश त्रिपाठी द्वारा संकलित और सम्पादित हिन्दुस्तानी एकडेमी, प्रयाग” से १९३१ में प्रकाशित “घाघ ओ भड्डरी” नामक पुस्तक में डाक के वचनों का संकलन है, किन्तु उनमें अधिकांश वचनों में घाग का नाम है। यहां यह जान लेना आवश्यक है कि “घाघ” किसी व्यक्ति का नाम नहीं, जातिबोधक शब्द है, और उसे उस अर्थ में ही व्यवहृत हुआ मानना उचित है। डाक की जाति अहीर थी। सम्भवतः एक ही व्यक्ति “डाक” मिथिला में, मिथिलासे अन्य प्रान्तों में “घाघ” तथा राजपुताना आदिमें “डङ्क”* के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। परञ्च अन्य प्रान्तीय नामों को देखने से डाक के मैथिल न होने का कोई कारण नहीं पाया जाता। ऐसा कोई तथ्य भी नहीं दिया गया है जिस से डाक का मैथिलत्व बाधित हो। अनेक देशों में उनकी उक्तियों के प्रचार के आधार पर अन्य प्रान्तों की कहावतों का संग्रह करके उन्हें अन्य देशीय सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न सफल नहीं हो सकता है। आगे की पंक्तियों में इस भ्रम को दूर करने की चेष्टा की गयी है।

डाक के मैथिलत्व में प्रमाण

डाक मैथिल थे या अन्यदेशज थे, इसके सम्बन्ध में सबसे पुष्ट प्रमाण उनकी रची हुई कहावतें हैं जो मिथिला भाषा में हैं, जिसका निरूपण म. म. मिश्रजी ने बड़ी ही युक्तिसे किया है (मैथिली साहित्य ३३९ पृ०) परन्तु सबसे महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रमाण जिसका पता श्रद्धेय महामहोपाध्याय जी को भी नहीं है यह है कि मैथिल निबन्धकारों ने अपने निबन्धों में इन्हें प्रमाणरूपसे उद्धृत किया है। मैथिल विद्वानों की यह परम्परा ही है, कि वे धर्मशास्त्र एवं ज्योतिष के सम्बन्ध में देशीय मान्यता को प्रश्रय देते हुए उन्हीं वचनों को प्रमाण कोटि में लेतें हैं जो व्यवहार-विरुद्ध न हों। खासकर प्राकृत या देशभाषा के वचनों की प्रामाणिकता देशीय व्यवहार के समन्वय के लिए ही दिया करते हैं। इस विषय में “डाक” बड़े भाग्यवान हैं कि उन्हें मैथिल निबन्धकारों ने बडे सम्मान के साथ प्रमाण कोटि में लिया है। “डाक” के अतिरिक्त प्रायः किसी दूसरे भाषा प्रवक्ता को मैथिल निबन्धों में यह स्थान नहीं दिया गया है। साथ ही जहां वे मिथिला में इस प्रकार विद्वत्समाज में प्रमाणरूपसे उद्धृत हुए हैं, वहां किसी दूसरे देश के निबन्धकारों ने प्रमाणकोटि में इनका कहीं उल्लेख नहीं किया है। यह एक ऐसा प्रमाण है, जिसके द्वारा “डाक” की स्थिति के सबन्ध में पूरा प्रकाश पड़ता है। और इस लेख में मैंने दन्तकथाओं का कोई उल्लेख न कर इसी आधार को विद्वत्समाज के समक्ष उपस्थित करने का प्रयास किया है।

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* सावण पहली पञ्चमी
झीमी छाँट पड़ै।
“डंक” कहै हे भड्डली
सफलां रूख फलै॥ (राजपुतनीआ “घाघ ओ भड्डरी”)

(१) म. म. विद्यापति ठाकुर के लड़के मुद्राहस्तक ‘दैवज्ञबान्धव’ग्रन्थ कर्ता म. म. हरपति ठाकुर अपने “व्यवहार दीपक” नामक ज्योतिष निबन्ध में “बीजबन्धन” “मुहूर्त” “सिद्धयोगविचारे डाकः” “तथा च डाकः” “अथ यमघन्टाविचारे” “दग्धतिथि” “योगिनी” “पशुयात्रा” “नवान्नभक्षण “वीजवपन” “ग्रामवास” “अठदिशा” “फलश्रुति” “वृक्षरोपण” “अथ सेवाचक्र” “अरिषट्कलक्षण” इत्यादि विचार में “डाक” का प्रमाणत्वेन उल्लेख किया है। और “अपरञ्च डाकः” “अपर-गौडीयप्रकारः” इत्यादि अनेक स्थानों में भी प्रमाणरूप से इनका आदरपूर्वक उल्लेख है।

(२) म. म. महाराज शुभङ्कर ठाकुर अपने “तिथिद्वैधनिर्णय” नाम के धर्मनिबन्ध में “सुखरात्रिविचारे डाकः” “तथा च भाषा” कहकर “डाक” को प्रमाणत्व में उदधृत करते हैं।

(३) “ग्रामवास विचार” नाम की एक प्राचीन पुस्तक उपलब्ध है। उसमें भी “ग्रामवास बिचारे डाकः” प्रमाणत्वेन उपन्यास है।

(४) ज्योतिष के कुछ प्राचीन निबन्ध हमारे पास हैं जो बहुत ही प्राचीन मिथिलाक्षर में ताड़पत्र पर लिखित है, और जीर्णता के कारण जिनका आद्यन्त उच्छिन्न हो गया है। उनमें भी “अथ तरुरोपण”, “अथ युद्धयोगिनी”, “अथ काकशकुन”, “अथ वर्षा”, “अथ बीजवपन” “अथ यात्रायात्रायाम्” इत्यादि स्थलों में “डाकः” तथा “अत्र डाकः” लिखा है।

(५) इसी के समकालीन दूसरे ताड़पत्र में भी “अथ वारनिषेध-विधान-विचारे डाकः”, “अत्र प्रथमे डाकः” इसीतरह से मिलता है। यह ताड़पत्र की पोथी तीनसौ वर्ष से पूर्व की ही लिखी हुई होगी।

मिथिला में आबालवृद्ध डाक की कहावतें जानते हैं। इस समय मिथिला के प्राचीन ताड़पत्र पर लिखी गयी पुस्तकों का जो संकलन किया जा रहा है उनमें अधिकांश के ‘अथ–इति’वाले पृष्ठों के ऊपर डाकवचन लिखे मिलते हैं। ये लेख “रिपौत” कहे जाते थे जिनका संग्रह लेखक अपनी रुचि के अनुसार रिक्त पृष्ठों पर किया करते थे। महाकवि कालिदास रचित व ताड़पत्र पर लिखित “विक्रमोर्वशीय नाटक” की एक पोथी के अन्त में “डाक” कहकर लिखा है।

शनि रवि मङ्गल लाग...वेष।
की महि भवए की प (ख) सए नरेश॥

इन सब बातों से स्पष्ट प्रमाणित होता है कि “डाक” मिथिला के केवल लोकसमाज में ही नहीं, अपि तु अपनी योग्यता के कारण विद्वत्समाज में भी पूरे समादृत थे, और गोपकुलालंकार होकर भी द्विजकुल मान्य थे।

और भी अनेक निबन्ध मिथिला में पाये जाते हैं, जिनके संकलन का प्रयास जारी है। सम्भव है, डाक के वचनोंका पूर्ण संकलन ताड़पत्र में लिखा हुआ भी प्राप्त हो जाय। अब आप लोगों का यह विश्वास हो गया होगा कि त्रिपाठीजी की “घाघ की कहावतों का जितना प्रचार अवध और

कन्नौज के आसपास है, उतना युक्तप्रान्त या बिहार के किसी जिले में नहीं है" उक्ति सर्वथा भ्रममूलक है। इसका उत्तर म. म. मिश्रजी के ही शब्दों में "जितनी कहावतें श्री त्रिपाठीजी ने प्रकाशित की हैं उनसे अधिक नहीं तो कम भी नहीं कहावतों का संग्रह मिथिला में वर्तमान है" पर्याप्त है।

एवं स्व. प. कपिलेश्वर झा द्वारा संकलित दरभंगा से "डाकवचनामृत" के तीन भाग २५ वर्षों से ऊपर हुए प्रकाशित हैं। त्रिपाठी जी ने ऊपर की पंक्तिया लिखते समय इन संग्रहों का ध्यान नही रखा है, यद्यपि उनकी भूमिका में उक्त पुस्तक का उल्लेख प्रसङ्गान्तर में आ गया है। अतएव यह निर्विवाद है कि मिथिला में आज ही नहीं, आज से कई वर्षों से "डाक" का समादर बड़े बड़े दैवज्ञों के मध्य में भी ऋषितुल्य होता आ रहा है।

वङ्गीयसागर के निखात से पंचनद की सीमा तक प्रचलित डाक की वचनश्रेणी में जो भाषाभेद उपस्थित हो गये हैं, उनके दो आधार मानने होगें। एक तो डाक के मूलवचनों का अनुवाद तत्तत्प्रान्तीय अनुवक्ताओं द्वारा हुआ हो, या स्वयं प्रयोक्ताओं के कण्ठों ने डाकवचनों का अपने अपने स्वर में परिवर्त्तित कर लिया हो। अथवा यह भी सम्भव है कि जीवन की आवश्यक कृषिसम्बधीय वार्ताएं गढ़नेवाले भाषाकवि तत्तद्देशों में विभिन्न रहे हों। इन दो सम्भावनाओं में दूसरी सम्भावना में आस्था इस लिए नहीं की जा सकती कि विभिन्न देशों में विभिन्न व्यक्ति एक ही भाव कहनेवाले और एक ही नामके नहीं हो सकते। मिथिला के प्रचलित "डाक" बङ्गाल में डाक ही नामसे पुकारे गये है। हाँ, पश्चिम भाग में "डाक" की जगह "घाघ" का नाम आया है। हो सकता है, यह डाक का ही जातिपरक दूसरा नाम रहा हो। या किसी अनुवक्ता ने डाक की जगह उनकी जाति का ही नाम रख दिया हो। किन्तु इससे व्यक्तिभेद नहीं प्रतिपादित होता। डाक के जीवन सम्बन्ध में जो दन्तकथाएँ प्रचलित हैं वे भी सर्वत्र समान हैं। मैथिल डाक "गोआर" कहकर अपना परिचय देते हैं, तो दूसरे प्रान्त में भी वे "अहीर" "घाघ" कहे गये हैं। विषयशैली एक है, भाषा में भी साधारण ही रूपान्तर देखा जाता है। इस तरह डाक की वैयक्तिकता मे अनेकता का आरोप उसी प्रकार नहीं हो सकता, जिस प्रकार मैथिलकोकिल विद्यापति बंगला और हिन्दी के कवि बहुत दिनों तक माने जाकर भी व्यक्ति एक ही रहे। ऐसे ही प्रसंग में स्थानभेद से तत्स्थानीय की कल्पना का वारण करते हुए महापण्डित नागेशने कहा है—

"अत्रैतद्देशस्थ इत्यनेन तत्र तत्र तत्तद्बुद्धावपि तद्देशस्थत्वं वारयति यथा व्यवहर्तृणां कार्यार्थमनेकदेशगमनेऽपि न तद्देशीयत्वव्यवहारः, किन्तु अभिजनदेशीयत्वव्यवहार एव"

—परिभाषेन्दुशेखर

म. म. मिश्रजी ने सत्य ही कहा है कि "अतः वह किसी देशमें उत्पन्न हुए होंगें, किन्तु विशिष्ट विद्वान् होने का कारण अनेक प्रदेशों में इन्होंने भ्रमण किया हो" यह कहना बहुत ही युक्तिसंगत जँचता है। आज भी मिथिला के बहुत से पण्डितकल्प व्यक्ति हैं, जो घूमघूमकर केवल डाक के वचन के सहारे डीह (आवास) को गुनकर या दिन गुनकर अपनी जीविका चलाते हैं। प्रायः अन्य किसी देश में यह बात नहीं है। इसलिए यह कहना कि डाक का प्रचार मिथिला से बढ़कर अन्यत्र हुआ है, वस्तु-

स्थिति से सर्वथा विपरीत होगा। वास्तव में डाक मैथिल थे, जिसकी पुष्टि न केवल दन्तकथाओं से प्रत्युत उपरिलिखित आधार से भी स्पष्ट प्रमाणित है।

डाक की रचना और भाषा

प्राचीन ताड़पत्र में डाक के जो वचन मिलते हैं, वे तो सर्वथा उसी "अवहट्ठ" (अपभ्रंश) में मिलते हैं जिसमें महाकवि विद्यापति ठाकुर की "कीर्तिलता" विद्यमान है। महाकवि विद्यापति के पुत्र म. म. हरपति से प्रमाणत्वेन उद्धृत वचन को देखें। अप्रकाशित "व्यवहार दीपक" म जो चन्द्रनन्द षट्चन्द्र १६९१ शकाब्द में लिखी हुई है उसका वचन यों है :—

मच्छा भेका दाहिना अवसरे उत्तर काजि।
घन इव लड्डा समहिं सम अब्बर बोलिवू भू काजि॥
पक्षि विराडा सिंह सुनह अहि मूसा गज मेष।
अचे हले दुर करसे गुणिवर पमान उलेख॥
तिथि परिमाणह साठि दण्डा–से लए करह बारह खण्डा।
अद्दा भद्दा कित्तिक मूल भनई डाक सवे बढा कारचूर॥
नवमी चौठि चौदिसि भउ खोडें
पड़िव एकादशी दठि कवि जोडे।
तिअ अट्ठजि तेरसि भूपूते
सओजि दुइ दोआ डकि वा उत्ते॥
पाँचजि पुनिमा दशमिवहेफ्फए।
सिद्धयोग एह मुनिवर जम्पए॥

अब आप विद्यापति की "कीर्तिलता" (बाबूराम सकसेना सम्पादित) की भाषा के साथ इसकी भाषा की तुलना करें।

विद्यापति की कविताओं से भी एक पद यहां अवलोकनार्थ दिया जाता है—

सुरतरु कुसुम वालिदिस पुरेओ दुन्दहि सुन्दर साद धरू।
वीरछत्र देखन को कारण सुरगण सोभें गगण भरू॥
आरम्भिअ अन्तेठि महाभख राजसूअ असमेध जहाँ।
पण्डित घर आचार बखानिअ जाचक काँ घर दान कहाँ॥
विज्जावइ कइवर गावअ मानव मन आनन्द भओ।
सिंहासन शिवसिंह वइट्ठो उद्दवें वैरस विसरि गओ॥

जैसे जैसे निवन्धकार होते गये, वैसे वैसे तत्तत्कालीन निवन्धकार डाक के वचनों को भाषा में लिपिबद्ध करते गये। और इसप्रकार "डाक" की भाषा में परिवर्तन हुआ जान पड़ता है। सुतरां इसके बाद दो तीन सौ वर्ष की लिखी हुई जो ताड़पत्र की पोथी मिलती है, उस की भाषा में कितना अन्तर है इसका विचार करें। "तरुरोपण विचार में डाक के ये वचन हैं--

पिप्पर पाकड़ि पएधर कांट
पच्छिम लोहित फूल नहि आंट ।
वायव तेतरि उत्तर तार
ईसानक बदरी परत अकाल ॥१॥
पड़िवा नवमी मूल शनि श्रवणा
पुव्वें दिशि नहि सिज्झए गमना ॥२॥

इन उदाहरणों में साधारण भाषा-परिवर्तन के अतिरिक्त डाक की भाषा का शुद्धतम रूप विद्यमान है । डाक की भाषा का इस से प्रामाणिक रूप किसी भी प्रान्तीय संग्रह में इतने प्राचीन और शुद्ध रूप में उपलब्ध नहीं है । अतः स्पष्ट है-जैसा कि म. म. मिश्रजी अपनी "मैथिली साहित्य डाक" में कहते हैं-"इनकी भाषा मैथिली थी । अन्य प्रान्तों की कहावतों में भी मैथिली के परिशुद्ध अनेक रूप पाये जाते हैं ।" त्रिपाठीजी "घाघ ओ भड्डुरी" की भूमिका में डाक को मैथिल मानने में और उनकी भाषा को मैथिली कहने में हिचक रहे हैं। लेकिन त्रिपाठीजी का जो संग्रह है, उस में तो केवल तीन-चार जगहों में ही "डाक" के नाम मिलतें हैं फिर उसको कैसे "डाक" का संग्रह कहा जाय ? उन्हों ने तो घूमघाम कर कुछ हिन्दी में प्रचलित कहावतों का संग्रह किया है । बहुत जगह ऐसा ही मालूम पड़ता है कि खुद ही बोली जोड़कर छन्द बांध दिया हो । "डाक" की कहावतों को पढकर यही निश्चय होता है कि जितनी कहावतें "डाक" की हैं उनके विभक्तिप्रयोगसे लेकर शब्दसंग्रह तक मिथिला भाषा के हैं । सुतरां प्रमाणित है कि "डाक" मैथिल थे । म. म. मिश्रजीने "मैथिली साहित्य डाक" के ३३९ पृष्ठ पर जो विभक्तिचिन्ह आदि का विश्लेषण किया है, उसका उल्लेख यहां पुनरुक्त होगा ।

डाक का समय

यहां तक डाक के देश का विचार कर अब उन के काल का निर्णय करना है । इस सम्बन्ध में तो इतना निश्चित है कि मुद्राहस्तक म. म. हरपति ठाकुर ने अपने "व्यवहार दीपक" में डाक के वचनों को नामोपादानपुरस्सर उद्धृत किया है । जो निबन्धकार अपने निबन्ध में किसी दूसरे का वचन आदरपूर्वक प्रमाणत्वेन उपन्यस्त करता है वह निश्चय दूसरे से अर्वाचीन होता है, और सो भी थोड़े अन्तर से नहीं । समानकालीन विद्वान् प्रायः यों समादृत नहीं होते । डाक के देशी वचनों को प्रमाणरूप से ग्राह्य होने में अवश्य ही कई शताब्दी लगे होगें, और उन वचनों को इस प्रकार प्रचुरतया उद्धृत करके म. म. हरपति ठाकुर ने सिद्ध कर दिया है कि तब तक डाक प्राचीन ऋषितुल्य समादृत हो चुके थे । म. म. हरपति मैथिल कोकिल विद्यापति ठाकुर के पुत्र थे, अतएव पन्द्रहमी शताब्दी के आरम्भ से अर्वाचीन कदापि नहीं हो सकते । इसी से सिद्ध है कि डाक चौदहवीं शताब्दी से पूर्व के तो अवश्य ही हैं।

म. म. डॉ. श्री उमेश मिश्रजी ने इनका समय सोलहवी शताब्दी माना है । हमें तो विश्वास है कि उन्हों ने "व्यवहार दीपक" को नहीं देखा था, इसीलिए ऐसे निर्णय पर पहुंचे । नहीं तो उद्धरण कर्ता ही जब सोलहवीं शताब्दी से सैकडों वर्ष पूर्व होगया है, तो फिर उद्धृत वचनों को सोलहवीं

शताब्दी का मानना, सरासर भूल है। इसी प्रकार पं. रामनरेश त्रिपाठीजी का भी समयनिरूपण सर्वथा अयुक्त है। चौदहवीं शताब्दी से अर्वाचीन तो मैथिल डाक हो ही नहीं सकते।

इस तरह डाक के समय की एक सीमा निर्धारित होती है। इस से इतना ही कहा जा सकता है कि "डाक" चौदहवीं शताब्दी से पूर्व हो गये। निश्चित रूप से उनके कालका निरूपण करने में कमसे कम एक और सीमा चाहिए, जिस से प्राचीन वे नहीं हो सकते। खेद है कि इसका कोई अकाट्य प्रमाण नहीं मिलता। दन्तकथायें, जो इनके प्रसङ्ग से प्राय: सर्वत्र प्रचलित हैं, बतलाती हैं कि ये सुप्रख्यात दैवज्ञ वराहमिहिर के वीर्य से एक अहीर के क्षेत्र में उत्पन्न हुए थे। इस ऐतिह्य को प्रमाण माने, तब तो डाक का समय छठी शताब्दी निर्धारित किया जा सकता है। तब तो डाक के ये वचन "बौद्ध गान ओ दोहों" से भी प्राचीन सिद्ध होते हैं, आर समस्त उत्तर भारत में भाषा के सबसे प्राचीन पद होने का गौरव इन्हें प्राप्त होता है। पुराने ताड़पत्र पर लिखित जिन वचनों का हम ने संग्रह किया है, उन्हें देखने से स्पष्ट मालूम होता है कि यह "कीर्तिलता" की भाषा से भी विशेष प्राकृततर है, प्राचीन है, जो होना उसे उचित ही है, पर तो भी भाषा की दृष्टि से विचार कर बौद्धगान ओ दोहा से तुलना कर उनका समय-निर्धारण एक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य है जिसे कोई भाषातत्त्वविद् ही कर सकते हैं। रायबहादुर दिनेशचंद्र सेन ने डाक को दशवीं शताब्दी का होना निश्चय किया है। कुछ भी हो, हमें जो प्रमाण उपलब्ध हैं, उनसे इतना ही सिद्ध है कि ये चौदहवीं शताब्दी से बहुत पहले होगये और ऐतिह्य के बलपर इन्हें छठी शताब्दी का भी कह सकते हैं।

इस प्रसंग की एक और भी बड़े महत्त्व की बात यह है कि 'सप्तरत्नाकर' के कर्ता महासान्धिविग्रहिक म. म. चण्डेश्वर ठाकुर अपने "कृत्य चिन्तामणि" नामक ज्योतिषप्रधान ग्रन्थ में अनेक अवहट्ठ भाषा के पदप्रमाणरूपसे उद्धृत करते हैं जिनको वे "क्षपणक जातक" "भृगुसंहिता" "कापालिक जातक" प्रभृति ग्रन्थों के बतलाते हैं। ये ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध नहीं हैं, अतएव निश्चित रूप से यह कहना संभव नहीं है कि क्या ये सभी ग्रन्थ इसी भाषा में लिखे गये थे अथवा ये वचन उन ग्रन्था में भी उद्धृत ही हैं। पर अवहट्टके साथ साथ कई जगह संस्कृत के भी श्लोक हैं, और इससे अनुमान किया जाता कि ये ग्रन्थ समस्त प्राय अवहट्ठ में नहीं थे। तब ये पद किनके हैं? क्या क्षपणक जातक प्रभृति ग्रन्थों के रचयिता ने ही ये पद अवहट्ठ में लिखे? अथवा ये पद किसी दूसरे के हैं जिन्हें उन्हों ने अपन ग्रन्था में उद्धृत किये हैं? यदि ये दूसरों के पद हैं तो नियमानुसार इनके नामका उपादान क्यों नहीं किया गया? यह यदि भूल ही मान लें तो किसकी भूल? क्षपणक जातककार की, चण्डेश्वर की अथवा लेखकों की। इन सब प्रश्नों का समाधान तब तक संभव नहीं जब तक ये ग्रन्थ नहीं मिलते। पर इतना स्पष्ट है कि विषय और भाषा दोनों में ये वचन डाक के वचनों के समान हैं। आश्चर्य नहीं ये वचन डाक के ही हों और प्रसिद्धि के कारण अथवा प्रमाण से उनके नामका उल्लेख छूट गया हो। परन्तु यदि इसे प्रमाण के अभाव में स्वीकार नहीं भी करें, तो भी इतना तो निर्विवाद सिद्ध है कि तेरहवीं शताब्दी के आदि की रचना "कृत्यचिंतामणि से पहले भी अवहट्ठ में ज्योतिष की अनेक रचनायें प्रमाण रूपसे मान्य थीं, और डाक उन अवहट्ठ लेखकों में एक थे। इससे इनकी प्रामाणिकता और भी बढ़ जाती है आर प्रमाणित होता है कि उन दिनों मिथिला की "देसिल बयना" में लोकोपकारी ज्योतिष की रचनाओं का पूर्ण प्रचार था।

Section : Marathi

Presidential Address

Prof. K. P. Kulkarni, Bombay

Brother delegates and friends,

I deem it a great source of pride and honour in being called upon to speak on behalf of Marathi, one of the modern Indian Languages, before this assembly of the learned savants. I say honour, because it is a thing that comes very rarely. Marathi has received this honour only thrice in the long career of this Conference, and during the past twelve sessions. Even now we feel that we are here by sufferance. All the same, I feel delighted, because our being here in the midst of these learned Indologists may lead to the advancement of the cause of the language which I represent. It also gives me an apportunity to express my feeling of gratitude for the work done by the oriental scholars in the field of modern languages. Beames, Bhandarkar, Grierson, Bloch, Konow, Turner, Chatterji, Saksena, are some of the outstanding names that are permanently associated with the modern languages of the NIA period. The extension of invitation to some modern Indian Languages augurs well. It might establish contact with all other branches of Indology and can take its legitimate place there in the heirarchy of subjects of Oriental learning. In fact it is a link, though perhaps the last link, in the chain of the development and thus a part and parcel of the same subject. But unfortunately it has not received the attention that it deserves from the oriental scholars. This attitude has produced an unfortunate result. The research work that is done in Marathi, so also the research work done with regard to Marathi language and literature and written in Marathi, whatever its value, has received very meagre attention of scholars, — perhaps amounting to nil. There is some good research work done in Marathi. It may not come up to the level of the discoveries of Mohonjo-daro or Harappa. But the researches are tolerably good — can take their stand easily with dignity with a number of other researches that we find every year in the various branches. I may, with your permission, mention a few names. Rajwade, Rajaram Shastri Bhagvat, Lakshman Shastri Lele, Trimbak Gurunath Kale, Dr. S. V. Ketkar, Vasudeo Shastri Abhyankar, Narayan Shastri Shintre, Shankar Balkrishna Dikshit, Vyanktesh Bapuji Ketkar, Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrao, are some of the outstanding names. This particular province where we are meeting today has also supplied its quota in M. M. Ghule Shastri, Y. K. Deshpande, Nene, Datta Mahanubhava, Kolte and others. Some of these man have done monumental work in their own line, but unfortunately none of it has found place in the research despatches of great scholars. I am not putting this as a complaint. This is a grievance of ours put before you with all earnestness and humility with a hope that the NIA Languages may receive more attention at the hands of the oriental scholars. A grievance similar to the one that is placed here, was made by Dr. S. V. Ketkar the president of Marathi section at Baroda. Times are changing and let us hope that the claims of the modern languages will be conceded in the near future.

Since we met last at Tirupati where we enjoyed the unique honour of being addressed by the Doyen of Marathi Literature and the foremost of the makers of modern Marathi, Mr. N. C. Kelker, there have been enormous changes in all the departments of cultural life in Maharashtra. The great world war second continued to weigh heavily on the people. There was again the famine everywhere. To make the situation worse, there were the communal and other disturbances. These factors disturbed the society, disturbed also the literature, resulting in the deterioration of both the quality and the quantity. To take stock of the output of the Marathi literature during the last seven years may not raise any extraordinary hope, but is not discouraging either. In the following dicussion, I shall first take up the scientific literature, and then deal with the other type later on. It was under the inspiring aegis of Sane, Rajwade, Parasnis and Khare Shastri that historical research was started in Maharashtra. A great impetus was given by the actual work that they put forth and now it is both a pleasure and a previlege to say that the work has been carried on both in quantity and quality worthy of those stalwart pioneers. I think it may not be considered presumptuous if I say that the work of historical research that is carried on here in Maharashtra stands unparallelled by any other similar work carried on in other provinces. It is true that most of it pertains to Maratha history, but Marathi language and literature also do have their legitimate share in it. Quite a monumental work is being done by the Research Societies in Maharashtra. The Bhārat Itihāsa Samshodhana Mandala of Poona, the Rajwade Samshodhaka Mandala, the Satkāryottejaka Sabhā and the Samartha Vāgdevatā Mandir of Dhulia. The name of the Veteran Shankar Shrikrishna Dev of Dhulia will be remembered with reverence and will be for ever associated with the research work in the Ramadasi literature. Laxman Ramachandra Pangarkar also did some research work in Marathi literature and could give us three big volumes of the History of Marathi Literature. It was unfortunate that his life was cut short before he could complete the work he had undertaken. The name of J. R. Ajgaonkar also deserves mention in this connection.

The Rajwade Mandala of Dhulia has been doing the work of bringing to light some of the old and rare Marathi prose manuscripts collected by the late Mr. Rajwade. When the whole material is published, it will give us a succint view of the development of ancient Marathi prose literature.

In the field of historical research, the B. I. S. Mandala of Poona has been doing very good work. It has been recognised by scholars of merit all over. The efforts done by Mr. G. H. Khare in the field of archeology, numismatics and iconography deserve a special mention. Much work is being done in the field of Marathi lexicography. A great scheme was launched by a Mandala for the preparation of Marathi dictionary. It was a necessity. Much time had elapsed since Molesworth and Candy did their work. This huge work was undertaken and completed by a body of self-less workers trained under Dr. S. V. Ketkar of Marathi Encyclopaedia fame. From among all the band of workers, the names o Messrs Y. R. Date and C. G. Karve deserve special mention. They have now been working on another lexicon of adages, sayings etc. Mr. S. Chitrao, another worker trained under Dr. S. V. Ketkar, has brought out three big volumes of "Charitra-Kosha". The volumes are a monument to the sturdy spirit of a Maharashtriyan. The lexicon of Marathi roots collected by Rajwade was edited by me. In this field of language study two other works deserve mention. One is the study of the thirteenth century Marathi, and the other is that of the eighteenth century Marathi. They are theses for the degree of Ph. D. submitted by S. G. Tulpule and G. B. Gramopadhye respectively.

I might be permitted here to make mention of my own humble effort in the field of Marathi Linguistics. "The Marathi Etymological Dictionary" which I had started some eight years back at the instance of Right Honourable Dr. M. R. Jayakar is just completed by me. Scholars have acclaimed it as being quite a new book of its kind in NIA Linguistics. It discusses the etymology of Marathi words both in their historical and comparative aspects. It contains over twenty thousand primary entries of Marathi words given in Devanagari type with their meaning both in Marathi and English. The work is based on the efforts of other pioneer workers in the field, both in the West and the East. Support has been sought for the etymology given, from the works of Pānini, Patanjali, Vararuchi, Hemachandra and others, and also from the modern workers like Grierson, Bloch, Turner, Chatterji, Varma and others. Every attempt is made to make the work as complete and scientific as possible.

There is an introduction to the book which discusses "Word — its origin and development" detailing all aspects of word-phonetics and word semantics. The *tatsama* word has been traced back to Indo-European root carrying it through all the forms represented in the various Aryan languages in Europe. The *Tadbhava* word has been traced back to its original stem found in Sanskrit, Avesta and other Prakrit languages, carrying it through all the forms represented in the various modern Indian languages. The Dravidian and the Semitic elements have also been similarly dealt with. It is thus a complete picture of Marathi words, drawn in time and space context. This is the account of the efforts done in the field of Marathi linguistics.

In that branch of realistic literature namely History, Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai has been assiduously giving the fruits of his labours in the biographies of the Maratha kings and their Peshwas. There is another remarkable book on "the Murder of Narayanrao Peshwa" by one P. G. Ranade of Belgaum, who has shot up at once as a historian by his novel, though shocking interpretation of the history of those times. It is a bold and very daring attempt of putting forth a mass of uncut, unhewn material. One is not and need not be afraid of the conclusions arrived at by the writer especially the condemnation of Nana Fadanavis, but one shudders at the procedure and the method followed in the book in sifting the evidence. There are some biographies but they are of minor ones. This deficiency is made good by the autobiographies. The Jeevankathā of Chapekar, the Smaran Sakhali of Mrs. Deshpande, the Mazem Purana of Mrs. Karve, the Amchi Akrā Varshem of Mrs. Patwardhan, Mazim Done Tapem of Madkholkar and the Karagrahachya Bhinti of Gore are all written in a homely and sincere style, painting the social conditions of the times in as vivid and frank manner as possible. The writing is both colourful and purposeful.

In scientific literature Prof. D. D. Wadekar has successfully rendered in Marathi the technical terminology of Philosophy and has thus set an example to be emulated. Such efforts are welcome, especially at this time when the question of having regional and linguistic universities is on the anvil. The modern languages in India in time to come, would surely be the media of instruction in all the stages of education. The deficiency that is felt with regard to appropriate technical terms would be removed by efforts like these. But the most outstanding effort in this line is that of S. G. Date of Poona. His Grantha-Sūchi is really the Catalogus Catalogoram of Marathi books published between 1800 and 1937. It records more than twenty thousand entries arranged in Dewey system. Not a book has been missed and not a book has been recorded unless being seen and examined. It is life work of patient and careful labour.

The output in the literature showing the interpretative imagination is also very hopeful. Prof. R. S. Jog has brought out his book on œsthetics. The subject though highly philosophical has received very lucid and clarifying treatment at his hands. How to get at the beauty in art, how to appreciate it when found, has been the theme of the book, and has been very ably presented by the author. The whole effort appears in good relief presented as it is in lights and cross lights of both the Western and Eastern cannons af œsthetics. The book looks to be complete, but leaves much to desire in point of exactitude and definiteness of both terms and views. There is a booklet on the nature of poetry by Prof. Mate in which he has tried to put his novel theory about poetry which according to him is any composition that can be sung to tune. There are some minor essays in Marathi criticism, some dealing with particular authors, others dealing with particular theories. Of all these minor attempts, the one made by Mr. Mardhekar वाङ्मयीन महात्मता deserves special mention for the originality and freshness of thought and method. There remain two major efforts to be mentioned, though they cannot be strictly regarded to belong to this category. One is an effort of philosophy-cum-criticism nature, done by Prof. S. D. Pendse of Nagpur with regard to the interpretation that he has offered of the philosophy of Dnyaneshwar. The other is an effort of history-cum criticism nature, done by Prof. V. B. Kolte with regard to the historical interpretation that he has offered of the literature, philosophy, and religion of the Mahānubhāvas. It is a subject over which he has spent a number of years of assiduous patient study.

In the famous and much popular branch of creative literature, poetry, the Marathi muse appears to have been a little exhausted with the result that Marathi poetry has suffered both in quality and quantity — has gone on dwindling especially since the death of Madhav Julien — Dr. M. T. Patwardhan. There have been a number of collections of poems from some of his contemporaries, Girisha and Yashvant, all of usual and moderate merits, lacking totally the signs of the times. The aspirations and cravings of the times find expression in the poems of Kalele, Borkar, Nikumb, Kusumāgraja and A. R. Deshpande — especially through the last two. Kusumāgraja does it in a forceful lyric while Deshpande does it with the softness of word-rhythm of the free verse. A caution requires to be uttered with regard to the composition of what I call "Red-poetry" — poetry artificial to the utmost, over-sentimental to the core, and international in the garb. These composers have been deceiving the readers, deceiving themselves and deceiving their own duty-Muse.

The other branches of creative literature have been properly represented and have flourished in spite of the controls of war, famine or riots. The Marathi drama that had fallen on very evil days since the boom of the picture, has revived, though not as a perfect literary product that it was before the war in the hands of such veteran playwrights as Deval, Kirloskar, Kolhatkar, Khadilkar and Gadkari. The revival is partly due to the centenary celebrations of Marathi stage performed in 1943 and partly due to the changing times. Varerkar, whom I may call the famous author of Hundred books is still there, ruling over the Marathi stage, — practically as a thorough master of both pencraft and stage craft. The woman has been the problem of a number of Marathi plays that have recently come out. The woman depicted in most of these plays is a free woman, free to develop her own individuality "She is now out" — out of the four walls of the Kitchen. This is the theme in Grihadāha by Prof. G. K. Bhat, in Janmāche Sobati by Vakil in Kulavadhū by Ranganekar, and also in the recent play of

Atre—Jag Kāya Mhaṇela ? It has to be admitted that the Marathi play has really become more dynamic, more realistic and more connected with the intricate social problems. Here also, as in poetry, a caution raquires to be sounded, particularly with the problem of Woman treated therein. It is an imitation. Ibsen's Nora is being resurrected. Resurrected she will of course be, but being presented in an uncongenial atmosphere as ours is, fears are that it will rather be her ghost than her own self. Of all the recent plays I am tempted to mention one as being the best specimen of imaginative literature. The Singapuratūn by Mr. B. V. Warerkar is a war play and does credit to the writer both in point of conception and execution. The writer may be taken to have no direct experience of war, except perhaps what he heard on the radio. He had to rely mainly on his imagination and out of the filaments of his imagination has raised up quite a vivid picture of the din of the war. The atmosphere of the play is cosmopolitan—Sikh, Christian, Maratha–all acting as members of one family, each supporting the other in the thick turmoil of the warfare. Shantaram, Sadanand, Tarasing, Amalā, Rupā and Sāvitri are types by themselves and act in consonance or otheirwise according to the exegencies of the situation. Varerkar is not so very sucessful in creating his heros, but here in this play he has created one good specimen. Mental distractions, caused in him under the stress of the war and under the wilful machinations of the Japanese, reach a high pitch. It does smack of propaganda at places, but the whole play is a piece that is at once artistic and realistic.

In another branch of creative literature, namely novels, the things are very promising as usual both in point of quality and quantity. Among the writers the veteran trio of Phadake, Khandekar and Madkholkar, is already there as resplendant and as refreshing as ever, followed by another very illustrious trio—Varerkar, Sane and Dighe—who show positive signs of surpassing the former one in point of matter, manner and also the capacity to please. From all of them, I would like to detach Dighe and make a special mention of his novels. He appears to be a writer of the masses and for the masses. He, in his Sarāi, has beautifully welded both the romance and the realism of peasant life. The style, though provincial and dialectal, is vigorous and lucid. In fact, the whole novel with its vivid scenes and bold characters, makes a very interesting and faithful reading. Lādi, the heroine, with all her sylvan characteristics, her transparent heart, makes a thorough impression on the readers. Dighe has certainly established his reputation as a novelist of the people and for the people. Sane Guruji stands by far the most popular novelist of today. His novel is sedate, slow, sparkling and sentimental though overdrawn at times. His is a new mark and a new school of working.

Another attempt in the same line and with the same purpose is done by Mr. B. S. Mardhekar in his Tāmbadi Māti. Mardhekar, a critic and a poet, here appears for the first time as a novelist and judging from the scenes and characters depicted therein, it can be said that the role is done well. Every village in Maharashtra has normally got the wrestling tourneys and other scenes and characters like Gyanu, the wrestler and Shiva the farmer. Comrades Kumar and Charansing are the signs of the changing times. Hadap has, in his recent novel, depicted the life in Burma during the war times. Varerkar has tried in his Drāvidi Prāṇāyām to unify the different social units.

The Marathi short story has been swinging between two opposite forces of free originality and the rigid technique, between the artistic painting and precept teaching. There is thus struggle between realism and didacticism as far as the short story in Marathi goes. It rarely grapples with the reality and when any such attempt is seen one feels a sort of relief. There are the sparkling stories of Khandekar, Sardesai, Varerkar and others. Of late there has been a good addition to this branch of literature made by new writers among whom Padhye, Marathe and Shanta Shelke deserve mention.

Friends, this is just a very rough outline of the growth of literature in Marathi during the last six or seven years. I am conscious of the omissions that may be found in the picture I have just drawn. I have omitted some names and some branches of literature also. I had to do this for want of time. Looking at this picture, certain bold trends of thought come out in relief. There has been an all-round complaint about the modern literature, expressive of disstisfaction at what is going on in literature. There is the dearth of thought, the absence of perseverence, the indifference towards decency and sacredness. The intellect is poor, the heart is weak, the passions are overstrung, the artificiality is rampant. These and similar ones have been the changes levelled against Modern Marathi Literature. A thorough appraisal of literature will enable us to examine these charges. This modern literature can be said to have begun with Chiplunkar, the famous Marathi prose writer whose writings influenced the literature in the last quarter of the 19th century, but sway the minds of Maharashtra even now. He it was, who created the rich Marathi prose and thus drew out all the latent powers of Marathi language which upto that time had the traditions of verse literature. Not that there was no prose in Marathi before Chiplunkar. The epistolary literature of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries ,the Bakhar literature, but more than that the simple but forceful narrative prose of the Mahānubhavas, displays the powers of Marathi prose, especially on the emotive side of it. It was therefore that this early Marathi prose belonged to the "verse tradition." "It was very rarely employed for scientific or philosophical or reflective purposes." Attempts were made in Marathi as in other modern languages in India, to put the prose to these very uses, and they were initiated by Chiplunkar and his contemporaries. This has been acknowledged by philologers like J. Bloch and

S. K. Chatterji. "Quite a new stage in the development of Indo-Aryan commenced with the British period when the Indian mind came in very close contact with that of Europe, through English Literature in the first half of the nineteenth century in Bengal, Bombay and Madras, and during the second half of the same century for the rest of India." "With the English, prose came to India and rhime gave place to reason." "When the need arose for the Indo-Aryan Languages to meet the demands of science through a modern system of Education becoming widely adopted, difficulties were evinced because the vernaculars were not yet ready as finished instruments of expression, and this is largely evidenced, not only from the absence of good scientific and technical terms, but also from the halting and not precise prose syntax of many of the NIA speeches. An early development of simple and vigorous prose in NIA would have been of inestimable benefit for the recognition of the mind of India and the Indian renaissance in that case would have been brought about much earlier."* Chiplunkar and his contemporaries and some of his disciples by their forceful prose succeeded in removing the feeling of defeatism that had overcome the people on the advent of the British. Simultaneously with these personal efforts there was a general national awakening made by the Indian National Congress. The consciousness of democracy was roused. The boycott agitation created hatred for foreign power. The four agitations, started under the auspices of the Non-coperation, created a desire among the people to have their own power established in the country. The two European wars, the industrial and economice revolutions in the West, opened up the new vista of the international life. Time was when the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity ruled and were echoed and reechoed through literature but later on were swept off by the ideological tornadoes from Russia. Democratic ideology disappeared and socialistic ideology took its place. Equality gave place to socialism, political differences gave place to economic ones. These changes had their natural effects in literature. Classicism gave place to romanticism or realism.

These upheavals in economics, politics, ideologics, etc. have brought in changes in the notions about religion, morality. The various distinctions and differences in the society have been removed and the whole social mass has been flattened into one common level. The values of piety in religion, descency in language and purity in life have changed. There is none senior in age nor in knowledge, nothing sacred in religion, nothing unpollutable in speech. These changes in the values have created corresponding changes in the make up of literature. The traditional concepts — both social and literary — have changed. This is why indecency and obscenity in literary taste has become so very rampant. The sense of duty is gone and the sense of right has come in its place. In all emotive literature in Marathi we find that right is upheld against duty. This is especially the case with regard to woman and the depressed classes of·the society. Time was when pity was shown to them. Later on pity gave place to sympathy and sympathy to equality. This has led to the duels between the conquerer and the conquered, between the rich and the poor, master and the servants, the capitalists and the labourers. This struggle we find reflected in modern Marathi literature.

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* Indo-Aryan and Hindi — S. K. Chatterji, P. 103-104.

More powerful is the feeling of individuality and greater is the change that it has brought in Modern Marathi Literature. Individuality was there even in old Marathi literature, but it was controlled by a spirit of sacrifice, of renunciation, and it could lead to personal emancipation. But the same individuality has now taken a materialistic turn, and has resulted in enormous lust of power and pleasure. It is this phase that has been occupying much of modern Marathi creative literature. There is however one good thing about this new individuality. It has brought in auto-spection or intro-spection in literature. Not only the writers but even the characters in their literature are seen practising it. The old descriptive and narrative aspect of literature noticed in Marathi romance upto recent times inclusive of Apte and Phadake has given place to character evolution (that we find in the romances of P. Y. Deshpande). The Marathi literature of ancient times was introspective by intuition at the time of Dnyandev, Janabai, Namdev, Ekanath and Tukaram. Later it became hetro-spective in the hands Pantts and Pandits. It is again become introspective not of course through intuition but through psycho-analysis.

Owing to the changes in the spirit of literature, the old conventions about the word and its meaning, the figures of speech and the sentiments expressed have become extremely slack. The old rigidity is no longer there. All taboos laid down, all canons enunciated regarding the conception and execution of the theme, in the evolution and the involution of the plot and in the structure of the characters, have been thrown away. Any theme is a good theme. Any scene can be represented and any character introduced. Any word can be used and any sentiment expressed. The whole machinery of Rasa theory has crumbled down. The atmosphere so far confined only to divine or semidivine beings, to kings and kingly persons, has now come to touch the lower strata of the majoors and farmers. The classicism gave place to romanticism which again has changed to realism of this world and of this life.

There is again one more tendency in Modern Marathi Literature which forces itself on us and which can be said to be the result of the researches in psycho-analysis and which can be said to be the result of the new discoveries in psycho-analysis. The sex in creative literature of the romantic type is unavoidable. It interests and instructs if it is within bounds. But it has to be frankly admitted that it is going beyond the limits of deceney. Kāma is one of the purushārthas and as such is essential in literature. But there is inordinate lust of pleasure, the passionateness which makes much of the modern Marathi fiction a rabid and morbid love-romance.

There are various schools of thought among the Modern Marathi writers. There are those who write art for art's sake, art for life, art for propoganda. But all of them very rarely lose the sense of human life and contribute tolerably good commentaries of human life. Along with human life it takes into account nature, universe as is found in the works is Dnyaneshwar, Ekanath, Tukaram and Ramdas. Nature shines with all its brilliance in the lines of Mukteshwar. Dnyaneshwar welds together the three — the human life, the nature and the cosmos in his poetry. There is sublimity in the poetry of Dnyaneshwar, Eknath, there is proximity in the poetry of Namdeo. There is beauty in that of Mukteshwar. There is power and experience in the activistic poetry of Ramdas. Tame, Chandrashekhar, Bee, Keshavsuta, Govinodagraja, have tried to supply poetry very near to that of these veterans. But they have shrouded it in some Shelleyan mystic atmosphere. It is good that the Marathi poetry of today is free from this inscrutable mysticism and instead of flying up in the etherial world, has come down to this matter of fact world. The self-analysis, the introspection, the individuality, the consciousness of the rights, the social and economic equality, the social sense, the commentary of human life, the sense of beauty, the emancipation of the woman and the depressed classes, the defiance of conventions, the indifference towards what is pure, decent, and auspicious in art and life — are some of the characteristics of the modern Marathi literature. The changes wrought in the outer form of literature have not been taken into consideration — though they are many — regarding the form, the metre, diction, script and syntax. The modern Marathi prose style has definitely improved in expressiveness, has become much flexible, homogeneous, simple and displays qualities of both heart and head. The modern Marathi prose is made by the modern writers of Marathi. I call them "The makers of Modern Marathi — N. C. Kalkar, H. N. Apte, Phadke, Varerkar, Atre. In fact the creation of the prose tradition is the main characterestic of the modern Marathi literature. Classical prose was created by Chiplunkar, Agarkar, Tilak, Gole and others in the past and is being fashioned by Madkholkar, Banhatti and Phatak at present. Romantic prose has been created by Paranjpe, Savarkar, Kolhatkar, Gadkari, Phadke, Khandekar and others. Realistic prose has been created by N. C. Kelkar, Varerkar and Atre, and emotive prose has been created by Kalelkar, Sane Guruji, Vinoba Bhave and others. Ladies and Gentleman, these have been the trends of thought in the modern Marathi Literature. After all this encomium, some thing requires to be said about it. There is too much of westernization of both thought and style, of both language and literature. The linguistic borrowal has affected the outer garb — the skin only — and therefore if it is found uncongenial it can be checked or removed by a process of amputation or engrafting. It is not possible to do this in as much the borrowal touches the very soul, the very spirit. The English debt is enormous — so much so that the whole bulk of the 19th and 20th century Marathi literature is what I am always inclined to call as "Shadow Literature." In these days of easy communications and social contact, borrowals are inevitable. Complete cultural isolation in these days is impossible. The best in any language and literature — particularly the English — is sure to be taken and will continue to be taken for all the time on account of its all embracing and all dominating nature. Mutual exclusiveness is impossible. Granting all that, it has to be admitted that the shadow cast on Marathi by English is too thick, too dense to allow her full growth. It is feared that it is being stifled under the pressure. There is the borrowal of content and that is threatening. The idiologies that have crept in are various and varied. The ideas about nation and nationalism, about society and socialism, about community and communism, about individual and individualism have come down to us through English. Liberty, equality, fraternity, emancipation of woman, economic independence, freedom of speech, writing and action are notions which, though indegenous to some extent, have much in them that is foreign. These idealogical convulsions may be due to any thing — to political French Revolution, or the English Industrial revolution or the Russian social and economic revolution that have come to us through English medium and have taken possession of the soul of Marathi literature and have made it impossible for her to breathe her true Marathi atmosphere. On account of this foreign pressure, we do not now find in Modern Marathi — that brilliant imagery and transcendental spiritualism of Dnyandeo and Eknath, that rough but robust, simple but sincere expression of Namdev and Tukaram, that pristine purity both of thought and expression of Vaman and Moropant, that militant but spirilualized activism of Ramdas, that sparkling imagination of Mukteshwar, that erotic and heroic depicting of the true Marathi heart, of Ramjoshi and Anand Phandi — all are gone and their place is taken by the ideologies mentioned above.

If this is the tale with regard to the literalure of inspiration and imagination, if the debt in this field assumes these proportions, it is no wonder that in the literature of inlellect and invention the debt should assume still large proportion. The avenues of inspiration and imagination though at times blocked by social and governmental vetoes, are open to us. But the avenues of intellect and invention are beyond our reach. Marathi science literature is nothing but a replica of the foreign scientific literature. In my own science Philology, though it is a humanity subject and though we had such big intellectuals as Yaska, Pānini, Kātyāyana, Patanjali etc., we have to look up to Max Muller, Whitney Jesferson, Jules Bloch and Turner not only for inspiration and instruction in the subject but also for a refreshing clarification of any of the smallest details. The sciences both humanistic and positive are theirs the inventions are theirs, the concepts are theirs, the technical terms are theirs. A beginning is made to bring these sciences within the orbit of Indian languages. The journey will be long but it is not depressing. What language is free and will remain free and uncontaminated in these days. Besides, our language has been hemmed in, in the clutches of a very powerful, dominating language and literature. Even in this plethora of English influence there is still a good deal which is purely ours. The language is ours, the atmosphere is ours, the culture is ours but more than these, the breath that we blow in these foreign bones is ours. This is the soul of the language and literature, and as long as it is ours, so long we need not be afraid of the onslaughts of the foreigners.

Remedies can be suggested for the revival of Marathi language and literature. There must be a genuine love for the language. There must also be a literary sense, coupled with a sound literary judgement. Attempts are necessary for creating Marathi concepts in science and literature. It will be easy then to clothe them in Marathi words. But more than any thing else, one thing is quite essential. We must begin to think in our mother tongue. The greatest slavery is that which requires you to think in a language which is not yours. This is to be dreaded more than the actual ouslaught of words and ideas. The capacity to think in our mother tongue can be obtained by using it as the medium of teaching and learning at all the stages of education. This can best be done by a separate linguistic university of Marathi. The study of thought in the language and literature, and of the culture in all its branches will establish the language in the aristocracy of the subjects. It would remove the baneful complex of inferiority that is felt about Marathi at all stages. In a subject country the mother tongue is always the pivot used by the people to rally. The love of the country is always the love of the race, the love of religion and the love of language. In all these, the love of the language is the uppermost. There is pride in it, there is love in it. It is always a very precious heritage valued beyond life, in as much as it discharges three functions. It has to express the intellectual content. It has to express emotional content. Thirdly, it has also to express the promotive content.

The love of the mother tongue can be engendered and also fostered by unifying all the factors of the language that lie scattered in different directions. Unification of the several districts of Marathi speaking people will enable Marathi to take its proper place among the civilised and cultured languages of India and will bring out all the innate potential qualities that lie dormant owing the dominance of foreign language and literature. But here a caution is necessary. We the Marathas have been charged with what they call "Mulkhgiri." We are very brave and bold at the initial start. The enthusiasm proves offensive to others at times. Unification of Maharashtra is quite essential for the growth of Marathi language and literature. But in doing it we must take care to see that no encroachment is made on any other language and literature, which made would lead to the deterioration of that language, and would consequently to that extent, lead to the deterioration of the growth of the whole nation.

Another hurdle that will come up in the growth of Marathi and other similar provincial languages will be the introduction of the "National Language" in the body-politic of India. The problem is bound to be there on account of the large extent of the country. Had the extent of the country been co-terminus with the province of the language, as we find in some autonomous countries in Europe, there would not have been such a hurdle. That India should have a national language is a point beyond dispute. That national language should be some form of Hindi must also be conceded on the strength of the number of Hindi speakers, and also on the flexibility of the language. The predominance of the words of particular language, Sanskrit or Persian, should not be made the bone of contention, and there should be no compulsion about them. It would be decided by the speakers themselves. The aim of such language should never be lost sight of. It is communication. It is exchange of thought. It is a business language. It should be of the nature of a Bazar language — a Bazar Hindi as Chatterji rightly calls it. To use either a Sanskrit or Persian word would be decided by the speakers, and not by the high command of any assembly or league. Such a language deserves to be enconraged as the understanding medium in the bazar and not beyond that. The question of the script is a minor one. The use of Roman script would be scientific.

Here also the enthusiasm for a national language should not be allowed to wax and go beyond the proper limits. Over-emphasis on the use and claims of Hindi — the national language — would lead to the neglect of the study and the growth of the provincial language and literature, and will thus cause a rift in the national regeneration to that extent. This may be avoided by fixing once for all the aims of national language. Communication is the aim — not so much the self-expression — nor ever the creation of literature. Therefore the habits suitable only for communication deserve to be created in the teaching of Hindi. In language teaching, there are two kinds of habits that are formed — one language-habits and other literature-habits. Language habits only will be created in the case of Hindi. Marathi in that case shall have no cause of fear as literature-habits necessary for both creation and appreciation of literature will be formed only in Marathi and not in Hindi the national language.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are the problems that confront us in the immediate future, in view of the national regeneration that is fast coming. I have tried to state and solve them in my humble way. I thank the authorities of the Oriental Conference for the opportunity that they gave me for placing my views before the learned audience of this conference. I thank them also for the honour which they have done to me in calling upon me to speak on behalf of Marathi speakers.

I thank you all for your kindness.

THROUGH LITERATURE TO SOCIETY

(Being an estimate of the 17th century society in Mahārāśtra as reflected in the literature of the times.)

Shri Vaman Balaji Kulkarni, Bombay

Introduction

We have been able to trace the birth of Marāthi as far back as the ninth century. Since then the growth of its literature, though not conspicuous for its variety and diversity, has definitely been marked for its abundance. In spite of this, the centuries which produced this literature within the boundaries of what we call Mahārāśtra, are still shrouded in mist. Though they do not constitute what is generally called a 'Dark Age' we must admit that the literature of the times is notorious for its indifference to the age which produced it, with the result that we are still in dark about our forefathers — their social and economic conditions and problems, modes of their life and its principles. Mine is an attempt in the following lines at discovering some of these things in the fossils of the literature handed down to us from the 17th century.

The theory that literature of any nation or century can be studied or understood without reference to its environments and its age, cannot be substantially supported. Literature cannot be so isolated and studied as a separate entity. Environments, social, political, religious and economic, must inevitably mould the literature which they produce and feed. Each of these in its turn is a complex of age-old traditions and heritages. So there is a strong body of opinion that literature is not merely a play of imagination, the isolated caprice of an excited brain, but a transcript of contemporary manners and a manifestation of a certain kind of mind.* If our literature is studied in the light of this theory there are grounds to believe that we shall discover the hidden treasures in them.

Literature of the 17th century and its main characteristics.

The seventeenth century in Mahārāśtra produced the works of Eknath, Mukteśwar, Tukāram and Rāmdas — not to say of those of a number of minor

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Note : For Eknāth, Tukārām and Rāmdās I have consulted the editions of Mr. D. A. Āpte, Mr. V. L. Panshikar and Mr. G. G. Gondhalekar respectively. The pages quoted in this essay refer to these editions.

* Introduction to History of Eng. Lit. Vol. I, by M. Taine.

poets who lived in the shadow of these masters. These were saint poets who wrote extensively. The age in which they lived was a product of the preceding two centuries in which the doctrine of devotional love to God dominated the peoples' minds. A large section of the community thought and lived a life in terms of religion, with union with God as its goal. If this mode of life was progressive or otherwise is of course for the scientists to say and we need not pronounce any judgment on it. Generally, however, it is regarded as a narrow-minded view of life, utterly regardless of our sublunary existence, which subsequently brought its own doom. The principles then propagated are said to be extermely harmful and ruinous in as much as they were meant to keep down the peasantry and the working classes who were then trying to emerge out of their grinding poverty and secure their place in the society. The rebellious and bold efforts of Dnyāneśwar had given an impetus to his succeeding poets to break the shackles of Sanskrit and compose verse in their vernacular. The store of knowledge was no longer to be confined to the 'blessed few' but was to be advanced to the lowest strata of the society, with a view to ameliorating their lot spiritually. So we find the saint poets of the seventeenth century vehemently preaching the doctrine of devotional love and 'justifying the ways of God to man'. Spiritual aspirations, though not contrary, are at least indifferent to our mundane ones; hence the difficulty of finding faithful social reflections in their literature.

A search light on the mist : Religious Democracy.

A careful study of the literature does not prove unfructiferous in this regard. Though with the material supplied by the literature, it is wellnigh impossible to reconstruct our past life of the century, we do catch some glimpses of the society then in existence. In the first instance we are struck at the way in which the people in those days thought and lived. The caste system in all its ugliness was in cxistence then — the Brahmins at the top of the ladder and the *Śūdras* tied down to its lowest rung. It seems they could not change places in ordinary course of life. Thus Tukārām who himself belonged to a lower caste compares a *Śūdra* to a crow which, even if adorned with garlands, cannot vie with a swan in greatness. Even a defiled Brahmin to him is 'superior to all in the three worlds'.* This sanctity and superiority of the Brahmins was being gradually undermined by the Vārkari sect of religion which was sweeping over the land. The orthodoxy tried in vain to stem it. People like Eknāth and Mukteśwar from its own fold crossed the floor and tried to mix with the masses. This resulted in the birth of what may be called religious democracy. A number of passages from these saint poets show that the principle of equality of opportunity to worship God was virtually acknowledged. Caste distinctions were forgotten for the time being. A Brahmin forgetting his age-old superiority would touch the feet of a *Śūdra* — the down-cast — with respect. Eknāth may be quoted here : " All castes alike have a right to utter God's name "* " His name purifies women and the low-born "† " Thou hast blessed me with Thy mercy, a low-born and dirty Mahār as I am."‡ Tukārām also says, " He that has no right to hear the Vedas, is given a place near to Thine."$ " They have forgotten their caste pride and fall at one another's feet."|| These are, I think, sufficient to give us an idea of the working of the religious democracy and of its results. This seems to be one of the greatest achievements of the century.

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* P. 665 Tuk.

Its limitations and caste- distinctions.

We need not, however, be led to believe that the democratic principles had any influence on spheres outside the religious one or that they were observed in day-to-day life by the people. The water-tight compartments which separated communities were retained in tact in other walks of life. Inter-caste marriages were not allowed; those that defied the social custom were either out-cast or condemned to harsh retributions. The severity of punishment depended on the difference between the two castes to which the two parties in matrimony happened to belong : it increased with the difference. Thus it is laid down in the DaṇḍanItiprakaraṇam of Keshav Pandit that if a Brahmin woman marries a Sūdra the king should cast her before dogs; but if she marries a Kṣyatriya or a Vaishya, शिरसः मुण्डनं तस्याः प्रयाणं गर्दभेण सह — obviously¶ a less severe punishment A son who did not utter God's name was condemned as a 'bastard of two fathers 'ψ and his mother, as 'having conceived him of a Mahār '.§ Although the last quotation is an indication of the vehemence in the preachings of the orthodoxy, it all the same throws a flood of light on the caste distinctions of those days. It is curious indeed that the saints who did not belong to higher communities also preached about the Brahmin superiority; much less so is then the fact that the Brahmins themselves directed their propaganda in favour of their own superiority. Eknāth was undoubtedly a great reformer of his days; but he had his limitations. He lays down that if a Brahmin approaches you, you should give him food and if you have no food to give, give him due respect.@ He — and Tukārām as well — has condemned a man who is reluctant to offer a drink of water to a Brahmin but minds not cleaning a harlot's garments. It was preached that if you satisfied a thousand Brahmins with a dainty dinner you would have visited a holy place.** There is an ample evidence to show that these teachings had the desired effect.

The dissolute and the dissimulators.

The society of the seventeenth century experienced a tug-of-war between two tendencies. On the one hand the orthodoxy was making every effort to retain its strong-hold; while the Vārkari sect on the other hand was actually eroding its foundation. The Brahminism was definitely losing ground, but the other party had not yet pulled the whole society to its side. In this period of struggle and transition there arose a class of hypocrites. Not that they were non-existent in the previous centuries, for they are a universal disease; but they had not grown till then in such a magnitude as to become a nuisance and a degenerating element in the society. All the saint poets pointed their fingers towards this class and with one voice condemnded it. Many of the higher classes seem to have grown morally bankrupt; immoral men and women became a subject of severe criticism. Added to this were the followers of other sects of religion like the Mahānubhāv, Śākta and the Nāth. The Mahārāśtrians never had any sympathy for these sects which, therefore, became objects of ridicule in their eyes. The greatness of Eknāth and Tukārām quite apart, it must be said that even these saints did not practise any tolerance for the views of the followers of other sects. Tukārām attacks the Śāktas in a way rather unbecoming to him, when he says that the mothers of these donkeys go about braying[*] and that the place where these asses live is always beset with heaps of sins.[†] Here are some lines from Eknāth :

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* P. 176 Ek.; † P. 157 Ek.; ‡ P. 621 Ek.; $ P. 275 Tuk.;
|| P. 78 Tuk.; ¶ P. पारदार्ये दण्डः; ψ P. 489 Tuk.; § P. 468 Tuk.
@ P. 471 Ek.; ** P. 263 Ek.

> 'They are selfish; adorned with garlands and mudras they dupe the credulous.'[‡]
>
> 'You have shown the Śhākta in his true colour, He assumed a fradulent form.'[$]
>
> 'They besmear their bodies with ashes and say happiness dwells with them : Gathering disciples around themselves they all drink hemp.'[||]
>
> 'Their life is really blessed ! They are like dogs and pigs.'[¶]

Tukārām who, as I said above, is more intolerant, never misses an opportunity either to poke a fun at them or to condemn them to ridicule. Temptation to quote some of his passages is irresistible; but I restrain. Rāmdās too speaks contemptuously of the persons who shave their heads clean, wear black garments and hold their staff upside-down. References are not a few in which the relations between the guru and his female disciples are alleged to be suspicious. The Sādhus in red ochre-coloured cloth are compared to the proverbially pretentious crane. Such was then the class of dissolute and dissimulating people in the religious life of the seventeenth century.

The marriage system was more or less the same as ours in the first decade of the present century. Child marriages were common; so were unequal marriages. Tukārām says : 'The old bridegroom has been brought to the gate of the

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[*] P. 134 Tuk.;

[†] P. 133 Tuk.;

[‡] P. 259 Ek.;

[$] P. 343 Ek.;

[||] P. 444 Ek.;

[¶] P. 501 Ek.

Mandap; now fetch the wretched bride and blast the bridegroom's face.'* (जाळा नवऱ्याचें तोंड !) Rāmdās refers† to an impatient youth who has married a very young (dhākuti) girl. He has told a life story of a man who married for the third (fourth) time and found himself too old for his young wife. It will be hazardous and illogical to deduce any inferences from the examples referred to by these saint poets; but it will not be an erratic guess if one sees an unhappy end of such marriages.

To offer a bride with ornaments was regarded a great thing. 'सालंकृत कन्यादान । पृथ्वीदानाच्या समान'– In these words‡ Tukārām sings the importance of this custom. The custom of child marriage inevitably brought in the problem of child-widows. It is significant that the lIterature of this century is silent about this. Remarriages of widows were not allowed; the evil custom of depriving a widow of her hair seems to have just set in. It should be noted that this custom was not in existence in the previous centuries and it is a moot question how it found its evil roots in our society. So far as I could discover Tukārām for the first time mentions a widow deprived of her hair, when he says : 'कुंकवाची उठाठेव । बोडकादेवी कशाला ?'$ (You clean-shaven woman, why do you bother yourself about the kumkum ?) Importance of a son's birth is not confined to any century or land; for it is universal. In the society of the seventeenth century couples without issues were looked down upon with ridicule and disdain.|| Barrenness was a bad name. A childless woman performed many religious rites to have a son. One of the curious ways of propitiating Goddess was to promise her to name the son Kerpunjā (Heap of Refuse) and to put a ring in his nose.¶ It is obvious that the son was not to be given up; the soul of a girl was considered perhaps less precious for some girls were dedicated to certain Goddesses for ever. Most of these girls (muralees) used to become professional strumpets who were a luxury of the higher classes. These women had no social status whatsoever and were classed among Śūdras and prostitutes.

Village administration and administration of justice.

Politically Mahārāṣtra was being freed slowly from the Muslim clutches. Ramdās had spread his actinistic principles and message far into the villages. We do not get an idea of the rustic mind in those days; but there are reasons to believe that the common villager was uninterested in and unconcerned with the political movements in his land. He lived far away from the centre of the main political activities which must necessarily have been confined to bigger towns. The village Patel was the head of his jurisdiction. He was responsible to his immediate superior only. It was his duty to submit a report about his village. The allegorical letters and petitions which Eknāth wrote contain within them references to the village administration. If the king was satisfied with the Patel's report, the Patel used to be continued by a kind of King's resolution called Abhayapatra. Though the Patel was all powerful in his village, he was unable to punish some of the 'big guns' who often played mischief in his jurisdiction and he had to approach higher authorities to bring them round. We are still in dark about the actual administration of justice in those days. The laws both about civil and criminal matters were no doubt in existence; they were mostly based on the Manusmṛti and the Shāstrees who were well-versed in Shrutis, Smṛtis and other scriptures of the day were qualified to be judges. With the emergence of the complexities in our caste system new and defined laws had to be codified. Thus in the days of Shivāji, Gāgābhatta, Anantadeo and Kamalākar Bhatta wrote Shenavijātinirṇaya, Kāyasthadharmapradeepa, Smṛtikaustubha, Shūdrakamalākara and Jātivivekasindhu, laying down laws and rules to decide religious disputes. Works like Vyavahāraniraṇaya and Prayogasāra were written in order to guide social and religious life. Most of these books derived their contents from the old Smṛtis. Their writers were closely associated with Shivāji; so it might be inferred that the codes of laws and the rules of conduct contained therein were enforced in the land and had the royal consent. In the early days of the century the seats of Hindu learning at Karād and Paithan were either restored or revived and religious disputes were sent there for decision. If one of the litigants was not satisfied with the award at one seat, he was free to make a kind of transfer application to the other and demand justice. Article No. 6 in Volume 15 of the Shīvakālīna Patra–Vyavahāra narrates an interesting case in which the complainant is a Hindu and defendant a Muslim. There was a Peer jointly owned by Muslims and Hindus in a village; it was agreed between the two communities that the income of the Peer should be distributed equally and spent on fakirs and guests of both the communities. After some time, however, the Muslims violated this agreement and when the grandfather of the complainant warned them, the grandfather of the defendant murdered the former and his brother. The complainant's father thereon revenged his father's death by killing the defendant's grandfather. For this the former was banished from the village by the village-head and his property and titles were confiscated. After the death of his father the complainant appealed to the Emperor for justice, but the case was not decided in his favour. So he appealed to the Court at Paithan where, upon examination of the documents, it was found that the complainant was not guilty. The judge in his judgment declared that the defendant's grand-father had murdered two innocent men. Every such murder should be avenged by eleven murders by the other party. The complainant had murdered (only) three and was unnecessarily harassed. "You deserve to be hanged, but this is a Muslim Pātashāhi and you are a Muslim; so I pardon you" ended the judge. This case shows how justice was administered in those days. The law was not meant to be observed in letter but in spirit; so the presiding judge was given ample scope t use his discretion. Keshav Pandit quotes Nārad as saying 'केवलं शास्त्रमाश्रित्य न कर्तव्यो हि निर्णयः' Cases were decided not merely on the letter of the law, but after consulting various Shāstras, traditions and books. Punishments were prescribed for the following offences[*] : various kinds of thefts, slander, libel, assaults, hurts, rape and adultery. The parents and the Brahmins were exempted[†] as far as possible from punishments, especially corporal punishments. If a Brahmin commits a very serious offence the following punishment was prescribed[‡] :

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* P. 608 Tuk.; † P. 10 Ram.; ‡ P. 581 Tuk.

$ P. 582 Tuk ; || P. 41 Ram ; ¶ P. 42 Ram.

शिरसः मुण्डनं दण्डस्तस्य निर्वासितं पुरात् ।
ललाटे चाभिशस्ताङ्कः प्रयाणं गर्दभेण सह ॥

It was laid down that if a man commits an offence for the first time his finger at its joint should be cut; if he repeats, his hand and foot should be cut off and if he is caught for a third time he should be beheaded. A man who abducts a woman should be burnt to death on a bed of iron; if a maid servant is abducted, the accused should have his feet cut. A man found guilty of stealing a cow should have his nose chopped and then should be drowned into water. Small thefts like those of grass, flowers and fruits were to be punished with the cuttiug of hands. There is little evidence to show that these laws were strictly enforced or observed in those days. It seems that due to the complexities and ignorance in lower classes, law did not demand its full operation. In fact Keshav Pandit was of opinion that it was impossible to give any decision in the suits of traders, sculptors, farmers and labourers and so it should be left to them to decide them among themselves.

Ordeals were an important procedure in those days; it is extremely superstitious no doubt. But in the age when many and varied kinds of popular beliefs filled and moulded the peoples mind they exerted a great influence in the administration of justice. Suits — both civil and criminal — were decided on the performance of an ordeal which usually meant carrying burning coal or red hot iron in hand or walking bare-footed on fire.

Side-lights.

I shall conclude this essay with certain rules of conduct and good manners which the saint poets often preached. Eknāth says that one should not laugh at the men and women who dance at the Kīrtan;[$] one should not be a mercinary preacher,[||] for it is a sin; one should not sleep while the Kīrtan is going on.[¶] He who sells his daughter, cow or knowledge (Kathā) is a Chāndāa[ψ]–a heap of sins. Mukteśwar has made a list of unwise persons; among them he mentions a youth who brings his young and beautiful sister-in-law to his house for his wife's delivery. A man who deserts his wife, becomes a Sanyāsi and gathers female disciples about him is included in the list. He who eats onions in an assembly, marries at an old age or leans at the feet of a *Śūdra* has also a place in the list. Tukārām condemns* the man who sells his daughter or cow; he does not like† the people chewing betal-leaf or smoking at the Kīrtan; Rāmdās with his searching and scrupulous eye points his finger to the persons who apparently come to listen to his Kīrtan but wink at the women in the assembly or look round for others' shoes. While all these contain an element of universality, they certainly are side-lights on the contemporary society and need no further comment.

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[*] Vide Daṇḍanītiprakaraṇam. [†] Ibid. [‡] Ibid. [$] P. 257 Ek.;
[||] P. 448 Ek.; [¶] P. 452 Ek.; [ψ] P. 500 Ek.

Conclusion.

It is well-nigh impossible to reconstruct our social life of the seventeenth century or to read its inner meaning accurately, from the material supplied by the contemporary literature. For, much of it is lost in the mist. From its reflections in the literature of the day we do get an idea of some of its aspects The society had inherited the cult of bhakti and a religious outlook of life from the preceding centuries. On the one hand there existed the caste system with its water-tight compartments; on the other, religious democracy had reached its apex and had virtually done away with the caste distinctions in the world of religion. The institution of marriage was what it was at the beginning of the present century. Remarriages of widows were not permitted; the custom of depriving a widow of her hair seems to have taken root for the first time during this century. Among a host of religious sects, the Bhāgwatdharma and the Vārkari sect only attracted and dominated the peoples' minds; the rest were ridiculed. Even an ideal saint like Tukārām showed little tolerance for the views of other sects which eventually receded into background. There arose a class of dissolute and dissimulating people who had become too notorious to be ignored. There seems to have been set up an elaborate machinery for village administration. Elementary principles of justice were based on the Manusmṛti but with the growing complexities in caste system separate laws and rules of conduct were framed and codified. The highest tribunals of justice were at Paithan and Karād where justice was administered and received according to certain methods peculiar to the age. It was an age of superstitions and they played an important part in the administration of justice.

These are inferences deduced from the study of contemporary literature and some of them are verified with the help of historical documents. These glimpses do not show the society in its entirety, but inspire confidence that a more powerful search light on it will not be fruitless.

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* P. 470 Tuk.;

† P. 475 Tuk.

AN INTRODUCTION TO VERBAL COMPOSITION IN MARATHI

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Summary

In this paper the author deals with the need, the history and the century-old controversy regarding the acceptance or the rejection of verb-compounds as a category in a genuine Marathi grammar. For this, he has summarised the case of the opponents as well as certain debatable views of the supporters under 13 heads and has endeavoured to answer them one by one with the help of solid facts carefully selected for the purpose. A short account of these topics may be given as follows :

1. That the category of verb-compounds is postulated on the score of arthāpatti as they could not account for the usage otherwise.

True. But there is nothing wrong in that. Only that they ought to have collected sufficient data. But neither the opponent has done anything like that.

2. That compound verbs belong to the early NIA period in the light of the history of Indo-Aryan languages.

In his Doctorate thesis Dr. Tulpule makes such a statement. He might fall back upon Dr. Dhirendra Varma. But in any case the statement is unfounded.

3. That a recognition cannot be given to this usage until and unless a thorough search is made in other cognate languages for obtaining a comprehensive data for the sake of a critical comparison.

Molesworth and Beames were suffering from this handicap. Rajwade knew it. So he flung a challenge to Damle and others. The author of this paper for the first time for his Doctorate thesis collected almost an exhaustive data from Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, Avadhi, Bhojpuri, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Bihari, Nepali, Kashmiri, Panjabi, Sindhi and Sinhalese. There are thousand and one examples of verbal composition in these languages. The statistics of auxiliaries under which these patterns are registered in each language is given. A few auxiliaries like √jā, √jāṇ, √ṭāk, √de, √bas, √lāg and √śak are cited for the sake of illustration. After a careful comparison it is established that verbal composition is an essential feature of all NIA languages.

4. That compound verbs are a foreign plant : Neither the Prakṛt nor the Sanskṛt grammars take any notice of them : There is no word for a verb-compound in Sanskṛt grammar.

On further enquiry made possible by the study of comparative etymologies of the NIA auxiliaries I could discover similar material in MIA Prākṛts and Pāli. The statistics of the findings is given. A few typical illustrations of √acch, √jāṇ, √de, √mukk, √lag and √śak in Prākṛt and of √gam, √dā and √śak in Pāli are submitted.

Next, in Sanskṛt, both classical and Vedic, enquiries were made. The statistics of the result given. Examples of different types of composition arising from such auxiliaries as √ās, √gam, √jñā, √dā and √śak are quoted. How root śak dwindled into a mere auxiliary in the early OIA is illustrated with examples from the R. V. Then the history of Sk. verb is narrated in order to prove how the older participial composition is the fore-runner of the modern so-called compound tenses. A short paragraph interpreting the examples of Rajwade, Modak and others in their historical setting. Lastly the honour of the periphrastic composition like 'gantāsmi' and 'kathayāṃbabhūva, is upheld.

5. That the idioms and Syntactic groups like 'parīkṣā √kar, viśvās √dhar, aṅgāt √ghāl etc. cannot be admitted as compounds.

These are however periphrases and idioms, but because they possess a semantic unity they are grouped under Desubstantives and syntactives. A large number of such examples with √kṛ, √bhū and √as as auxiliaries obtain in Sanskṛt. For syntactives a case like 'pānau √grah (> pāṇi-grahaṇaṃ) may be cited as a specimen.

6. That compound verbs are merely a matter of Syntax.

Incidentally a very important discussion is made about the dhātu and the upapada with reference to P. 3-4-65 : Śak-dhṛṣ-jñā......tumun. Evidence from speijer and Hofer is weighed. And lastly this opinion of Murray Kellogg and others is criticised on the ground of semantic unity.

7. That a verb when analysable can not be called a compound. The members of the compound can not be written separately.

The theory of morphological unity is thrown overboard in the light of examples like 'dāsyāh putrah', 'caurasya kulam', 'sītāyāh pataye namah' which are one and all bound forms. The decisive form of 'jātāsi' as the basis of composition held by Dr. Tulpule is nothing but a sandhi-alternant like 'gelte' for 'gele hote'. On the basis of 'samarthah padavidhih' (P. 2-1-1) semantic unity alone is the criterion of judging a compound whether nominal or verbal.

8. That the voices in Marathi will be better explained if we disown this category of compound verbs.

An intransitive root becomes transitive by force of composition. Damle explains it with reference to √de, where as in the prepositional composition in

Sanskṛt this is a well known fact. (cf. Akarmakā vai sopasargāh sakarmakā bhavanti.)

9. That in grammar we are more concerned with form than the meaning.

In a compound there is an evolution of sense. There is a sort of 'jahadajahallakṣaṇā'. Even Patañjali and Jayāditya uphold it. Moreover, when 'vāc' and 'artha' are organically connected with each other how can a grammarian dispense with the sense. Why only poetics, grammar is concerned with every science in the world.

10. That this usage is very much restricted in English and Sanskṛt whereas some Marathi grammarians give it an unrestricted recognition.

It is not a dead usage. In living linguistics, as Graft observes, there is no end to the types of composition. Moreover, once we recognise it as a category we can not debar a legitimate member from entering. I have already noticed sixteen classes of verb-compounds and I am ready to register many more if they develop them afresh.

Even the older classification of compounds in Sk. was challenged by Bhaṭṭojī : the device of yogavibhāga and Bhaṭṭoji's classification. But Bhaṭṭojī also restricts verbal composition to a few examples occurring in the Vedas. Ultimately Panini's traditional postulates and his followers' hero-worship or ācāryaprāmāṇya are responsible for his not recognising a kriyā-samāsa in clear terms.

11. That we are required to postulate the category of compound tenses, we cannot help postulating verb-compounds as well.

As may be understood from the above discussion, compound tenses are but one type of verbal composition at large. As such it does not deserve a separate recognition even. Beames, Kulkarni and Tulpule are invited to see it. Damle has already seen it.

12. That auxiliaries may be divided into significant and non-significant.

Each auxiliary is a member of some compound. And a member in composition loses its sense from zero to the full. Or as Dr. Sapir would put it A+B : A+b : A+(b).

13. That there is an amount of difficulty in parsing these verb-compounds.

A sentence 'āmhī Paṭavardhan-Sāhitya-Mandir bāndhūn cuklo mhaṇje kāhī cūk kelī nāhī', containing a verb-compound is analysed and parsed. The definition of an auxiliary is attached.

For every student of language this verbal composition is of vital importance. Nominal composition has fossilized, but verbal composition is a living force. For instance, the causatives are being manufactured in several NIA languages. And who knows we may bring more and more new auxiliaries in order to express new types of composition.

Finally, on the strength of a similar detailed comparative study of Dravidian languages viz. Tamil, Malayalam, Kannaḍ, Telugu and Tulu it has been established that there is no contribution here from Dravidian in the formation of modern Indo-Aryan languages. Dr. S. K. Chatterji's view needs revision. If at all there is a borrower, it is Dravidian and not Indo-Aryan; since, verbal composition in Indo-Aryan shows an independent evolution from the early Vedic period down to the modern times.

MĀDHAVASWĀMY, THE GREAT TANJORE POET

Dr. S. G. Tulpule, Sholapur.

As the historian says,* "Marāthā royalty ushered in a most remarkable renaissance on the banks of the Cauvery, which gave to South India some of the most imperishable contributions in literature and art." The change of rule from the Nāyakās to the Marāthās did not produce any serious change in the cultural side of the Tamilnād. These remarks are specially true about Shahaji II, the second Marāthā king of Tanjore, who ruled from 1684 to 1712 A. D. Shāhāji was a great patron of learning, and had donated the town of Tiruvisanallur to 46 Sanskrit-scholars, after renaming it as Shāhājirāja puram. It was here that the greatest Pandit of those times, Rāmchandra Dixit, gave a lead to the literary movement and produced a number of Sanskrit works. It is beyond doubt that Shāhāji contributed substantially to the valuable collection of the Saraswati Mahāl library, established by the Nāyak kings at the end of the 16th century.

The royal patronage offered by king Shahaji II was not, however, the only cause leading to the glory of learing and literature during the last years of the 17th century. The strenuous efforts of Rāmdās, the great activistic philosopher-poet of Mahā-rāstra, must also be counted as they have contributed enough towards the cultural developement of Támil-nād. As we know, Rāmdās visited Tanjore twice during his travels, once in 1655 A. D., and once in 1678 A. D. At the time of his first visit, he had established three missions of his sect in Tanjore district, and had chartered three disciples of his to look after them, Bhīmaswāmy of Tanjore proper, Rāghavaswāmy of Konur, and Anant Mouni at Mannargudi. The missions multiplied themselves in the course of time, and produced an amount of literature in Marāthi, dealing with the life and creed of Rāmdās, their founder. Marāthi was already the language of the royalty in Tanjore; now it became the vehicle of self-expression and propaganda for the mission of Rāmdās in South India. We thus see the Saraswati Mahāl library of Tanjore very rich in mss. written by the Marāthi poets, especially by the followers of the Rāmdās-mission in Tanjore area.

Mādhavaswāmy is one of these poets. Unfortunately, however, little is known obout the life of this poet, the greatest among the Tanjore-group. During my stay of about three weeks in Tanjore recently, I could visit

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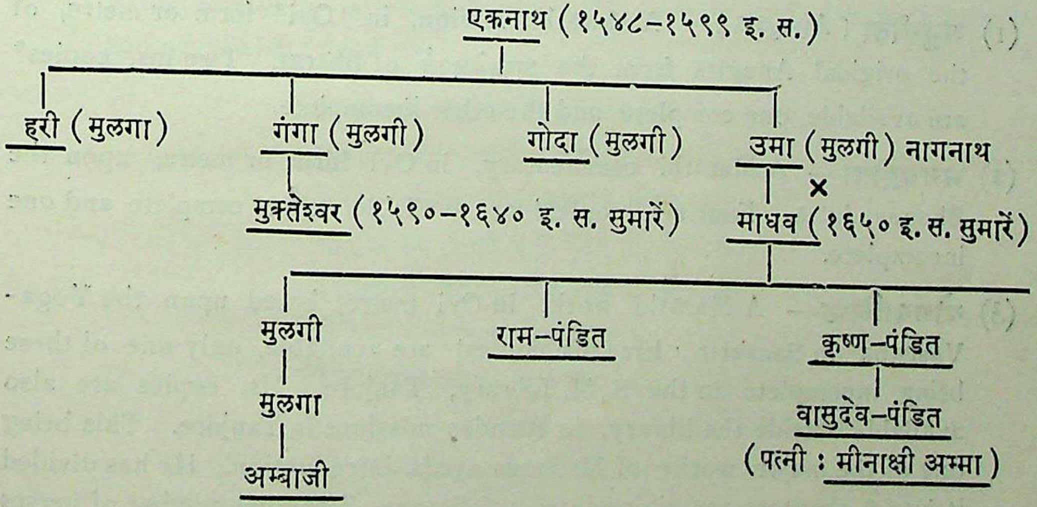
* C. K. Shrinivasan : Marāthā Rule in the Carnatic (1944), p. 3.

Tiruvelundur, the place where Mādhav lived and produced most of his works. There, I was shown an old manuscript of the family-tree of Mādhav which gives 1739 A. D. as his date, rather an ambiguous one. All that can be said here is that Mādhav was a disciple of Rāghavswāmy, who in turn was one of the three principal disciples of Rāmdās, chartered for South India and mentioned above. He lived during the regime of Shahaji II, i. e. the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Some manuscript works in the Saraswati Mahāl library describing the Tanjore Marāthā Royalty tell us that king Shahaji II had accepted Mādhavswāmy as his spiritual master and regarded him most. It is said that apart from being the grand-master of Mādhav, Rāmdās was also related to him through Eknāth, the great saint-poet of Mahārāṣtra who died in 1599 A. D. This idea pre-supposes blood-relation between Eknāth and Rāmdās, which has no ground anywhere except in a manuscript, about hundred years old, which I found in the Govind Bolswāmy-math at Tanjore. The genuineness of this latter document is, however, doubtful, and hence we cannot predict any family-relation between Mādhav and Rāmdās. The fact, however, that Mādhav was the grand-son of Eknāth is beyond doubt. Mukteśwar, another grand-son of Eknāth is known as a great Marāthi poet, but Mādhav, bearing the same relation to Eknāth is practically unknown. After going through the MSS. of Mādhava's works at Tanjore, I could clearly see that he was the son of Umābāi, the third daughter of Eknāth, given in marriage to one Nāgnāth, of Tanjore district. I give below the family-tree —



It is specially to be noted that not only Mādhavaswāmy, but his two sons Rāma and Krisna, two grand-sons Ambāji and Vāsudeo, and the wife of the latter, Meenākshi Ammā, were all literary talents. The works of these poets, preserved in the Saraaswati Mahāl library, are chiefly epical in character, being attempts at Rāmāyaṇ, Mahābhārat and Bhāgwat, the only exception being Meenākṣī Ammā's who has composed some devotional lyrics. Thus, our poet Mādhavaswāmy not only preserved but handed over to the future generations the great literary traditions of his grand-father Eknāth. Viewed from this point, he rises superior to his cousin Mukteśwar.

Mādhavaswāmy wrote his works in the temple of shri Rāma Tiruvelundur, a small village near Māyāvaram in Tanjore district. He calls it as 'Trivandur', obviously a Sanskritised form. It is on the left bank of Cauvery, and Mādhava describes it as under —

> "प्रसिद्ध जें कां गौरीमायोर । त्या समीपचि त्रिवंदूर ।
> उभयग्रामांमध्यें नीर । प्रवाहे सुंदर कावेरीचें ॥
> तीच्चिये वामभागीं सुंदर । लघु देवालय मनोहर ।
> माजि लक्ष्मणसीतेसीं रघुवीर । वस्ती निरंतर करीतसे ॥"
>
> — (Bhārat, Ādiparva, ch. 80, No. 129-130.)

These two verses appear with little variations in most of his works. I was fortunate to visit this temple and its surroundings in March 1946. The management of this historical temple has changed hands for a number of times, and is, at present, looked after by Mr. K. Subbā Rao, the Sthānikam.

The works composed by Mādhavaswāmy are numerous and exhibit a variety of subject-matter and treatment. I classify and introduce them to you below under five different hands.

I Vedānta :—

(1) **अनुगीता** (Anugītā) — A Marāthi version, in 'Ovi' form or metre, of the original Anugītā from the अश्वमेधपर्व of Bhārat. Two ms. copies* are available, one complete and the other incomplete.

(2) **भगवद्गीता**— A Marāthi commentary, in Ovi form or metre, upon the Bhagavadgītā. Four ms. copies† are available, three complete and one incomplete.

(3) **योगवासिष्ठ**— A Marāthi work, in Ovi metre, based upon the Yoga-Vāsistha in Sanskrit. Five ms. copies‡ are available, only one of these being incomplete in the S. M. Library, Tanjore. Ms. copies are also available outside the library, in Rāmdāṣ-missions in Tanjore. This being one of the major works of Mādhava needs introduction. He has divided it into 8 chapters containing in all 126 Sargas. The total number of verses is 12339. The work is obviously philosophical and the poet is very faithful to the original 'Yoga-vāsistha'. The poem was completed on

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* Descriptive catalogue of Marāthi Mss. in Saraswati Mahāl Library, Tanjore. Vol. 1, class 1—Vedānta, Nos. 8-9.

† D C. M MSS. Vol. 1, class 1, Nos. 259-261, 515.

‡ D. C. M. MSS. Vol. 1, class 1, Nos. 325-329.

Friday, the 9th day of the first half of the month of Pausha. The year or Śaka is not mentioned. Mādhava, although following the original 'Yoga-vāsishtha', is quite original in his composition. He has clear mastery over the Advaita philosophy which he exhibits in the philosophical narrations of this poem. It is interesting to note that, after Rāmdās, he has tried to expound the activistic and not the passifistic view of life. The work begins with an utter negation of life by Rāma and ends in his acceptance of the same. The following words of Vasisṭha, the Guru of Rāma, are typical of the 'philanthropic energy with a philosophical calm' which the poet desires to expound. Says Vasishtha —

"…………। रामराम महाबाहो सखया ।
महाउत्तमपुरुषा चिन्मया । गुणालया समयहा ॥
समाधीचा नव्हेचि तिष्ठभरी । लोकांसीं सौख्य होय अंतरीं ।
गोष्टी तैसी करी झडकरीं । आलया कार्यावरि दृष्टि देईं ॥
जनाचा परामृश न करितां । येकांतीं भोगणें समाधिवस्था ।
ते समाधि नव्हेचि रघुनाथा । अखंडता असावी बरी ॥
तस्मात् तूं करीं राज्यपालन । ………… ॥"

—(ch. VII, Sec. 38 No. 40–55).

That Mādhava should be an activist is no wonder, for he belonged to the sect of Rāmdās. The poem is full of the emotional outbursts of Shri Rāma, especially of the first half. This is how he paints his pessimistic and negativistic mind —

"माझें माझें म्हणोनि दिनरातीं ।
दुःखा वरपडे व्यर्थचि होती ।
केवि माझ्या दुःखाची घडेल शांति ।
म्हणोनि मी चित्तीं तप्त आहे ॥ ………
देहालय धरावया । शक्त नव्हे मी मुनिराया । ………
कैंचे श्री कैंचें राज्य कैंचें शरीर ।
कैंचे येथील सोहळे समग्र ॥ ………

— (ch. I, Sec. 2, No. 200–210).

The work, no doubt, excells in both, philosophy and art.

II. Purāṇ :— Under this head, the following works of Mādhava are found in the S. M. Library, Tanjore —

(1) **प्रल्हाद चरित्र** (Life of Pralhād) — A small poem in Ovi metre. An incomplete MS. is available.*

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* D. C. M. MSS. Vol. 1, class 2, No.843.

(2) **सीतास्वयंवर** — A small poem, in Ovi metre, on the marriage of Seetā, from Rāmāyan One MS. available.*

(3) **मल्लारिमाहात्म्य** — A narrative poem of 913 verses in the Ovi form, written in the year 1697 A. D. at Tiruvelundur. The story deals with the glorious deeds of Śankar, the enemy of the demon Malla, and is based upon a similar narrative in the 'Brahma-Purāṇ'. The poetic descriptions are worth a mention. This is how Mādhava describes the Kailāsa mountain —

"तो चंद्रकांता ऐसा धवळ । मुक्तपाषाणें दाटला प्रबळ ।
कर्पुरमृत्तिका केवळ । जाणिजे तेथिंची ॥
अमृताच्या पुष्करिणी । नवरत्नांची अखंड खाणी ।
कल्पतरूंची दाटणी । निरंतर जेथें ॥
सुधारसाचे वाहती पाट । नदिया तैशाची जळें उद्भट ।
सडा परिमळें मघमघाट । कस्तुरी चंदनाचा ॥"
— (ch. IV, 2-20).

(4) **रामहास्यवदन** — A small wcrk in Ovi metre describing Rāmacandra. two MS. copies arailable.†

III Rāmāyaṇ

(1) *A Short Rāmāyaṇ* (संक्षिप्त रामायण) — An incomplete Rāmāyaṇ, in Śloka form. Mādhav has narrated it, after the convention of the Rāmdās-sect, only upto Yuddha-Kāṇḍa, the last two parts being omitted. The work is a clear imitation of Rāmdās. Here are some Ślokās describing the battle between Rāma and the demons —

"नगर करुनि मागें भार ऐलाड आले ।
वनचर ऋषिनेटें सर्व भेणें पळाले ॥
थरथर महि कांपे लोटती वृक्ष कैसे ।
सुरवर असुरांतें थोर कल्पांत भासे ॥
कितीयेक ते हाणिती शक्तिघातें ।
किती प्रेरिती शूलपारश्व घातें ॥
किती विंधिती बाण नेटें सणाणा ।
किती टाकिती शैल हस्तें दणाणा ॥"
—(Araṇya-Kāṇḍa, 31-36).

Six MS. copies‡ are availabla in S. M. Library, three out of which are complete.

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* D. C. M. MSS. Vol. I, class 2, No. 881.
† D. C. M. MSS. Vol. I, class 3, Nos. 1071-1072.
‡ D. C. M. MSS. Vol I, class 3, Nos. 1133-1138.

(2) *Rāmāyaṇa complete* :— This is another major work of Mādhav written at Tiruvelunder in 1693 A. D. This Rāmāyaṇ in Ovi form is complete, having all the seven Kāndās or parts, and is divided into 220 chapters containing in all 18975 verses. Four complete Ms. copies* are available in S. M. Library. According to the author's witness, it seems that he used to compose one chapter every day, thus completing the work in 220 days.

That Mādhava's talent was specially suited for an epical form is easily seen in his present Rāmāyaṅ. The ovations at the beginning, the descriptions of cities, royal courts, battles and processions, the smooth but flowing narration, the dramatic dialogues, philosophical expressions interwoven into the main story, — all these go to prove the epical talent of the poet in all its grandeur and sublimity. I give below two passages, one describing the marriage-feast at the occasion of the wedding ceremony of Shri Rāma, and the other depicting the pangs of Rāma's heart at the loss of Sītā.

"मग समस्तही बैसले हारीं । शाकालवण शाकाकुसरी ।
वाढिल्या वोदन तया उपरी । वरान्न वटकपात्रीं ॥
घृत घळघळां द्रोणीं वोतिती । देखोनि द्विज तोषले चित्तीं ।
हेम ठाणवयावरि पाजळती । दीप हिरे माणकांचे ॥
लाविती लवणशाका तोंडीं । भरभरां वरपती कढी ।
नामघोष घडिघडी । करिती आनंदें ॥
भक्ष मोडुनी हस्तीं । यथेष्ट घृतीं भिजविती ।
ग्रास घेतांचि होती । गुदगुल्या पोटीं ॥
दुग्ध कालवोनि क्षीरीं । घृतेंसिं सेविती तृप्तीवरी ।
तंव दधि तक्र वरिच्यावरी । पडों लागलें द्रोणीं ॥
शुभ्र चंदनाची दिधली उटी । पुष्पहार घातले कंठीं ।
सुवासधूसरें गोमटीं । डौरिलीं सर्वां शरीरीं ॥"

—(Bāl-Kānda, ch. XVII, 100-116).

"ऐक आम्रवृक्षा जनकबाळी । विश्रांति घ्यावया तुझे तळीं ।
बैसत होती वेल्हाळी । ते देखिली नाहीं कीं सीता ॥
ऐक पार्यातका वचन । तुझियां पुष्पदेठां ऐसा वर्ण ।
मम भार्या वोष्ठाचा जाण । ते देखिली........ ॥
ऐक अशोका विनवितों तुज । आपुल्या नामा ऐसें करीं मज ।......॥
ऐका हंस हो वचन निकें । तुमच्या वर्णा ऐसीं प्रियेचीं नखें ।
कांहीं आरक्त वर्णवेनातिमुखें । ते देखिली नाहीं कीं सीता ।

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* D. C. M. MSS. Vol I, class 3, Nos. 1073-1100.

सीते, पळो नको, थांब थांब । डगा टाकीत लांबलांब ।
येतो आश्रयुनि आम्रनिंब । तया पृष्ठीं कां दडसी ॥
सीते वृक्ष लागले दाटीं । पर्णीं गुप्त होतेसि कां गोरटी ।......
क्षणक्षणां जातसे चाचरीं । हस्त ठेऊनि निडळावरी ।
क्षणेक बैसे पहात धरित्री । घालुनी भेटें ॥........"
—(Araṇya–Kānda, ch. XIX, 50 ......).

Mādhava passesses the art of drawing realistic pen–pictures with a touch of humour, as can be seen from the following passage describing the bachelor Māruti in the harem of king Rāvaṇ —

"जैशा भूमीं रुळती पुष्पलता । तैशा निजेल्या रावणकांता ।
कित्येकींचे तुटले कंठहार । कित्येकींचे सुटले कबरीभार ।
कित्येकींचे फिटले चीर । स्मरण नसे शरीरीं ॥
येकि क्षणक्षणां हांसती । येकि उताण्यापालथ्या पडती ।
येकि स्वप्नावस्थें वोसणती । निदसुऱ्या स्वरें ॥......
तें सकळ पाहोनि डोळां । मारुति म्हणे वेळोवेळां ।
कटकटा माझिया कपाळा । कोठुनि वोडवलें हें कार्य ॥
मी केवळ ब्रह्मचारी । दृष्टी देखिल्या परनारी ।
धर्महानि जाली निर्धारीं । काय करूं आतां ॥......"
—(Sunder–Kāṇḍa).

It must be said, however, that there is some repetition and absence of brevity in this epic of Mādhav. The poet seems to be conscious of his own short-commings when he says —

"सहस्राचा स्वयंपाक येकी । करणार तीची न धरावी चुकी ।
जें लवण कोण्ही येकें शाकीं । नाहीं मीनलें म्हणोनियां ।
घ्यावा विशेष गुण अंतरीं । तेंवि ये रामायणसागरीं ।
अपार शब्दाची भरोवरी । परोपरीं पाहतां ॥"
--(Yuddhakāṇḍa, ch. 79, Nos. 209–213).

IV Bhārat —

(1) *Mahā–Bhārat complete :—* This 'Opus Magnum' of Mādhavaswāmy was being written continuously for four years from 1703 to 1707 A. D. This is his greatest epic, divided into 926 chapters containing in all 88274 verses in Ovi metre. It is curious to note that Mādhava's Bhārat has 21 Parvās, as against the 18 of the original in Sanskrit. Four complete MSS.* are available in S. M. Library.

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* D. C. M. MSS. Vol. II, class 4, Nos. 1196-1279.

Mādhavaswāmy is a very methodical and systematic writer. In chapters 5 and 6 of his Ādiparva he has given a synopsis of this great epic, while in chapter 7 he has given us the contents of his Bhārat. In saying 'ओव्यांचें नाहीं येथें गणित', (Ādi. VII, 86) he is referring to the vastness and grandeur of his work. Still in every last chapter he gives us the uumber of verses in that particular Parva. It is interesting to note that the poet has fully understood the epic form of Mahābhārat, and does not treat it as a simple narrative. In ch. 5 and 7 of his Ādiparva, he writes about the all-pervading, universal, encyclopœdic nature of this epic, and calls it a 'Vishva-Kosha.' Very few poets in Marāthi literature attempting at Mahābhārat have this epic-consciousness.

Mādhava is a super master of characterisation, and in Mahābhārat his art finds great scope, as the epic is full of variegated human nature. He shows rare insight into the complexes of the human mind, and presents us his characters with a sympathetic touch. More than anything else, he is always realistic and hence original in character-painting. This is how his Droupadi lays bare her grievances candidly before Lord Kṛṣṇa. Says she —

......"मज रक्षावया असतां साभर्थ्य । अव्हेर केला देवा किमर्थ ।
तो मज कळत नाहीं अर्थ । तुझें समर्थपण कैसें ॥
रजस्वला मी एकवसनी । दुःशासनें हात घालूनि वेणी ।
मग नेलें सभास्थानीं । .... ॥
तेव्हां पांडवांसि म्यां लक्षिलें । परि येहीं नाहीं सोडविलें ।
दुःखाचें आभाळ कोसळलें । नाहीं वारिलें धृतराष्ट्रें ॥
पतीनें रक्षावी अंतुरी । हे नीति प्रसिद्ध लोकांतरीं ।
पांच भर्तार असतां शिरीं । अनाथापरी खेद पावलें ॥
धिगिधिगि या भीमाचें बळ । धिगिधिगि पार्थाचें शौर्य सकळ ।
दुःशासनें वोढितां कुरळ । होते निश्चळ निर्लज्ज ॥
माझ्या लेखें नाहींत भर्तार । माझ्या लेखें नाहींत सहोदर ।
माझ्या लेखें आप्तपरिवार । निर्जीव समग्र भूमंडळीं ॥"

—(Vana-parva, ch. XI, Nos. 7-49).

This candid realism is rare in the history of Marāthi narratives. Along with characterisation, Mādhava shows his other talents also in his Bhārata.

V *Dramatic tales :—*

(1) **प्रबोधचंद्रोदय नाटककथा** — This is quite a new form of literature found in the Tanjore Marāthi poets. There are 3 or 4 such dramatic narratives by various authors in the S. M. Library, Tanjore. They are all originally dramas written narratively in verse-form. Tanjore of the Marāthā regime

is supposed to have made the beginning of Marāthi Drama, as can be easily seen from the MSS. of about 25 old Marāthi plays preserved in the S. M. Library, Tanjore. The present form is just a variation of this historical Marāthi drama. प्रबोधचंद्रोदय–नाटककथा is based upon the famous drama प्रबोधचंद्रोदय in Sanskrit, and Mādhava is quite conscious of the allegory contained therein. Says he —

"म्हणोनि प्रबोधचंद्रोदय होतां मुमुक्षुजनसागर तत्वतां ।
त्यांपासाव आनंदाच्या लता । जाल्या निपजल्या अमर्याद ॥
पूर्वप्रालब्धप्रभंजनमेळें । मुमुक्षु सिंधूसि भरतें दाटिलें ।
नवविधाभक्ति कुमुदिनी फुलें । तियांचें विकासलें आंग सर्व ॥
साधुसज्जनचंद्रकांत भले । प्रबोधचंद्रकिरणें धवळें ।
वक्षीं सावकाश स्पर्शिजेले । द्रवों लागले चित्तलयें ॥
चित्ताचे जे गळित विकार । तेचि कालीले येथें पाझर ॥
ऐसा प्रबोधचंद्राचा प्रकार । विश्रामकर प्राणिमात्रां ॥"
—(Nos. 79-82).

These verses clearly expound the allegory. As the poet says, this is not a नाटक or a drama, but 'ज्ञानमय हाटक,' i. e. an enlightening device. Mādhava's present work is not a pure narrative; it is just a drama. Only the presentation is narrative-like. For, there is मंगलाचरण, सूत्रधार, नटी, जवनिका and such other requisite material of a play. We can place this literary form somewhere between the drama and the narrative. Here, the various human passions are the characters in Mādhava's presentation, and they exhibit themselves. Madana or 'Love,' for instance, comes on the stages and says —

......"म्हणे— 'अरे मूर्खानराधमा । प्राण असतां समस्तां आम्हां ।
महामोहस्वामि जो आमचा आत्मा । सभे साउमा तयाप्रती ॥
कमललोचना सुंदरा नारी । भासल्या नाहींत जंवरी ॥
नेत्र त्यांचे तीक्ष्ण शरापरी । आकर्णवरि वोढिल्या ऐसे ॥
काटाक्षें त्या बाणाचे चपेटे । बसल्या विवेकासि पळ सुटे ।
मग पंडितांचे फिटती कासोटे । मन उठे भोगइच्छे ॥"

The passions exhibit themselves in this fashion before विवेक, the hero of the story, but are defeated ultimataly. This dramatic narrative of Mādhava is superior in every respect to other such works found in the S. M. Library, Tanjore. Unfortunately, the work is incomplete, only five chapters of the first Act being available.*

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* D. C. M. MSS. Vol. II, class 10, Nos .1770--1771

In conclusion, I may say that Mādhavaswāmy is undoubtedly a great poet with varied literary talents. He is equally at home with narratives and treatises, with epic and drama, with poetry and philosophy. He has practically nothing in common with Rāmdāsa to whose sect he belonged, and seems to inherit the literary traditions of Ekanātha whose grandson he was. He rises superior to his cousin-poet Mukteśwar so far as the volume and variety of composition are concerned, though he lacks in the flights of imagination exhibited by the latter. Mādhava supplies us with a problem, the possibility of blood-relation between Ekanātha and Rāmdāsa. Little known so far, he highly deserves to be brought into light. He has unknowingly depicted the social life of Tanjore in his times, and, as such, a close study of his works is a necessity for every student of the historical Tanjore.

ज्ञानेश्वर AND योगवासिष्ठ

Dr. S. D. Pendse, Nagpur

The philosophy of ज्ञानेश्वर has been influenced by many works of the Advait school of thought. Most pronounced of them all seems to be the योगवासिष्ठ. There is an old tradition that ज्ञानेश्वर wrote an independent treatise on योगवासिष्ठ. But the Marāthi योगवासिष्ठ ascribed to his authorship does not appear to be his work. However, it will be clear from the following similarity of ideas that ज्ञानेश्वरी and अनुभवामृत were considerably influenced by the योगवासिष्ठ.

(1) ज्ञानेश्वर propounds the doctrine of निर्गुणाद्वैत (qualityless monism) and at various places he refers to the indeterminate, (निर्विशेष) qualityless Atman by the words *Śū*nya (शून्य) and Mahā*śū*nya (महाशून्य). The same is to be found in Yogavāsistha. (Sec. Appendix I)

(2) But both of them agree on the point that to describe the Absolute (परमात्मा) by words like *Śū*nya and Mahā*śū*nya does not mean nihilism (अभाव) or scepticism (नास्तिक्य). They make this point clear by the use of the same analogy. (See Appendix II)

(3) The description of the nature of the Absolute as "Objectless Consciousness" (निर्विषय ज्ञानस्वरूप) is similar in both. The intervening state of consciousness or ज्ञान between the elapsing of one object from it and the emergence of another before it, is characterized as objectless consciousness (निर्विषय ज्ञानस्वरूप) in Yogavāsiṣṭha. While dealing with the ultimate nature of the Absolute (निकराचा आत्मभाव) in the अनुभवामृत, ज्ञानेश्वर illustrates the same state of objectless consciousness with many examples. (See Appendix III).

(4) The perceptible (दृश्य) is fictitious and in relation to the unreal perceptible things the Absolute becomes the perceiver. As a matter of fact the perceived has no existence independent of the perceiver. As the perceived is unreal, the relative character resulting therefrom i. e. the perceiver too is necessarily illusory. Both maintain this doctrine, illustrating it with similar analogies of mirage-water, gold-ornaments and the ether. (See Appendix IV).

(5) The universe is not inert (जड) and different from the Absolute as it appears to be. The Universe is the light of the Absolute. Even as the light of a

lamp is not different from the lamp, so is the Uuiverse non-different from the Absolute. This doctrine has been expounded in the same way both in Yoga-vāsiṣṭha and अनुभवामृत. (See Appendix V).

(6) The universe has no existence apart from the absolute. Hence both ज्ञानेश्वर and योगवासिष्ठ assert that it is pure ignorance which makes for an independent existence of the Universe; and this ignorance and the knowledge arising in relation to it are both unreal. (See Appendix VI).

(7) Both of them concur in the doctrine that the illusion of duality and its relative non-duality about what really is the one and the only Absolute, is given rise to by the operations of the mind (संकल्प). (See Appendix VII).

(8) The duality is illusory and fictitious. All that is perceived is only the manifestation of the intelligence (चैतन्य). ज्ञानेश्वर expounds this doctrine of स्फूर्ति (स्फूर्तिवाद) in his अनुभवामृत by illustrations drawn from Yoga-vāsiṣṭha. (See Appendix VIII).

(9) The non-duality between शिव and शक्ति has been propounded by similar illnstrations of the wind and its motion, and fire and its heat. However, greater influence has been exercised on his description of शिव-शक्ति by the शैवाद्वैत school than by the Yoga-vāsiṣṭha. (See Appendix IX).

(10) Yoga-vāsiṣṭha is a work written by one who has gained the knowledge of the self (i. e. by one who is a सिद्ध) and it treats the subject-matter from the plane of such a knower of the self (ज्ञानी). अनुभवामृत has adopted the same style. "If one looks from the point of view of the Absolute, which is of the nature of intelligence, there is nothing else without it. Then what else to see?" Thus has been propounded the doctrine of the Atman from the plane of a knower in अनुभवामृत. (See Appendix X).

Even the very name अनुभवामृत might have been suggested to ज्ञानेश्वर by Yoga-vāsiṣṭha :—

अनारतगलद्रूपं नित्यं चानुभवामृतम्
अहं निःशेषचक्राणि चिद्ब्रह्माहमलेपकम् ॥ यो. वा. ६-१०-७१

In this verse, while describing the experience of a knower (ज्ञानी) the word "अनुभवामृतम्" is used. ज्ञानेश्वर handed down, through the medium of marāthi language, this nectar (अमृत) of the experience (अनुभव) of one who has realised the nature of the self.

Thus the concurrence of ideas in अनुभवामृत and the Yoga-vāsiṣṭha, as described above is so striking as to suggest that the work of Marāthi Yoga-vāsiṣṭha ascribed to ज्ञानेश्वर, is no other than the अनुभवामृत itself.

Appendix I

योगवासिष्ठ

शून्यं नित्योदितं सूक्ष्मं निरुपाधि परं स्थिरम् ॥ ३–२–३७
सर्गौघे सति **यच्छून्यं** तद्रूपम् परमात्मनः ॥ ३-७-२२
चित्स्वरूपं परिकचत् **शून्य**मेवावतिष्ठते ॥ ८-४० ७
शून्यं **शून्ये** समुच्छूनं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मणि बृंहितम् ॥ ६ पू. ३–११ ॥
तदेत्परमं ब्रह्म सत्येश्वरशिवादिभिः ।
शून्येक परमात्मादि नामभिः परिगीयते ॥ ६-३३–१७ ॥

ज्ञानेश्वरी

आतां **महाशून्या**च्या डोही । गगनासी चि थाउं नाही ।
तेथ तागा लागेल काइ । बोलाचा ए आ ॥ ६–३१५
हौंति चौरासी लक्ष थरा । एरा मीति नेणिजे भांडारा ।
भेरे **आदिशून्या**चा गाभारा । नाणेयांसि ॥ ७- २४ ॥
पाहिजे कवण हें आघवेंचि विये । तरि मूल तें **शून्य** ॥ ८–२६ ॥
आदि**शून्य** तें उतरौनी जावें । केउतें बाहीं ॥ १०–१६२ ॥
सर्वशून्याचा साहे । निष्कर्ष जें ॥ १३–८८० ॥
शून्यहि बुडालें । **शूनिंय** जिये ॥ १५–५१४ ॥
सर्वशून्याचा निष्कर्षु । जिया बादला केला पुरुषु ।
जेणे दादुलोनि सत्ताविशेषु । शक्त्ति जाली ॥ अ. १–२७ ॥

Appendix II

गगनांगादपि स्वच्छे शून्ये तत्र परे पदे ।
कथं सन्ति जगन्मेरुसमुद्रगगनादयः ॥ ४–१–२८ ॥ यो. वा. ॥
नभसोऽप्यधिकं शून्यं, **न च शून्यं चिदा**त्मकम् ॥ यो. वा. पूर्वार्ध ९–२७
एम्हाविं सपूरपण तेयाचें पावें । तरि शून्यचि नव्हे तें स्वभावें ।
वरि गगनाचेनि पालवें । गालूनि घेतलें ॥ ज्ञानेश्वरी ८–१५ ॥

Appendix III

देशाद्देशान्तरं दूरं प्राप्तायाः संविदो वपुः ।
निमिषेणैव यन्मध्ये तद्रूपं परमात्मनः ॥ ३–७–१९ ॥ यो. वा. ॥
देशाद्देशान्तरप्राप्तौ संविदो मध्यमेव यत् ।
निमिषेण चिदाकाशं तद्विद्धि वरवर्णिनि ॥ ३–१७–१२ ॥
निमेषादर्धभागेन देशाद्देशान्तरस्थितौ ।
यद्रूपं संविदः मध्ये स स्वभाव उपास्यताम् ॥ ६ उ. ३५–१ ॥
देशाद्देशान्तरं दूरं प्राप्तायाः संविदः क्षणात् ।
यद्रूपममलं मध्ये परं तद्रूपमात्मनः ॥ ६ उ. ३५–१ ॥

उठिला तरंगु बैसे । पुढें अनुहिनुमसे ।
ऐसा ठायीं जैसें । पाणी होय ॥ ७–१८६ ॥ अनुभवामृत ॥

कां नीद सरोनि गेली । जागृति नाही चेयिली ।
तेव्हां होय आपुली । जैशी स्थिति ॥ ७–१८७ ॥

नाना येका ठावूनि उठी । अन्यत्र नव्हे पैठी ।
हें गमे तैसिया दृष्टि । दिठी सूता ॥ ७–१८८ ॥ अनुभवामृत ॥

कां मांवळों सरला दिवो । रात्रीचा न करी प्रस्तावो ।
तेणें गगनें हा भावो । वाखाणिला ॥ ७–१८९ ॥

घेतला श्वासु बुडाला । धावता नाहीं उठिला ।
तैसा दोहीं शिवतला । नव्हे जो अर्थु ॥ ७–१९० ॥

कीं अवघांची करणीं । विषयांची घेणी ।
करितांचि येके क्षणीं । जें कीं आहे ॥ ७-१९१ ॥
तया सारिखा ठावो । हा निकराचा आत्मभावो ॥ १९२ ॥

Appendix IV

न दृश्यमस्ति न द्रष्टा परमात्मनि केवले । यो. वा. ३–२–५३

अंगदत्वं यथा हेम्नि मृगनद्यां यथा जलम् ।
भित्तिर्यथा स्वप्नपुरे तथा द्रष्टरि दृश्यधीः ॥ ३-४-५१ ॥

व्योमन्येव उदितं व्योम ब्रह्मणि ब्रह्म तिष्ठति ॥ ३–४–६९ ॥

न दृश्यमस्ति सद्रूपं न द्रष्टा न च दर्शनम् ।
न शून्यं न जडं नो चित् शान्तमेवेदमाततम् ॥ ३-४–७० ॥

नास्ति दृश्यं जगत्, द्रष्टा दृश्याभावात् विलीनवत् ॥ ३–१०–४० ॥

यथा **सौवर्णकटकं** दृश्यमानमिदं स्फुटम् ।
कटकत्वं तु नैवास्ति जगत्त्वं न तथा परे ॥ ३–११-८ ॥

दृश्य द्रष्टा ऐसें । दोन्ही अळुमाळु दिसे ।
तेंही परस्परानुप्रवेशें । कांही ना कीं ॥ अनुभवामृत ७–१७४ ॥

तेथ दृश्य द्रष्टां भरे । द्रष्टेपण दृश्यीं सरे ।
मा दोन्ही न होऊनि उरे । दोहींचें साच ॥ १७५ ॥

तान्हेलेया मृगतृष्णा । न भेटलिया सिणु जेसणा ।
मा भेटलिया कोणा । काय भेटलें ॥ २१० ॥

लेणें आणि भांगारें । भांगारचि येक स्फुरे ।
कां जेथ दुसरें । नाहीचि म्हणौनि ॥ २३६ ॥

हें बहु काय बोलिजे । कीं **नभ नभाचिये रिगे सेजे** ।
मग कोणें निदिजे । जागे कोणे ॥ २५० ॥

Appendix V

सत्तामात्रेण दीपस्य यथाऽलोकः स्वभावतः ।
चित्तत्त्वस्य स्वभावात्तु तथेयं जागती स्थितिः ॥ यो. वा. ३-१२२-५४

सा जगद्भूरिति प्रौढा दृश्या साऽस्त्येव चित्प्रभा ॥ ४-३-९

भाति संवित्प्रभेवेयम् अनाद्यन्तावभासिनी ।
यत्तदेतद् जगदिति स्वयंभूरिति च स्थितम् ॥ ४-३-१० ॥

प्रकाशु तो प्रकाश कीं । यासी न वंचे घेईं चुकी ॥
म्हणोनि जग असकी । वस्तुप्रभा ॥ अनुभवामृत ७-२८९

Appendix VI

जगदात्मैव सफलं अविद्या नास्ति कुत्रचित् ॥ यो. वा. ५-७९-१९

पयस्तरंगयोरैक्यं यथैव परमार्थतः ।

नाविद्यात्वं न विद्यात्वं इह किंचन विद्यते ॥ ६ पू. ९-१८ ॥

विद्याविद्यादशौ व्यक्त्वा यदस्तीह तदस्तिहि ।

प्रतियोगि-व्यवच्छेदवशात् एतद्रघूद्वह ॥ १९

तैसें आमुचेनि नावें । अज्ञान ज्ञान दोन्ही नव्हे ।

आम्हा लागीं गुरुदेवें । आम्हीच केलों ॥ अनुभवामृत ॥ ८-१ ॥

अज्ञानाचा प्रवर्तु । नाहीं जया गांवा आतु ।

तेथें ज्ञानाची तरी मातु । कोण जाणे ॥ ८-१० ॥

एवं ज्ञानाज्ञान दोन्ही । पोटीं सूनि अहनी।

उदेहा चिद्गगनीं । चिदादित्यु हा ॥ ८-१९ ॥

Appendix VII

निजसंकल्पमात्रात्मा निजसंकल्पनात्क्षयी ।

द्वैताद्वैतविकारोऽयं संकल्पनगरं यथा ॥ यो. वा. ६ उ. ३४-४२

यऱ्हविं तऱ्हीं संकल्पाचिये सांजवेळे । नावेक तिमिरैजति बुद्धीचे डोले ।

म्हणौनि अखंडितचि परि झावले । भूतभिन्न ऐसें देखें ॥ ज्ञा. ९-७१

तेचि संकल्पाचि सांज जैं वीपे । तैं अखंडितचि आहे स्वरूपें ।

जैशी शंका जात खेओ लोपे । सर्पपण मालेचें ॥ ९-७२ ॥

तैसिये निर्मले माझ्या स्वरूपीं । जो भूत भावना आरोपी ।

तेयासि तेयाचांचि संकल्पीं । भूताभासु आहे ॥ ९-७८ ॥

तेचि कल्पिति प्रवृत्ति पुरे । आणि भूताभासु आदिंचि सरे ।

मग स्वरूप उरे एकसरें । निखिल माझें ॥ ७९ ॥

म्हणौनि नाही आणि असे । हें कल्पनेचेनि सौरसें ।
जें कल्पना लोपीं भ्रंशे । आणि कल्पनेसवें होये ॥ ९० ॥

Appendix VIII

चितेर्नित्यमचेत्याया निर्नाम्न्या विततात्कृतेः ।
यद्रूपे जगतो रूपं **तत्तत्स्फुरणरूपिणः** ॥ यो. वा. ३-१४-५२
जगत् चिध्दिमशीतत्वं **चिज्ज्वाला-ज्वलनं जगत्** ॥ ७३ ॥
जगच्चित्सर्पपस्नेहः **वीचिश्चित्सरितो जगत्** ।
जगत् चित्क्षौद्रमाधुर्यं जगच्चित्कनकांगदम् ॥ ७४ ॥
लेणें आणि भांगारें । भांगारचि येक स्फुरे ।
कां जेथे दुसरें । नाहींचि म्हणौनि ॥ अनुभवामृत ७-२३६ ॥
जळतरंग दोन्ही । जळावांचूनि नाहीं ।
म्हणौनि आन कांही । नाहीं ना नोहे ॥ ७-२३७ ॥
ज्वाळा आणि वन्ही । न लेखिजती दोन्ही ।
वन्हीमात्र म्हणौनि । आन नव्हे कीं ॥ २४३ ॥
तैसें दृश्य का द्रष्टा । दोन्ही दशा वांझटा ।
पाहतां येकी काष्ठा । स्फूर्तिमात्र तो ॥ २४४ ॥

Appendix IX

स भैरवश्चिदाकाशः शिव इत्यभिधीयते ।
अनन्यां तस्य तां विद्धिं स्पन्दशक्तिं मनोमयीम् ॥ यो. वा. ६ उ. ८४-२
यथैकं **पवनस्पन्दम्** एकमौष्ण्या**नलौ यथा**
चिन्मात्रं स्पन्दशक्तिश्च तथैवेकात्म सर्वदा ॥ ३ ॥
जैसी का समीरे सकट गती । कां सोनियासकट कांती ।
तैसी शिवेसी शक्ति । अवघीच जे ॥ अनुभवामृत ॥ १-४१
कां कस्तूरीसकट परिमळु । कां **उष्मेसकट अनळु** ।
तैसा शक्तीसी केवळु । शिवूचि जो ॥ १-४२

Appendix X

इये स्फूर्तिकडौनी । नाही स्फूर्तिमात्र वांचौनि ।
तरी काय देखोनि । देखतुसे ॥ अनुभवामृत ७-२४५
तरी ग्रंथ प्रस्तावो । न घडे हें म्हणों पावों ।
तरी सिद्धानुवाद लाहो । आवडी करूं ॥ १०-१२

मराठींतील आद्य कथाग्रंथ

श्री. शं. खानवेलकर, मुंबई

कथावाङ्मयाचा इतिहास; वैदिक वाङ्मयांतील कथा

मानवी समाज जितका जुना आहे तितकेंच त्याचें कथावाङ्मयहि जुनें आहे. आद्य मानवी समाज जसजसा परिणत होत गेला तसतसा त्याच्या कथावाङ्मयांत व कथनपद्धतींतही फरक पडत गेला. हें सर्वच कथावाङ्मय अगदी मूळ स्वरूपांत आज सापडणें अशक्य आहे. विचारांची देवघेव शब्दांच्या अथवा शब्दसमुच्चयांच्या साह्याने मानव करूं लागल्यापासून कथावाङ्मयाचा जो ओघ अविच्छिन्नपणे आज मानवी समाजांतून वहात आहे तो सर्वच ज्ञात असणें शक्य नाही. लिपि निर्माण होण्याच्या पूर्वीही कथावाङ्मयाला सुरुवात झाली, आणि एका टोळींतून दुसऱ्या टोळीकडे, दुसऱ्या टोळींतून एका निराळ्याच जमातीकडे अशा कथा पसरत चालल्या, त्यांत सारखे बदल होऊं लागले आणि केव्हा तरी त्या लिपीमध्ये अगदी निराळ्या स्वरूपांत समाविष्ट झाल्या, किंवा त्या जमातीबरोबरच नष्ट झाल्या. पण लिपि सुरू होण्याच्या पूर्वीही एका समाजाने आपलें वाङ्मय आपल्या विशिष्ट कथनपद्धतीने जिवंत ठेविलें, त्यामुळेच सर्वसाधारणपणें दहाहजार वर्षांपूर्वींचें कथावाङ्मय अजूनहि आपल्याला जवळजवळ जसेंच्या तसेंच पहावयास सापडतें. आज अस्तित्वांत असलेले पृथ्वीवरील पुरातन ग्रंथ म्हणजे वेद! वेदांत कथावाङ्मयाचीं, काव्याचीं व नाट्याचीं बीजें सापडतात. वेदांतील इंद्रवृत्रकथा,[*] सरमा[†] व पणी यांचा संवाद व गोष्ट, ऊर्वशी[‡] व पुरूरवा यांची कथा या कथा अत्यंत प्राचीन आहेत. त्यानंतर ब्राह्मण व उपनिषदें यांतहि अनेक कथा आल्या आहेत. ऐतरेय ब्राह्मणांतील शुनःशेपाची कथा प्रसिद्ध आहे. कठोपनिषदांतील नचिकेताची कथा, छांदोग्योपनिषदांतील सत्यकाम जाबालाची कथा आणि वृहदारण्यकांतील याज्ञवल्क्य व मैत्रेयी यांची कथा, उपनिषदांचें वाचन करणाऱ्यांना माहीत आहेत. या ठिकाणीं संस्कृत व मराठी कथावाङ्मयाचा अगदी थोडक्यांत आढावा घ्यावयाचा असल्याने त्या कथांतील विशेषांची, कथनपद्धतीची व विषयांची चर्चा करण्याचें कारण नाही.

उपनिषत्कालानंतरचें संस्कृत व प्राकृत वाङ्मय

उपनिषदानंतर संस्कृत कथावाङ्मयाबरोबरच आपल्याला प्राकृत कथावाङ्मयाचाहि विचार करावा लागतो. संस्कृत भाषेंत विविध प्रकारांनी, रसांनी आणि कल्पनांनी भरलेलें कथावाङ्मय निर्माण

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[*] ऋग्वेद. मं. २ सू.. ११, १२ इ.

[†] ऋग्वेद. १०-१०८.

[‡] ऋग्वेद. १०-९५.

होऊं लागलें, त्याबरोबरच प्राकृत भाषेंतहि ग्रंथरचना होऊं लागली होती पैशाची भाषेंतील गुणाढ्याची बृहत्कथा खिस्तपूर्व तिसऱ्या शतकांत निर्माण झालेली असावी असा तज्ज्ञांचा तर्क आहे असें ज्ञानकोशकार म्हणतात, तर कांही युरोपियन पंडितांच्या मतें बृहत्कथेचा काळ इ. स. ६०० पर्यंत येतो.[*] या बृहत्कथेपासून नंतर इ. स. १०३७ च्या सुमारास क्षेमेन्द्रानें आपला बृहत्कथामंजरी हा संस्कृत ग्रंथ लिहिला, आणि सोमदेवाने इ. स. १०६३ किंवा इ. स. १०८१ च्या सुमारास कांही नव्या गोष्टी घालून कथासरित्सागर हा संस्कृत ग्रंथ रचला. मराठींत प्रसिद्ध असलेला वेताळपंचविशी हा भाग बृहत्कथेच्या काश्मीरी प्रतींतून घेतलेला आहे. तिसऱ्या शतकानंतरचा उल्लेखनीय कथांचा संग्रह म्हणजे पंचतंत्र. हा सहाव्या शतकाच्या पूर्वी केव्हातरी झालेला असावा. कारण[†] या संग्रहाचे पेहेलवींतलें इ. स. ५७० पूर्वीचें भाषांतर सापडलेलें आहे. हिंदुस्थानांत आलेल्या व्यापाऱ्यांनी व प्रवाशांनी यांतील कित्येक गोष्टी जशाच्या तशाच किंवा थोडाफार फरक करूनहि नेलेल्या आढळतात. पंचतंत्राबरोबरच ज्याचें नांव घेतलें जातें तो हितोपदेश कथासंग्रह मात्र नवव्या किंवा दहाव्या शतकांत निर्माण झाला. सहाव्या शतकाच्या सुमारासच कथावाङ्मयांत अग्रस्थान मिळविणाऱ्या बाणभट्टाच्या कादंबरीचा व सुबंधूच्या वासवदत्ता या ग्रंथांचा जन्म झाला, आणि संस्कृत कथावाङ्मयाला बहर आला. गद्य, पद्य व गद्यपद्यमिश्रित असें सर्व प्रकारचें कथावाङ्मय निर्माण होऊं लागलें. दण्डीचें दशकुमारचरितहि सातव्या शतकाच्या अगोदरचेंच आहे. प्राकृतांतील विपुल कथावाङ्मयाची जोड यापूर्वींच संस्कृत कथावाङ्मयाला मिळाली होती. बौद्धांच्या जातककथा पुष्कळच जुन्या आहेत. या कथांनी जगांत पुष्कळ प्रवासहि केलेला आहे. त्या निरनिराळ्या स्वरूपांत जागतिक वाङ्मयांत सापडतातहि. यानंतर संस्कृतांत कथावाङ्मयाची रचना पुष्कळच झाली. माधवानल कामकंदला कथा, शिवदासाचे थोरांच्या गोष्टी असलेलें भारतद्वात्रिंशिका हें कथांचें पुस्तक, नंतरनंतरच्या काळांतच निर्माण झालें. हरिभद्राच्या धूर्ताख्यानांत महाभारत व रामायण यांतील कथांची टर उडविलेली आहे. प्रबंधचिंतामणि, राजशेखराचा प्रबंधकोश, नलचंपु, भोजप्रबंध, भारतचंपु, स्वाहासुकारचंपु, मंदारमरंदचंपु, अकबर कालांतील पारिजातहरणचंपु, अठराव्या शतकांतील शंकर कवीचा, चेतसिंहराजाचे पराक्रम वर्णन केलेला शंकरचेतोविलासचंपु, त्यापूर्वीची प्राकृत कर्पूरमंजरी इत्यादि अनेक कथांचा उल्लेख करितां येईल.

प्राकृत कथावाङ्मय

अकराव्या शतकांत संस्कृतांत जें कथावाङ्मय निर्माण होऊं लागलें होतें, त्याबरोबरच प्राकृत व मराठी वाङ्मयहि निर्माण होऊं लागलें होतें. इ. स. १०७० च्या सुमारास सोमदेवाने कथासरित्सागर हा ग्रंथ लिहिला. इ. स. ११४८ च्या सुमारास कल्हणाने राजतरंगिणी हा इतिहासग्रंथ लिहिला. हेमचंद्राचे प्रबंध याच वेळीं प्रसिद्ध होत होते. आणि मेरुतुंग ह्या जैन कवीने प्रबन्धचिंतामणि याच काळांत लिहिला. हेमचंद्र संस्कृतांत आणि प्राकृतांतही रचना करी. त्याचें प्राकृत भाषेचें व्याकरण प्रसिद्ध

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[*] A. B. Keith. A History of Sanskrit Literature. (1928) chapt. XII, P. 266.

[†] उक्तग्रंथ पृ. २४६ व ३५७.

आहे. प्राचीन मराठी वाङ्मयावर संस्कृत आणि प्राकृत कथावाङ्मयाचा पगडा बसलेला दिसतो याचें कारणही हेंच आहे. तेराव्या शतकांतील पूर्वार्धांत प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या महानुभावांच्या दृष्टान्तपाठावर संस्कृत कथावाङ्मयाचा पगडा बसलेला दिसतोच. त्याच्यानंतर प्रसिद्धीला आलेलें एकनाथी भागवत किंवा मुक्तेश्वराचें आदिपर्व हे तर अनुवादच आहेत. जैनांचें प्राकृतांतील वाङ्मय यावेळीं लिहिलें जातच होतें. यामुळेच हा परस्परांवरील परिणाम होत असावा. बहुजनसमाजासाठी प्राकृत व मराठी रचना करावी व राजेरजवाड्यांच्या आज्ञेनुसार किंवा विद्वानांच्या आग्रहानुसार संस्कृतांत रचना करावी असा लेखकांचा कल झालेला दिसतो.

मराठींतील आद्य कथाग्रंथ 'कलानिधि'

मराठींतील अगदी जुना असा आज ज्ञात असलेला कथाग्रंथ म्हणजे "वैजनाथ कलानिधि" होय. हा सध्या भारतीय विद्याभवनाच्या विद्यमानें, भारतीय विद्याग्रंथावलिमध्ये मुंबई येथें छापला जात आहे. हा वैजनाथ नांवाच्या लेखकाने रचलेला आहे किंवा वैजनाथ नांवाच्या कोणा माणसाच्या ग्रंथालयांतील त्याच्या मालकीचा आहे याचा कांहीच उलगडा होत नाही, म्हणून तो 'कलानिधि' या नांवानेच छापण्यांत येत आहे. हा ग्रंथ, संस्कृत ग्रंथ, जुने गुजराती ग्रंथ व अपभ्रंश भाषेंतील ग्रंथ यांच्या संग्रहांत सापडलेला असून त्याचा कांही भागच फक्त ज्ञात आहे. कारण या ग्रंथाची सुरुवात "अतां मुनि यज्ञ करित दीठले" अशी आहे. त्याअर्थीं पूर्वींचा कांही भाग सापडलेला नाही असें वाटतें. उत्तर भागहि संपूर्ण नाही. त्यांतील शेवटचीं पृष्ठें सापडलीं नाहीत. हा अरुंद ताडपत्रावर शाईने लिहिलेला आहे. अशी अरुंद (तीन इंची) ताडपत्रावर लिहिण्याची पद्धति तेराव्या शतकाच्या पूर्वीं चालू होती. त्यावरून व लिपीवरून हा तेराव्या शतकाच्या पूर्वी केव्हा तरी लिहिला गेला असावा असें वाटतें. शब्दांचीं रूपें, व्याकरण व वाक्यरचना यावरूनहि याचा रचनाकाल इतकाच मागे जातो. कीर्तनकाराची वर्णनपद्धति आणि या ग्रंथांतील वर्णनपद्धति यांत फार साम्य आहे. संस्कृत व प्राकृत वाङ्मयाचा परिणाम या ग्रंथावर बराच झालेला दिसतो. यांतील वाक्यें लहान लहान असून मराठी भाषा आजहि थोड्याफार प्रयत्नाने कळण्यासारखी आहे.

कांही उतारे:—

एका ऋषीच्या वृद्धापकाळाचें वर्णन भाषा, आणि वाक्यरचना या दृष्टीने पहाण्यासारखें आहे.

"[३] मुनि वृद्धदशा आलगिला । शापभएं जैसी कंपित प्रणयिनी जैसी केशग्रहण केलें । कापली जैसी भ्रूभंगु केला । मातली जैसी आकुलित गतिः । प्रथम चुंवनी दांत पडिले । ऐसी वृद्धदशा पातली । तपें मुनि जीकले मग पताका उभिलिया । तैसिया जीडे । नांतरिक्ष स्वर्गारोहणु करावेया पुण्याचिया वरता जैसिआ [।] अथवा वाढिनला जो तपोवृक्षु तेयाचिआ कुसुममंजरी, ऐसियां जडै उपैतु । ललाट हिमगिरी शिलापुंजु तिलकु त्रिपथगा गंगा जैसी । स्वेतां कलसांचिये राशी जवला राजहंसु तैसा स्फटिकु कमंडलु निकटु [।] करुणारसपूर्ण वक्षस्थल दीर्घिके राजहंस पंक्ति तैसी स्फटिकाक्षमाला । तो

गिरी तैसा समेखलु । राहु जैसा आस्वादितसोमु । नक्षत्रराशि जैसा मृगकृत्तिका श्लेषोपशोभितु । जलधर समा जैसा प्रसमितरजः प्रसन्नु (रु) । हरि जैसा नरकांतकु । वडवानलु जैसा जलाहारू । शांतनु जैसा प्रियदेवव्रतु ॥ छ ॥ ”

या वर्णनावरून बाणभट्टाच्या शैलीची आठवण येते. पण त्या मुनीचें वर्णन वाचतांना लेखकानें बाणभट्टाच्या कादंबरींतील भगवान् जाबालीच्या वर्णनाचा थोडा फेर करून अनुवाद केला असावा की काय अशी शंका येते. तो मुनि कसा होता ?

[४] तृष्णा लता खंडन परशु जैसा । नां तरि संतोषामृत सागरु । सिद्धिमार्गा उपदेष्टा । उपशम तरूचें मूल । आचाराचें माइहर । धर्मध्वजाचा प्रासादु [।] सकला विद्यांचें संकेतस्थान । मोहार्णवा वडवानलु । सौख्यसुवर्णा कसवटी । स्मर त(रु)भूमि दावानलु [।] क्रोधभुजंग्य महामंत्रु । मोहांधकारा दिवसकरुं । कलिकालांचा वैरी । तपांचे भंडार [।] सत्याचा सखा । अधोमुखा चंद्रकला तैसिया भ्रूलता । नां तरि भारतीभवन द्वारिचीं तोरणें । जैसी हृदयशुद्धि तैसी दंतप्रभा । अथवा आत्मचंद्रप्रभा । नां तरि गंगेचे कल्लोल [।] जैसी अग्निची धूमशिखा । तैसी उदरी रोमरेषा । नां तरि ज्ञाननिराकृता मे (मो ?) हांधकाराची पाउलवाट । विद्यानदीचा संगमी आवर्तु जैसा नाभि । करकमली भ्रमरमाला तैसी रुद्राक्षमाला । अथवा आनंदद्रुमाचीं पुष्पें । गरुडु जैसा स्वभावें उपार्जिलें सकलद्विजाधिपत्य । संतोखकमलामोदसेवित भ्रमर । जैसी कृष्णाजिनः ॥ छ ॥ ”

कांही नव्या कल्पना घालून आणि कांही कल्पना गाळून हें वर्णन बाणभट्टाच्या कादंबरींतून घेतल्यासारखें दिसतें. प्राकृतांत—विशेषतः अर्धमागधींत--राजे, मुनि, राजवाडे, उद्यानें, मंदिरें वनस्थली, ऋतु ह्यांचीं ठराविक साच्याचीं वर्णनें करण्याची पद्धति आहे. त्यांतील एखाद्या प्राकृत वर्णनाचा हा अनुवाद असण्याचाही संभव आहे. तें मूळ वर्णन कदाचित् कादंबरीवरून घेतलेलें असेल.

भाषापद्धति या दृष्टीने पुढील दोन वर्णनेंहि पहाण्यासारखीं आहेत.

॥६॥ घोरस्य घोर अतिघोर महाघोर भीम भीषण । कराल विकराल दीप्त महादीप्त रौरय महारौ(रय) प्रकंपन सूर्यमुख । कुंभीमुख । कुंभीपाक । अंगारराशि । पूर्यह्रदा तीक्ष्णपाशि रतिद्रव मांसद्रव । सिंहासन गजाननः ।

[१२] तेयां उद्यानीं वसंतु मूर्त्ति पातला । तेथ त्रिभुवनविजौत्यागार्थ (?) मदनें प्रस्थान स्थापिलें । ते वलि पुंस्कोकिल निनादें ढाढी वादिनली । विविध कुमुम मधुपरिमला मोदलुब्धें मधुकरीं चूतविशेषीं मंगलगायनें केलीं । ते वीचि षड्भावा प्रस्थानां सारिका शुकादिकीं वंदीजनीं कीर्तिविस्तार केलें । चकोर चक्रवाक कलहंसु पद्मिनी लालस तास (म?) रस प्रियरस तारस निनाद सक्रू (त्क) वीचे श्लोक जालें ॥ व्य(जे)थ मंदगति मनोहर नीलकंठ चतुरनर्तनोचित कोमल केकाकलाप विराजमान कलाप कनकतुंड विलासोल्लास तेथ सोज्ज्वले किंसुकवनें त्रैलोक्य विजयार्थ अनंगें घातलीं ।

उपसंहार

या ग्रंथांतील भाषा महानुभाव भाषापद्धतीची असून कांही शब्दांचीं रूपें ज्ञानेश्वरपूर्वकालीन प्राकृत व मराठी अशीं आहेत. राजे लोकांच्या कांही कथा, त्यांनी केलेल्या यज्ञांचीं वर्णनें, ऋषींनी केलेला उपदेश इत्यादि भाग ह्या ग्रंथांत आहे. महानुभावांचा दृष्टान्तपाठ हा ग्रंथ जरी कथारूप असला तरी तत्त्वचिकित्सा करितांना दिलेले दृष्टान्त ह्या दृष्टीनेंच त्या ग्रंथाचें महत्त्व आहे. केवळ कथालेखन हा हेतु धरून लिहिलेला मराठींतील पहिला कथारूप ग्रंथ म्हणून ‘कलानिधि’ या ग्रंथाची योग्यता विशेष आहे असें म्हणावयास कांहीच हरकत नाही.

Section : Pandit Parishad

Presidential Address

M. M. Pt. Anant Krishna Shastri

पण्डितपरिषदध्यक्षानां महामहोपाध्याय पण्डितवर्यानन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिमहाभागानामभिभाषणम् ।

मातामहमहाशैलं महस्तदपितामहम् ।
कारणं जगतां वन्दे कण्ठादुपरिवारणम् ॥

प्राच्यविद्यासंमेलने पण्डितपरिषदः स्थानं पुरा प्रयोगक्षेत्रे केवलं दृश्यप्रदर्शनस्थाने समासीत् । द्वित्रेष्वधिवेशनेषु च तदेवानुकृतम् । पूर्वस्मिन्नधिवेशने केवले विशिष्टं स्थानं विशिष्टानां सिद्धान्तानां प्राच्यपण्डितसमादृतया रीत्या समालोचनात् प्राप्तम् । विश्वसिमि, नागपुरेऽपि नागार्जुनादिप्राचीनपण्डितप्रवरजन्मभूमितया मन्यमाने नागपुरे तदेवानुस्रियते ।

प्राच्यविद्यासंमेलनकार्यक्रमे विभागान्तराणां तत्तद्विषयनाम्ना, तत्रापि मूलसंस्कृतभाषायाः संस्कृतभाषानाम्ना वेदादिनाम्नाचोपक्षेपः । पण्डितपरिषदिति पृथङ् नामदानेन पण्डितपरिषद उपक्षेपः मन्ये, विचारप्रणाल्योरुभयोरपि वाराणसीरामेश्वरयोरिव भिन्न-भिन्नप्रस्थानत्वं प्रस्तौति । युक्तमिदं सूचितम् नागपुराधिवेवशनोद्घाटनभाषणावसरे श्रीमद् पं. द्वारकाप्रसाद–मिश्रमहोदयैः यत् पाश्चात्यशिक्षामूलप्राच्यविद्यापद्धतिमेवावलम्ब्य प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदियं प्रवर्तते । साम्प्रतं तु पाश्चात्यराज्याधिकारस्य तदीयशिक्षाप्रणाल्यश्च तिरोभावे जाते पाश्चात्यविचारप्रणालीनामनुसरणं सर्वेषु स्थानेष्वादरं नार्हतीति पाश्चात्यसमादृतविचारप्रणाली वा परित्यक्तव्या, प्राच्यपदं वा प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदिति नामतो निष्कासनीयमिति ।

वस्तुतस्तु प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदि साम्प्रतमाद्रियमाणा चरितविमर्शकपद्धतिः आधुनिकपद्धतिर्वा न प्राचीनानां प्राच्यानामपरिचिता, किन्तु तत्त्वगवैषणैकचित्ततया स्वतंत्र–स्व–सिद्धान्तप्रदर्शनपरा । पुरुषबुद्धिमूलकत्वमेव धर्मशास्त्राणां, किं बहुना वेदस्यापीति विचारप्रणालीयं जैमिनि–बादरायणादिभिरपि स्व–स्वसूत्रेषु विचारावसरेऽन्ततोगत्वा पूर्वपक्षरूपेण वेदापौरुषेयत्वाधिकरणादावुपटङ्किता, नैयायिकादिभिश्च स्वपरमसिद्धान्तत्वेन समादृता, चार्वाकादिभिर्जैनबौद्धादिभिश्च स्व-स्वबुद्धिबलमेव तत्त्वविज्ञानानां सर्वेषामपि मूलमिति व्यवस्थापितम् । तथापि साम्प्रतं प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदा तत्त्वगवैषणैकचित्तयापि तत्त्वविचारावसरे शुद्धप्राच्यपण्डितप्रवराणां नामापि बहुषु विषयेषु नोपक्षिप्यत इति खिद्यते मे हृदयम् । अत्र कुमारिलपादादयः तत्तद्–दर्शनभाष्य–तद्व्याख्यान–तत्समालोचनादिकृतदीक्षाः अन्ये च

प्राच्याः प्रत्यक्षमेव प्रमाणम्। साम्प्रतं प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदि पाश्चात्यानामेव विचारप्रणाल्यानुसरणं तु प्राच्यविचारपद्धत्या आतलस्पर्शेन विचारे बहूनामाधुनिकानामशक्तिनिबन्धमेव। न तत्रानुत्साहनिबन्धनमिति परमपूतनाम्नां श्री गङ्गानाथ झा श्री कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिचरणानां केषाञ्चन मुष्टिमेयानां प्राच्य–पाश्चात्यशिक्षाप्रणालीद्वयशिक्षितानां साम्प्रतिकप्राच्यविद्यापरिषज्जीवातूनां स्मरणमात्रेण निर्धारयितुं पारयामः।

अद्यपर्यन्तं नाम्ना प्राच्यत्वं प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदि। अर्थतस्तु पाश्चात्यत्वमिति पद–तदर्थयोर्न विशिष्टासंगतिः। इतः परं त्वन्ततोगत्वा उपसर्जनभावेन स्वीयत्वाभिमानमपरित्यज्यैव पाश्चात्यसरण्यापि समादरणेन पद–तदर्थसङ्गतिरक्षणं कर्तव्यमित्येव मया सूच्यते। एवं च सति प्राच्यपदनिष्कासनेन प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदः शिरच्छेदनेन वा न कापि कृत्या समापतिष्यति सर्वासहदुःखनिदानभूता। तदेवं नागपुरीयप्राच्यविद्यापरिषदुद्घाटन–भाषणमनुसृत्य परिषत्कर्तव्यं किञ्चिदिव सूचितम् कर्तव्याकर्तव्यनिर्धारणे तु सर्वे सदस्याः प्रमाणम्।

स्वागताध्यक्षाणां श्रीमतां पुराणिकमहोदयानां सारगर्भितमतिगम्भीरं तेषां प्राच्यविद्यासंरक्षणैकचित्ततासमुद्गाररूपं तु भाषणं न केनापि विस्मरणमर्हति। न केवलं गर्भाधानादि–श्मशानान्तसंस्कारेषु, किन्तु व्यवहारेष्वपि सर्वेषु संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचार आवश्यक इति तेषां शुभसंकल्पो यदि भगवत्कृपया भवतां सदस्यानां समुत्साहेन च सत्यः स्यात् तर्हि भारतवर्षमिदं पुराणादिकीर्तित–सर्वविधगुणगणगरिष्ठं देवानामपि पूज्यतमं स्थानं प्राप्स्यतीति पण्डितपरिषदियं भगवत्सविधे प्रार्थयते। एतस्मिन् विषये पुराणिकमहोदयाः पुराणतत्त्वादर्शस्थानत्वं भारतवर्षस्य कामयमानाः सत्यसंकल्पा भवन्तु भुवि। संस्कृतभाषा हि तेषां मनुष्यवद्देवताभिधानमिति निरुक्तोक्तदृष्ट्या न केवलं देवभाषा किन्तु मनुष्यमात्रभाषेति पुराणिकानां संकल्पसत्यीकरणं मनुष्यमात्रकर्तव्यस्वधर्मचरणमेव। श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात स्वनुष्ठिताद् इति रीतिमवलम्ब्य व्यवहारेष्वपि सर्वेषु संस्कृतभाषाया उपयोगार्थं सर्व एव सोत्साहा स्युरिति पण्डितपरिषदियं विश्वसिति।

स्वागताध्यक्षमहोदयानां प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदुद्घाटकानाञ्च स्व-स्वभाषणावसरे पाश्चात्यभाषायाः परित्यागेन भारतीयभाषयैव स्वीयवक्तव्यस्योपक्षेपमेकमात्रं शुभशकुनमुपलक्ष्य प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदियं स्वकर्तव्यविषये तेषामुभयेषामपि दृष्टिमवलम्ब्यैव शुभोदर्कान्प्रणालीविशेषानवलम्बिष्यत इति परिपूर्णोऽयं पण्डितपरिषदो विश्वासः।

भारतीयराज्याधिकारस्य भारतीयेष्वेव समावेशः। साम्प्रतमेवऽलवरमहाराजादिभिः श्रीकन्हैयालाल मुंशीमहोदयादिभिश्चाखिलभारतीय संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयोद्घाटनार्थं प्रयत्नः, महात्मगान्धिमहोदयानां राजनीति–धर्मवृत्त्योः परस्परापेक्षत्वोद्घोषणं च एतान् शुभोदर्कान् कार्यबीजान् सकलान् कर्तुं भगवन्तमेकमेव पण्डितपरिषदियं शरणं मन्यते। ओं शान्तिः।

मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोः सगोत्रविवाहो न निषिद्धः ।

पं. रघुनाथशास्त्री कोकजे, लोणावळें

'सगोत्रसप्रवरविवाहो धर्मशास्त्रे सर्वथा निषिद्धः' इति विदुषां प्रवादः । सोऽयं प्रवादः कियत् पर्यन्तं क्षोदक्षमः इत्येतदत्र विचार्यते ।

धर्मशास्त्रे तावत् 'धर्मशास्त्रं तुं वै स्मृतिः' इति मनूक्तेः स्मृतीनामेवान्तर्भावः तत्रापि 'प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम्' इत्युक्तिमनुसृत्य प्रथमतो मनुस्मृतेरेव सगोत्रादिविषये पर्यालोचनं समुचितं मन्ये । मनुस्मृतौ तृतीयाध्याये विवाह्यवधूविषयका निर्बंधा वर्णिताः । तत्र सप्रवराया उल्लेखोऽपि नास्ति । अतः एतत्सिद्धयति यत्सप्रवरविवाहनिषेधः न मनुसंमतः । न च मनुस्मृतौ तादृशनिषेधाभावेऽपि समन्वयरीतिमनुसृत्येतरस्मृतिस्थ तादृशनिषेधपर्यालोचनया स-मनोरप्यभिमत इति कल्पनीयम् । तादृशसमन्वयस्य मनोरसंभतत्वात् !

अस्मिन् धर्मोऽखिलेनोक्तः, गुणदोषौच कर्मणाम् ।—मनु. १. १०७

इत्यत्र मनुस्मृतेरितरस्मृतिनिरपेक्षतया पूर्णत्वस्य प्रतिपादितत्वात् । यस्यां स्मृतौ पूर्णत्वबोधकमेतादृशं वचनं नोपलभ्यते तत्र भवतु समन्वयरीतिश्चरितार्था । मनुस्मृतौ तु तादृश्याः रीतेरावश्यकता न प्रमाणपदवीसमुपारूढा भवितुमर्हति । तदेवं सप्रवरविवाहनिषेधो न मनुसम्मत इति सिद्धं भवति ।

यद्यपि मनुस्मृतौ पितुरसगोत्रा वधूः स्वीकर्तव्या इति वर्णितं तथापि तावतैव सगोत्रा वधूः सर्वथा निषिद्धा इति न सिद्धयति । तथाहि—

उद्वहेत द्विजो भार्यां सवर्णां लक्षणान्विताम् ॥
असपिण्डा च या मातुरसगोत्रा च या पितुः ।
सा प्रशस्ता द्विजातीनाम् ...... ॥ मनु. २–५

इत्यत्र पितुरसगोत्रायाः प्रशस्तत्वमेव प्रतिपादितं न चैतावता सगोत्राया निषिद्धत्वं सिद्धयति । अन्यथा असवर्णापि विवाहार्थे मनोर्निषिद्धत्वेनाभिप्रेता इत्यापतेत् । तच्चायुक्तम् ।

सवर्णाग्रे द्विजातीनां प्रशस्ता दारकर्मणि ।

इति द्वितीयाध्याये द्वादशश्लोके सवर्णायाः प्राशस्त्ये मनोरभिप्रेतेऽपि तदितराया असवर्णायास्तेनैवाग्रे सम्मतत्वप्रतिपादनात् । तथा च द्वितीयाध्यायस्य पंचमश्लोके असगोत्रा वधूः प्रशस्ता इत्येव अभिप्रायः कल्पयितुं शक्यः । सगोत्राविवाहस्य निषिद्धत्वं न तेन श्लोकेन कथमपि सिद्धयति ।

द्वितीयाध्याये यानि पुनरन्यानि वधूविशेषणानि तानि सर्वथा नावश्यत्वप्रकाशकानीति तु विस्पष्टमेव दृश्यते । सवर्णा, लक्षणान्विता, मातुरसपिण्डा इति हि विशेषणत्रितयं तत्र विवाहयोग्यवधूविशेषणत्वेन प्रतिपादितम् । सर्वाण्यप्येतानि प्रशस्तिपराण्येव । असवर्णाविवाहस्तु मनुना स्वयमेवाग्रे वर्णितः । लक्षणरहिताया विवाहो न केनापि निन्द्यते । मातुलकन्याविवाहस्तु दाक्षिणात्य–ब्राह्मणजातिविशेषैरनुष्ठीयत एव । यद्यपि कैश्चित् सोऽनाचार इति निष्टङ्कितम् तथापि धर्मसिंधुकाराद्यैः स सदाचारत्वेन निर्धारित इति न विदुषां तिरोहितम् । एवं च यदि असगोत्रेतराणि विशेषणानि केवलं प्राशस्त्यपराणि तदा केवलमसगोत्राविशेषणमेवावश्यकताप्रतिपादनपरमिति न कथमपि प्रामाणिकैरङ्गीकर्तुं शक्यते ।

मनुस्मृतौ द्वितीयाध्याये पुनरिदमेवाश्चर्यं यन्मनुना परिवर्जनीयत्वेन कण्ठत उक्तानि कुलानि नोद्वहेत् कपिलां कन्यामित्यादौ कण्ठतो निषिद्धाः कन्याश्चाविशङ्कं सर्वैर्विवाहयोग्या इति स्वीक्रियते । असगोत्रा प्रशस्ता इति स्पष्टतयोक्तमपि प्राशस्त्यं सगोत्रायास्त्याज्यत्वे प्रबलं प्रमाणमिति स्वीक्रियते इति महानयमनयः । स चेद्वर्णनीयस्तदा स गोत्राविवाहो गौणोपि न मनोरसम्मत इत्यवश्यं सुधीभिरच्छमतिभिरङ्गीकरणीयम् ।

मनुप्रोक्तप्रायश्चित्त–प्रकरणपर्यालोंनचयाप्येतदेव सिद्ध्यति । तत्र हि सगोत्राविवाहस्य सगोत्रासंबन्धस्य वा गंधोऽपि नास्ति । मनुस्मृतौ प्रायश्चित्ताध्याये—

पैतृष्वसेयीं भगिनीं स्वस्त्रीयां मातुरेव च ।
मातुश्च भ्रातुस्तनयां गत्वा चान्द्रायणं चरेत् ॥
एतास्तिस्रस्तु भार्यार्थे नोपयच्छेत्तु बुद्धिमान् ।
ज्ञातित्वेनानुपेयास्ताः पतति ह्युपयन्नधः ॥ मनु. ११-१७२

इति श्लोकद्वयेन तिस्र एव कन्या भार्यार्थत्वेन निषिद्धाः समुपलभ्यन्ते । तत्र एतास्तिस्र इति पदद्वयं संख्या घटितं साभिप्रायं प्रतिभाति । तत्र सगोत्राया अपरिगणनान्नसगोत्राविवाहो मनौ निन्द्यः किन्तु सपिण्डाविवाह एव मनोरनभिमत इति पूर्वापरसंदर्भगवेषणया समापतति । सोऽयमत्यन्तगर्हितोऽपि मातुलकन्यापरिणयो यैर्ब्राह्मणैः सानन्दमनुष्ठीयते तैर्मनुना सर्वथाऽविगर्हितः सगोत्रसप्रवरीयाणां विवाहः पातित्यकर इति समुद्घोषणं सर्वथा धाष्टर्यमेवेत्यत्र नास्ति संदेहलेशोऽपि । सोऽयं मनुस्मृतिगवेषणाया निर्गलितोऽर्थः ।

याज्ञवल्क्येन तावद्विवाहप्रकरणे विवाहयोग्यवधूविशेषणानि बहुशो वर्णितानि । तथाहि—

……………… ''लक्षण्यां स्त्रियमुद्वहेत् ।
अनन्यपूर्विकां कान्तामसपिण्डां यवीयसीम् ॥
अरोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानार्षगोत्रजाम् ।
पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा ॥
दशपूरुषविख्यातात् श्रोत्रियाणां महाकुलात् ।
स्फीतादपि न संचारिरोगदोषसमन्वितात् ॥ (याज्ञ. ३, ५२–५४)

इत्येतेषु श्लोकेषु विवाहयोग्यवधूप्रदर्शनार्थमन्वयमुखेन व्यतिरेकमुखेन चानेके गुणा विशेषणवाचकपदैर्बहुभिः प्रदर्शिता याज्ञवल्क्येन। सर्वाण्यप्येतानि विशेषणानि पत्नीत्वसिद्ध्यै सर्वथाऽऽवश्यकानि, विवाहस्य वैधत्वसिद्ध्यर्थमावश्यकानीति न केनापि वक्तुं सुवचम्। ततश्च मनुविवेचनार्थप्रदर्शितदिशां याज्ञवल्क्यस्यापि सगोत्रविवाहनिंद्यत्वे नास्ति प्रमाणोपलब्धिः। सोऽयं विवरणप्रकारो मनुस्मृतौ याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ च समान एव।

परन्तु याज्ञवल्क्यीयप्रायश्चित्ताध्याये सगोत्राविवाहस्य गुरुतल्पसमत्वबोधकमेकं वचनं दृश्यते। सोयं सगोत्रविवाहनिषेधनपरः श्लोकः (प्रायश्चित्ताध्याय — श्लोक-२३१)

सखिभार्याकुमारीषु स्वयोनिष्वन्त्यजासु च।
सगोत्रासु सुतस्त्रीषु गुरुतल्पसमं स्मृतम्।

इत्येतेन रूपेण समुपलभ्यते। अतः किमस्य वचनस्य तात्पर्यमिति विवेक्तव्यम्। आपाततोऽपि कृते पर्यालोचने सोऽयं श्लोक एकपदन्यूनीभावादसंपूर्णान्वयबोधक इति तु स्पष्टमेव। अत्र श्लोके सप्तम्यन्तानि पदान्यधिकरणबोधकान्युपलभ्यन्ते परमाधेयवाचकं नैकमप्यत्र पदमस्ति। पूर्वोत्तरश्लोकयोरपि न किञ्चित्तादृशं पदमध्याहर्तुं शक्यते येन श्लोकोऽयं निराकाङ्क्षः स्यात्। तथा चानन्वितसप्तमीघटितत्वाद् दुरवस्थितोऽयं श्लोकः। वस्तुतस्तु—

रेतःसेकः स्वयोनीषु कुमारीष्वन्त्यजासु च।
सख्युः पुत्रस्य च स्त्रीषु गुरुतल्पसमं विदुः॥

इति मनुस्मृतावेकादशाध्यायगते ५८ तमे श्लोके याज्ञवल्क्यश्लोकस्यासंबद्धस्य मूलमुपलभ्यते। मनुश्लोके विद्यमानानि 'रेतःसेकः' इत्येतानि चत्वार्यक्षराणि निष्कास्य तत्स्थाने 'सगोत्रासु' इत्येतानि चत्वार्यक्षराणि निक्षिप्यान्यानि च पदानि यथाकथञ्चिद्व्युत्क्रमेण संनिवेश्य श्लोकोऽयमसबंद्धान्वयोऽपि केनचित्सगोत्रविवाहस्य याज्ञवल्क्यासंमतत्वद्योतनाय हठादत्र निवेशित इति प्रतिभाति। अत्र श्लोकस्याऽनन्वितवरूपमेकं कारणं विदुषामग्रे प्रस्थापितमेव। अग्रिमे च याज्ञवल्क्यीये २३२ श्लोकेनन्तरिते भगिनीगमनं स्नुषागमनं च पुनरेव गुरुतल्पगमनरूपेण वर्णितं दृश्यते। सैषा पुनरुक्तिः श्लोकस्य २३१ तमस्य प्रक्षिप्तत्वे साधु संगच्छते। एवं च याज्ञवल्क्यीयसगोत्रापदघटित–श्लोकस्य प्राक्षिप्तत्वान्न याज्ञवल्क्याधारेण सगोत्राविवाहो निन्द्य इति प्रतिपादयितु सुवचम्।

यदि पुनः 'सखिभार्याकुमारीषु' इत्यादि श्लोकः कथञ्चिन्न प्रक्षिप्तः किन्तु मौल एवेति विदुषामभिमानस्तथापि तस्य सगोत्राविवाहनिषेधपरत्वं कथमपि न सिद्ध्यति तस्य श्लोकस्य विवाहातिरिक्तसंबंधपरत्वात्। श्लोके तस्मिन् कुमारीष्वपि संबंधो निषिद्धः। न च कुमारी विवाहे वर्ज्या, किन्तु सैव विवाहयोग्या। एवं च कुमारीषु विवाहबाह्यसंबंधो रेतःसेकरूपो व्यभिचारापरनामधेयः श्लोकेनानेन निषिध्यत इत्यवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम्। तत्समानवाक्यत्वाच्च सगोत्रासु विवाहबाह्यः संबन्धो व्यभिचारापरनामधेयोऽनेन निन्द्यते न पुनर्विवाहपूर्वक इत्यवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम्। तथा च 'सगोत्रविवाहो निन्द्यः' इति याज्ञवल्क्याभिप्रायकल्पनम् स्वकपोलकल्पितमेवेति सुधीभिरच्छमतिभिर्विभावनीयम्।

सप्रवरविवाहनिषेधाभावस्तु मनाविव याज्ञवल्क्यीयेऽपि समान एव। आश्वलायन–पारस्करीयगृह्य-सूत्रादि–पर्यालोचने कृते तत्र तत्र विवाहप्रकरणे गोत्रवर्जनावश्यकता नोपलभ्यत इत्यपि दर्शयितुं शक्यं, किन्तु विस्तरभयान्मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यं विदुषां पुरतः प्रस्थाप्यैव केवलमत्रोहापोहः कृतः। स येषां संमतस्तेषामती वाश्चर्यं मनसि मवेत्। तेषां च भवेदेव जिज्ञासा यद्यदि दर्शितप्रकारेण मनोः सगोत्रविवाहो नातीवासंमतस्तर्हि कस्मादितरस्मृतिषु तादृशविवाहनिंदा दरीदृश्यते? जिज्ञासैषा गोत्रशब्दार्थेतिहासपर्यालोचनयैव निराकर्तुं शक्या। न चास्य सर्वोऽपीतिहासोऽत्र स्थलसंकोचादाविष्काराईः। तथापि दिग्दर्शनार्थं किंचिदिवोच्यते।

तद्यथा—वेदे तावत् गोत्रशब्दस्य धर्मशास्त्रसंमतोऽर्थो नैवोपलभ्यते। ऋग्वेदे गोसमूहवाचकत्वेन गोत्रशब्दस्य बहुलमुपलब्धिर्दृश्यते। तद्यथा

त्वं गोत्रमङ्गिरोभ्योऽवृणोः। ऋ. १–५१–३
गोत्राणि ससृजे दंसनावान्। ऋ. ३–३९–४
गवां गोत्रमुदसृजो यदंगिरः। ऋ. २–२३–१८
गोत्रभिदं गोविदं वज्रबाहुम्। तैं. सं. ४–६–४–२
अभिगोत्राणि सहसा गाहमानः। वाज. सं. १७–३९

इत्यादिषु गोसमूहे गोत्रशब्दप्रयोगदर्शनात्। कुत्रचित्तु एकेन गोसमूहेनोपजीवमानानां जनानां समूहः इत्येतस्मिन्नप्यर्थे गोत्रशब्दप्रयोगो दृश्यते। मन्वादीनामयमस्य शब्दस्यार्थः परिचित आसीद्त एव तैर्निषेधमकृत्वा केवलं सगोत्रविवाहस्य गौणत्वं घोषितम्। परं येषां गोत्रशब्दस्य प्राचीनोऽयमर्थोऽज्ञात आसीत्तैर्गोत्रशब्दमेकवंशबोधकमङ्गीकृत्य सगोत्रविवाहः सर्वथा निन्द्य इति दण्डको निर्मितः। ततश्चाधुनिका सगोत्रविवाहनिषेधाः प्रवृताः।

तदिदं सगोत्रविवाहनिषेधैतिह्यं सर्वसंमतं भवेन्न वा इत्यत्रास्त्येवास्माकं संदेहः। परन्तु दर्शितरीत्या

(१) मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोः सप्रवरविवाहः निषिद्धः नासीत्
(२) मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोः सगोत्रविवाहः निषिद्धः नासीत्

इति सिद्धान्तद्वयाङ्गीकारे न कस्यापि विप्रतिपत्तिः संभवेदित्याशास्महे।

आयुर्वेदे शीतोष्ण–शब्दार्थविमर्शः ।

वैद्य पु. स. हिर्लेकर, अमरावती

आयुर्वेदीयव्यवहारे उष्णं, शीतं, इति शब्दद्वयं वारंवारमुपयुज्यते । उष्णं पित्तं, शीतःश्लेष्मा उष्णं त्रिकटु, शीतं द्राक्षामलकं इत्यादिना शास्त्रे अभिहितं तद् अधिगतं चावभासते व्यवहाराभ्यासात् । अशास्त्रज्ञैः सामान्यजनैः व्यवहारे, विकृतिविज्ञापनविषये पथ्यापथ्यादिविषये च शीतमुष्णमितिशब्दप्रयोगो विधीयते, न च वा आशंक्यते कदाचित् वक्तृभिः श्रोतृभिश्च अभिप्रेतार्थः सम्यगधिगतो न वेति । शास्त्रीयग्रंथेष्वपि नास्मिन् सुस्पष्टं सुगमावबोधं च विवेचनमुपलभ्यते ।

आयुर्वेदीयग्रंथेषु द्रव्याणां शारीराणां शरीरोपयोगिनां चाहारादिरूपाणां विंशतिसंख्याका गुणा अभिहिताः । तत्र च प्रधानतमौ शीतोष्णाख्यौ ।

उष्णं शीतं द्विधैवान्ये वीर्यमाचक्षतेऽपि च ।
नानात्मकमपि द्रव्यमग्निसोमौ महाबलौ ॥
व्यक्ताव्यक्तं जगदिव नातिक्रामति जातुचित् ।

इत्यादिना द्रव्याश्रितस्य शीतोष्णाख्यस्य गुणद्वयस्य प्राधान्यमुपदिश्यापि स्वरूपमेतयोर्न विशदीकृतम् ।

अष्टांगहृदयाख्यस्य ग्रंथस्य सर्वांगसुंदराख्यायां व्याख्यायामुष्णशीतादीनां गुणानां परस्परविरोध एव स्वरूपमुपदर्शितम् । यथा––“ तत्र द्रव्ये गुर्वादयो दश गुणाः सविपर्यया विंशतिर्ज्ञेयाः । एषां क्रमाद्विपरीता लघुतीक्ष्णोष्णरूक्षखरद्रवकठिनसरस्थूलपिच्छिलाः । गुरुस्तद्विपरीतो लघुः । मन्दस्तद्विपरीतस्तीक्ष्णः । हिमस्तद्विपर्यय उष्णः । स्निग्धस्तद्विपर्ययो रूक्षः । श्लक्ष्णस्तद्विपर्ययः खरः । सान्द्रस्तद्विपर्ययो द्रवः । मृदुस्तद्विपर्ययः कठिनः । स्थिरस्तद्विपर्ययः सरः । सूक्ष्मस्तद्विपर्ययः स्थूलः । विशदस्तद्विपर्ययः पिच्छिलः । इति विपर्ययरूपेण दशगुणानां स्वरूपमुपवर्णितम् । किन्तु येषां विपर्ययाश्चैते तेषां स्वरूपमस्पष्टमेव ।

सुश्रुतसंहितायां गुणानां विंशतिसंख्याकांनां शीतोष्णादीनां प्रत्येकं कर्माण्याख्यातानि । यथा—

ल्हादनः स्तंभनः शीतो मूर्च्छा तृट्स्वेददाहजित् ।
उष्णस्तद्विपरीतः स्यात् पाचनश्च विशेषतः ॥ १ ॥ इत्यादि

कर्मणामुपदेशः कारणरूपाणां शीतादीनां गुणानां स्वरूपानुमानसाधनमपि तु नालं यथावत्स्वरूपावबोधायेति । व्याख्याकारेणा श्रीडल्हणाचार्येणापि नैवास्मिन् विशदीकृतम् ।

आयुर्वेदान्तर्गतद्रव्यादिविज्ञानसहायभूते न्यायादिविज्ञानेऽपि विशदीकरणमस्मिन् विषये नोपलभ्यते । शीतस्पर्शवत्यः आपः, उष्णस्पर्शवत्तेजः इत्यपां तेजसश्चोपवर्णने स्पर्शानुबद्धस्य शीतस्य उष्णस्य च किंवा स्वरूपमिति व्याख्याकृदभिरपि नोपदर्शितम् ।

उष्णशीताख्यमेतत् गुणद्वयं द्रव्यान्तर्निष्ठं, तत्कर्माणि द्रव्यावस्थाविशेषोद्भवानि, ततश्च स्वरुपवर्णनं द्रव्यावस्था विशेषदर्शनानुसारेण विहितं, यथार्थावबोधकं भवेदिति । उष्णगुणयोगात् द्रव्ये कीदृशमवस्थान्तरं सम्भवेत् कीदृशं च शीतयोगादिति सुस्पष्टावबोधकं शीतोष्णगुणस्वरूपवर्णनमवश्यम् ।

तत्रोष्णं भ्रमतृड्ग्लानिस्वेददाहाशुपाकिताः ।
शमं च वातकफयोः करोति, शिशिरं पुनः ॥
ह्लादनं जीवनं स्तम्भं प्रसादं रक्तपित्तयोः ।

इत्यादिना आख्यातानां कर्मणां विविधानां, कारणं द्रव्यस्यावस्थाविशेषः कीदृशः संजायते उष्णगुणयोगात्, कीदृशश्च शीतगुणयोगात्, येन एवंविधानांकर्मणां सम्भवः, इत्यवबोधाभिप्रायेण कृतं शीतोष्णगुणस्वरूपवर्णनं व्यवहारक्षमं भवेदिति ।

सृष्टवस्तुजाते समुपलक्ष्यमाणाणां विविधानां कर्मणां उत्पत्तिविनाशस्वरूपे वृद्धिक्षयस्वरूपे वा कर्मद्वयेऽन्तर्भावः । भूम्यादिपंचभूतांशानां संश्लेषादुत्पत्तिर्वृद्धिश्च तथा विश्लेषणाद्विनाशो ह्रासो वा भवतीति, संक्षेपतः संश्लेषविश्लेषहेतुर्जीवितव्यवहारः सृष्टेरिति सुगमावबोधम् । संश्लेषणार्थमाकर्षणमाकुंचनं वा, भौतिकाणूनां विश्लेषणार्थं च प्रसारणमवश्यं, तच्च चलनस्वरूपमिति आकुंचनं प्रसारणं च भिन्नस्वरूपं, भिन्नश्चैतयोः परिणाम उत्पत्तिर्विनाशश्चेत्यपि तु, चलनं सामान्यमुभयोरिति, कार्यस्वरूपोपवर्णने 'चलनात्मकं कर्म' इत्याख्यातम् । चलनकर्ता च वायुःस्पर्शवानिति । सन्निकृष्टसंयोगहेतोराकुंचनात् आकर्षणाद्वा, संयुक्ताः परमाणवः सुसूक्ष्मा भूतांशाः परस्परं संश्लिष्टाः प्रव्यक्तीभावं मूर्तत्वमुपयान्ति । मूर्तत्वं चैतदुत्पत्तिसंज्ञयाऽख्यायते । विप्रकृष्ट-संयोगहेतोः प्रसारणादपकर्षणाद्वा विश्लिष्टा वियुक्ताः परमाणवः सौक्ष्म्यादव्यक्तीभावममूर्तत्वमुपयान्ति । अमूर्तत्वं चैतददर्शनाद्विनाशाख्ययाऽख्यायते । चरकसंहितायामभिहितं यथा —

“ तत्र संयोगापेक्षी लोकशब्दः । षड्धातुसमुदायो हि सामान्यतः सर्वलोकशब्दः । षड्धातुविभागो वियोगः स जीवापगमः ।

तेषां संयोगवियोगे परमाणूनां कारणं वायुः कर्म स्वभावश्च । सामान्यं चलनं केवलस्य वायोर्यदा अब्गुणेन शीतेनानुबद्धं तदा आकुंचनस्वरूपमाकर्षणरूपं वा संयोगकरं, यदा तेजोगुणेनोष्णेनानुबद्धं तदा प्रसारणरूपमपकर्षणरूपं वा वियोगकरं भवति । अनेनैवाभिप्रायेण—

योगवाहः परं वायुः संयोगादुभयार्थकृत् ।
दाहकृत्तेजसा युक्तः शीतकृत्सोमसंयुतः ॥

इति चरकसंहितायामुक्तम् ।

स्पर्शवान् वायुः शीतस्पर्शवत्यः आपः, उष्णस्पर्शवत्तेजः इति न्यायोपवर्णनात् स्पर्शशीतोष्णानां सुस्पष्टो व्यवहारसुगमश्चार्थो नाधिगम्यते । अपि तु वायुस्तंत्रयन्त्रधरः प्रवर्तकश्चेष्टानामुच्चावचानाम् । संयोगवियोगे परमाणूनां कारणं वायुः इति आयुर्वेदोक्तेनाभिसंधीयमाने, स्पर्शो नाम चलनहेतुर्गुणः समीरणस्य, शीतो नाम चलनस्य आकुंचनस्वरूपहेतुः, उष्णश्च चलनस्य प्रसारणस्वरूपहेतुरिति सुगमार्थोऽभिसन्धिः ।

शीतस्पर्शवत्यः आपः। उष्णस्पर्शवत्तेजः। इत्यपां तेजसश्च स्वरूपोपवर्णने अपां तेजसश्चाख्यातः स्पर्शः सामान्यः, स च वायोर्गुणः, न अपां गुणः स्पर्शः न च वा तेजसः। किं च स्पर्शे शीतत्वमपां तेजसश्चोष्णत्वमितिस्वरूपवर्णनादेवोपलक्ष्यते। ततश्च चलनेनोपलक्ष्यः स्पर्शो वायोः। चलनस्य च आकर्षण स्वरूपहेतुः शीतो नाम गुणः, उष्णश्च चलनस्यापकर्षणहेतुरिति प्रतिपद्यते। प्रतिपन्ने चैतस्मिन् समाकर्षणमाकुंचनं, संश्लेष; संयोगो वा भवति येन द्रव्यगतानां भूतांशानां परमाणूनां वा स गुणः शीतो नाम। येन च अपकर्षणं, प्रसारणं, विश्लेषणं, वियोगो वा भवति स उष्णो गुणो नाम।

ल्हादनः स्तम्भनः शीतो मूर्च्छातृट्स्वेददाहजित्।
उष्णस्तद्विपरीतः स्यात् पाचनश्च विशेषतः॥

इति चरकोक्ते स्तम्भनः इति विशेषणं शीतस्वरूपविशेषोपलक्षणं विशेषेण। परस्परं संहतानां परमाणूनां गाढालिंगनं स्तम्भो नाम, आकुंचनादेकत्र अवस्था विशेषेऽवस्थितिर्भवति। अनुकूलसंवेदनोत्पादकः परमाणुसंयोग एव स्तंभनकरः सम्पद्यते। प्रतिकूलसंवेदनायां परस्परं सहवासविरोधिनः परमाणवः दूरावस्थानेच्छया प्रतिसारणोद्यता भवन्ति। तस्मात् गाढालिंगनात् सुदृढावस्थाने स्तंभने संयुक्तानामनुकूलसंवेदनोत्पादनं आल्हादनं सुखकरत्वं नाम उपलक्ष्यते इति शीतो गुणो ल्हादनस्तंभनस्योपलक्षण इत्युपपद्यते।

शीतविपरीतो गुण उष्णः। चलने प्रसारणावस्थाकारणः। प्रतिकूलसंवेदनायां दुःखाख्यायपरमाणूनां दूरावस्थानेच्छया प्रसारणप्रयत्नः। प्रसारणलक्षणं च ल्हादनविरुद्धं उद्वेजनमनुमानसुलभमुष्णगुणस्य। उद्वेजनं सहावस्थानस्य असहत्वं दाहो नाम। आल्हादकत्वात् शीतगुणस्य उद्वेगनाशः इति शीतो दाहजित् भवति। उष्णगुणेन उद्वेजितानामणूनां वियोगावस्थायां विश्लिष्टावस्थायां वा अवस्थानं स्वेदः। संयुक्तानां संश्लिष्टानामेकीभूतानां वा वियुक्तीकरणं स्वेदनं नाम। संश्लेषकारणात् शीतात् विश्लेषणावस्थापरिहारः इति शीतः स्वेदजिदाख्यातः। आर्द्रावस्थायां सजलावस्थायां वा अवस्थितानां शारीरद्रव्याणां विश्लेषणे अतिमात्रं जलीयांशवियोजने भौतिकांशसंयोगसंजातानां शारीरद्रव्याणां जलीयांशाभ्यर्थनं तृष्णा नाम। शीतो गुणः संश्लेषकत्वात् जलीयांशस्रावप्रतिबंधक इति तृड्जिदाख्यातः। अन्तःप्रेरितायाः बाह्यस्पर्शसंभवायाश्च संवेदनायाः ग्रहणे अक्षमत्वं मूर्च्छा नाम। वेदनाग्रहणाक्षमत्वं चैतत् यदा उष्णानुयोगादुद्वेजितेषु सहवासविरुद्धेषु शारीरद्रव्येषु जायते तदा शीतो गुणः आल्हादकत्वात् उद्वेगविनाशकः इति मूर्च्छाजिदाख्यातः!

एवं विचार्यमाणे शास्त्रे शीताख्ययाऽख्यातो गुणो नाम, द्रव्यगतानां सुसूक्ष्माणां भूतांशानां भूतांशसंयोगसम्भवानां द्रव्यावयवानां च संश्लेषणहेतुः संयोगहेतुः संहतीभावहेतुर्भूतत्वहेतुर्वा समाकर्षणकरो भावः उष्णाख्ययाख्यातश्च विश्लेषणहेतुः वियोगहेतुः असंहतीभावहेतुः अमूर्तत्वहेतुर्वा प्रसारणकरो भाव इति।

व्यवहारेऽपि शीतोष्णयोरनुभवः आल्हादनोद्वेजनाभ्यामेव आख्यायते रुग्णेन केनचित् कोष्ठे उष्णताभिवृद्धिरवभासते, इत्याख्याते, कैर्लक्षणैर्वेदनाविशेषैर्वा, अनुमिता उष्णताभिवृद्धिरिति स्पष्टीकरणार्थं पृष्टः सः असहत्वकरमुद्वेजनमसमाधानं वा आख्यापयति। उष्णतायाः दाहस्य वा उपशांतौ समाधानमिति।

ततश्चैतत्प्रतिपादितं भवेत् भूतांशसंभूतिसंभवे सृष्टद्रव्ये संभूतानामणूनां समाकर्षणः उत्पत्तिवृद्धिकारणो गुणः शीतः आल्हादनोपलक्ष्यः। अपकर्षणो विनाशन्हासकारणश्च उष्णः उद्वेजनोपलक्ष्य इति विज्ञानार्थः। समाकर्षणः शीतः अपकर्षणश्च उष्ण इति समासार्थेन व्यवहर्तव्य इति।

वेदार्थव्याख्यायां ज्योतिःशास्त्रोपयोगः

श्री. दीनानाथशास्त्री चुलेट, अचलपुरम्

वेदार्थकरणे अधिकारिविमर्षे शिक्षा-कल्प-व्याकरण-निरुक्त-छंदशास्त्रादि-विविधागमपंडितेषु ज्योतिर्विज्ञानं दिव्यशिल्पविज्ञानस्य प्रावीण्यमनूद्य यस्मिन्काले अंकलेखनकलायाः प्रादुर्भावात्पूर्वं सुपर्णचित् श्येनचित् प्रउगचित् उभयतः प्रउगचित् रथचक्रचित् नामकीषु चितिषु सुपर्णचितिचयनस्य मुख्यत्वं उक्तं कालज्ञापक वैदिकपंचांगत्वात्। अतएव मयाऽत्र तावत् सुपर्णचितिचित्रं तद्रचनाप्रकारश्च प्रदर्शितः।

यथा हि मी. सू. शाबरभाष्ये (१ । १ पृष्ठ १४):—न पृथिव्यां नान्तरिक्षे न दिव्यग्निश्चेतव्य इत्यादिषु "अस्ति चाप्रसक्तप्रतिषेधरूपो नित्यानुवादो वेदे" "प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धं वचनमुपन्यस्तं—स एष यज्ञायुधी यजमानोंऽजसा स्वर्गलोकं यातीति प्रत्यक्षं शरीरकं व्यपदिशतीति। उत्ताना वै देवगवा वहन्ति। अग्निर्वृत्राणि जंघनत्। (मी. सू. १ । ३ । १० पृ. ५४) पितुः पयः प्रतिगृभ्णाति माता तेन पिता वर्धते न पुत्रः। ऋक्संहिता (५ । ७ । १ । ३)"

इत्यादिवाक्यानां ज्योतिर्विद एवर्थं विजानन्ति यथाहि 'चित्रं देवानामुदगादनीकं चक्षु (पूर्वाफाल्गुनी) मित्रस्य (अनुराधायाः) वरुणस्य (शततारकायाः) अग्नेः (कृत्तिकायाः)॥ आ प्रा द्यावा पृथिवी अंतरिक्षँ सूर्य आत्मा जगतस्तस्थुषस्य॥ (वाजस० संहिता ७।४२) 'एषा ह वै संवत्सरस्य प्रथमा रात्रिर्या फल्गुनी पौर्णमासी' (तै. ब्रा.) सायंकाले पूर्वाफाल्गुनीनक्षत्रोदयकाले (फाल्गुनमासि) वसन्तसंपातस्थितिकाले ज्येष्ठ-भाद्रपद-मार्गशीर्षमासेषु क्रमेण मित्रस्य वरुणस्य अग्नेः उदयकाले द्यौः अंतरिक्ष पृथिवी संज्ञितकालेषु संवत्सरारंभज्ञापकाग्निहोत्रारंभकार्यं न कुर्यात्। सायनकर्कतुलामकरसंक्रांतित्वात्। स्वर्गकामो यजेत इत्यनेन वसंतसंपाते एव संवत्सरयज्ञस्यारंभाग्नेः चेतनं कुर्यात्। अतएवोक्तं शतपथे ब्रा. "वसन्तो ग्रीष्मो वर्षा स्ते देवा ऋतवः॥ शरद्धेमन्तशिशिरस्ते पितरः॥" उत्तरध्रुवप्रदेशीये स्वर्गे लोके वसंत संपातदिवसे एव दिनारंभ-शरत्संपाते देवदिनसमाप्तिः। द्यौः पिता पृथिवी माता इति ऋक्संहितायामुक्तम् कर्काचार्येण कात्यायनपारस्कर-श्रौत-गृह्यसूत्रयोः भाष्यारंभे 'प्रत्यक्षा हि श्रुतयः श्रौतेषु स्मार्तेषु स्मरणमित्यनेन द्रव्यं देवतात्यागस्य श्रौते प्रत्यक्षत्वं सद्भाव्यते किं च माघे मासि वसंतसंपातस्थितिकाले मांडूकानां यज्ञे माघशस्युपाव्हयेन सार्पराज्ञ्या 'स्तरीसत्वद्भवति सूत उत्पद्यथावशंतन्वन्श्चक्र एषः॥ पितुः पयः प्रतिगृभ्णाति माता तेन पिता वर्धते न पुत्रः॥" इत्थं उक्तम्। उत्तरगोलार्धीयं यवादिद्रव्यं पितुः पयःस्थानीयं दक्षिणगोलार्धीयं व्रीह्यादिद्रव्यं मातुः पयःस्थानीयं। उत चात्र वर्षाकालीने यज्ञे तत्षष्ठमासि यज्ञे च उत्तरायणकालीनानां द्रव्याणां सवने उपयोगं दृष्ट्वा सार्पराज्ञा व्यंग्येनोक्तं संवत्सर अनवत्सरादीनां च पुत्रत्वं विज्ञापितम्। ऋक्वाजस० संहिता-(अ. ३) यां च 'ऋतं च सत्वं चाभीद्धात्तपसोऽध्यजायत॥ ततो राञ्य

जायत ततः समुद्रो अर्णवः समुद्रादर्णवादधिसंवत्सरो अजायत ।।१।। (ऋक्सं.) आ अयं गौःपृश्नीं अक्रमीत् असदन् मातरं पितरं च प्रयन् स्वः अंतश्चरति अस्य रोचनाऽस्यप्राणमानति ।।२।। व्यख्यन्महिषोदिवम् । त्रिंशद्धाम विराजति वाक् पतंगाय धीयते प्रतिवस्तोरहद्युभिः ।। ३ ।। (स्वः स्वर्गस्य) (पंचदश समान मुहूर्तात्मकमहोरात्रं त्रिशद्धाम) (वाक् कन्याराशिः) तपो माघमासः । सुपर्णचितेश्चयनारंभोऽऽपि माघमासा देवोल्लिखितः । 'नौर्हवा एषा स्वर्ग्यादग्निहोत्र सः (सूर्यः) यत्प्राहुपोक्षेतितदेनां प्राचीमभ्यजति स्वर्गं लोकमभि तथा स्वर्गं लोकं ँ समश्नुते तस्य उत्तरतः आरोहणम् सेन ँ स्वर्गं लोकं समापयति अथ यो दक्षिणत एत्यास्ते । संवत्सरे संवत्सरे हवा अस्याग्निहोत्रं चिनोति । सत चैव शतानि वि ँशति ७२० श्च । संवत्सरे संवत्सरे हवाऽअस्याग्निहोत्रं महता कष्टेन संपद्यते ।। (शतपथ ब्रा. २. ३. ३. पृष्ठ १४३-४४) पुत्रपौत्रादिवंशपरंपरया शतसहस्रवर्षेष्विष्टिकोपधानचयिता कंक प्रउगचितिरूपाः मिश्र देशे पिरामीडाव्हया अद्यापि चितयो दृश्यन्ते । तद्देशे विलंबेन लेखनारंभत्वात् । भारतवर्षे तु वेदांगज्योतिष्कालात्पूर्वमेव लेखनारंभत्त्वाद्दीर्घकालिकाश्चितयो नष्टाः आसन् ।

समासव्यवस्थायां समाजपद्धति-प्रतिबिम्बनम्

श्री विनायकशास्त्री टिल्लु, बनारस

अस्त्यनेकगिरां मध्ये गीर्वाणगिरिगौरवम् । समस्तपदविन्यासोऽनन्यसाधारणो यतः ॥ १ ॥
जहत्स्वार्थाजहत्स्वार्थे द्वे वृत्ती स्तौ विवक्षया । तत्रैकार्थीभावविषये प्रथमा सुव्यवस्थिता ॥ २ ॥
परार्थस्याभिधा यत्र स्वार्थभेदाविवक्षणात् । एकार्थीभावसामर्थ्यं तत्समासादिषु श्रुतम् ॥ ३ ॥
इत्थं कुटुम्बघटका यत्रान्योऽन्यैकवाक्यताम् । आसादयन्ति सामर्थ्यं तत्र स्पष्टं प्रतीयते ॥ ४ ॥
तस्याः कुटुम्बसंस्थाया मूलं परिणयप्रथा । विधिवत्परिणीतानां सामर्थ्यातिशयः स्फुटः ॥ ५ ॥
' अत्ता हि पुरुश्चाद्या योषै 'ति नियमः श्रुतौ । स्वाभाविकतयोपात्तो विवाहे नियतो ह्यसौ ॥ ६ ॥
समासप्रथया सेयं संस्था सादृश्यमास्थिता । अतोऽत्र तदुपन्यासे प्रयत्नः क्रियतेऽल्पकः ॥ ७ ॥
स्थिते समासबाहुल्येऽप्यादायात्र चतुष्टयम् । पूर्वोक्तविषये काञ्चित्तुलनामभिदध्महे ॥ ८ ॥
यथान्यतरमूलत्वादिमूलैषा चतुष्टयी । स्त्रीपुंसयोगविषया प्रवृत्तिः प्राक् प्रदर्शिता ॥ ९ ॥
तथा समासचातुर्थ्यं विद्विनोदाय चिन्त्यते । यथा स्त्रीपुंसयो र्योगो विवाहपदतां गतः ॥ १० ॥
अनेकपदसंयोगस्तथा समासत्वं समासनात् । तत्राव्ययीभाव इष्टा प्राक्पदार्थप्रधानता ॥ ११ ॥
सङ्घातस्याव्ययत्वादिव्यपदेशः सुपोऽश्रुतिः । अरणिद्वयसादृश्यं पतिपत्न्योः पुरा श्रुतम् ॥ १२ ॥
तत्र पूर्वारणिर्नारी उत्तरा पुरुषोऽरणिः । एवं यत्राबला मुख्या पुरुषास्त्वनुगामिनः ॥ १३ ॥
तत्र सांख्यप्रकृतिवत् स्त्रियः पूर्णा स्वतन्त्रता । तादृशस्य समाजस्य क्लीबसन्तानयोगिता ॥ १४ ॥
मधुकृत्कीटदृष्टान्ते स्फुटा सा प्रतिपादिता । यत्राबला हि प्रबला पुरुषाः पौरुषोज्झिताः ॥१५॥

प्रथतेऽसौ प्रथा नैव समाजपरिवृद्धये । एवं तत्पुरुषे ख्यातोत्तरस्यैव प्रधानता ॥१६॥
तथाऽपरा हि पुरुषप्रधाना पद्धतिः स्थिता । स्वयं परेशभोग्योऽपि भोक्तृत्वाभिनिवेशतः ॥१७॥
पुरुषः पुरुधा मोगमात्रलिप्सुरनर्थकृत् । वानरेषु पुमानेको बह्वीर्भुङ्क्ते निजेच्छया ॥१८॥
सदान्याक्रमणे दक्षः (तत्र) स्त्रीदशा का विचार्यताम् । एवं यत्र बहुस्त्रीकविवाहसरणिः स्थिता ॥१९॥
तत्र पूर्वेक्त एवं स्यादसन्तोष इति ध्रुवम् । द्वन्द्वे यद्यपि नैकस्य गौणत्वं, समतोभयोः ॥२०॥
उभयोरन्वयस्तुल्य इष्यते हि क्रियादिना । तथापि परवल्लिङ्गयोगः स्यादनिवारितः ॥२१॥
एवं स्त्रीपुंसयोः स्वैरवर्ति यत्र पद्धतौ । नासौ कुटुम्बकल्याणकारिणी द्वन्द्व-सम्भवात् ॥२२॥
यत्रावयवयोर्न स्तो मिथो गौणप्रधानते । किन्तु स्वान्यार्थसङ्क्रान्तिमात्रेणैव कृतार्थता ॥२३॥
परस्परमभिन्नत्वात् सामान्याधिकरण्यधीः । प्रथमास्थपदानां स बहुव्रीहिरिहोत्तमः ॥२४॥
एवं परिणयोद्देश्यसुप्रजत्वसमृद्धये । अन्योन्याभिन्नचित्तानां दम्पतीनां समन्वयः ॥२५॥
प्रथमे वयसि प्राप्तसंस्तवानां समागमात् । आत्मीयत्वपराकाष्ठा प्रणयाङ्कुरशालिनाम् ॥२६॥
विशुद्धमनसां काममकामकलुषात्मनाम् । बहुव्रीहिकरो वंशजातिराष्ट्रहितावहः ॥२७॥
वैदिकी लौकिकी या हि विदिता सुरभारती । समस्तपदसङ्घातभूषिता सैव नेतरा ॥२८॥
सोऽयं समासविन्यासो रूढमूलो विलोक्यते । चिरन्तनेऽपि ऋग्वेदप्रधाने ग्रन्थसागरे ॥२९॥
सेयं सुकल्पना यस्याः प्रतिबिम्बनवत् स्थिता । विवाहपद्धतिः सापि न किमासीद् विकासभाक् ॥३०॥
एवं विकासशालिन्याः सभ्यताया निदर्शनात् । वैदिकी संस्कृतिः शक्या न किं कल्पयितुं वरा ? ॥३१॥
यमीयमविवाहादिक्वचित्कोल्लेखदर्शनात् । नापोह्या किन्तु तद्दार्ढ्यमेव तस्मादिति स्फुटम् ॥३२॥
किञ्चैकस्मिन् कालखण्डेऽप्यधिकारानुसारतः । उच्चावचाः स्तरा नाना समाजे शक्यकल्पनाः ॥३३॥
तेषु तेषु भवेद् भिन्नभिन्नैव सरणिः स्थिता । किन्त्वादर्शव्यवस्थायाः श्रेष्ठत्वमनपोदितम् ॥३४॥
ये नाम वेदविदितां सभ्यतां बाल्यकालगाम् । अपूर्णां दोषसहितामर्वाचीनां च मन्वते ॥३५॥
तेषामेष कृते यत्नः कियानप्युररीकृतः । वैदिकी संस्कृतिः शुद्धा परिपूर्णा चिरन्तनी ॥३६॥
तस्या गवेषणामार्गगामिनामनुगामिना । किञ्चित् कौतूहलाक्रान्तस्वान्तेनाध्यापनाविधौ ॥३७॥
स्फुरितप्रतिभेनेयं कल्पना पुरतो धृता । विशेषविदुषामेषामनुसन्धानशीलिनाम् ॥३८॥
हंसक्षीरन्यायतोऽत्र गुणग्रहणकोविदाः । प्राच्यप्रतीच्यसद्विद्या विद्वांसः शरणीकृताः ॥३९॥

समाप्त

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